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THE PONTIFICAL INSTITUTE OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES
59 QUEEN'S PARK CRESCENT, TORONTO

Richard of Campsall, an English Theologian of the Fourteenth Century

EDWARD A. SYNAN

IN the course of examining an anti-Ockhamist *Logica* which, if we are to believe the only known manuscript of the work, is to be attributed to "Campsall the Englishman",¹ the present writer had occasion to bring together what information could be found with respect to this fourteenth century English theologian. The results of this investigation are now presented in the hope that they might serve as a starting point for further research and that our knowledge of this obscure but important figure might thus be extended and, perhaps, corrected.

Professor F. M. Powicke has pointed out that it is probably necessary to distinguish two men named "Richard of Campsall". One was a Fellow of Merton College after a period as Fellow of Balliol and was the author of *Quaestiones* on the *Physics*; for a moment he acted as Commissary for the Chancellor of Oxford (1325/26). The other is identified as the Rector of Saint Martin's at Canterbury in the will of Simon of Bredon, a document drawn up in 1368; Richard of Campsall, Rector of Saint Martin's, acted as executor of this will in 1372.² Although Professor Powicke has assigned no reason for the probable distinction between the two "Richards of Campsall", the gap between the dates he mentions has undoubtedly inspired his judgment that not all the sources he adduces can be referred with any probability to the same man. As we shall see presently, the gap is even wider than those documents indicate and unless the Fellow of Balliol and Merton lived to a most improbable old age and was buried at Merton in spite of having left his Fellowship for the Canterbury living, Professor Powicke's warning must be accepted as well-founded. The evidence of our scanty sources presents the picture of a Merton scholar, author of a not unimposing list of works, all of which reflect the normal interests of a fourteenth-century theologian, whereas the Rector of Saint Martin's seems to have left no traces in the academic world apart from having collected books. Some of these the executor of his will sold to Bishop Reed;³ a volume of seventeen Saints' Lives appears in the catalogue of Saint Augustine's, Canterbury,⁴ and two Bibles are found under his name in the catalogue of Dover

¹ *Logica Campsale Anglici, valde utilis et realis contra Ocham*, Library of the University of Bologna, n°. 2635, fols. 1r-99v; with respect to the attribution to Campsall, cf. also the table of contents, fol. 100^r, where the "compositor" is noted as mentioned on fol. 21^v: De quarto vero est magna difficultas. Illi enim qui ponunt quod genus non est nisi quidem conceptus mentis qui potest univoce et in quid de pluribus praedicari, habent dicere quod non solum res creatae quae non sunt partes illarum rerum ad differentiam materiae et formae quae non sunt in genere nisi per reductionem, non solum, inquam, tales res sunt in genere, sed etiam quod Primum Esse, qui est Deus gloriosus, sit in genere quia unus conceptus potest in quid praedicari de eo et de aliis rebus. Et ego Kamsal, auribus meis, audivi unum doctorem solemnem Oxoniae qui ista determinatione publica dixit: hoc verum esse et quod sine periculo potest dici.

The examination of this anti-Ockhamist work was submitted as a doctoral thesis to the University of Toronto under the title: *The "Logica" Attributed to Richard of*

Campsall; Study and Texts, in the spring of 1952. It is with the kind permission of the University authorities that the material of this article has been taken from that thesis.

² F. M. Powicke, *The Mediaeval Books of Merton College* (Oxford, 1931), cf. p. 114, s.v. "Richard of Camsale or Campsall"; for the will of Simon of Bredon, cf. pp. 82-86; it should be noted that the Richard of Campsall who was Rector of Saint Martin's is called "dominus" not "magister" in this will.

³ R. T. Gunther, *Early Science in Oxford II* (Oxford Historical Society, Oxford, 1923), p. 59: the author cites Ms. Digby 176: . . . partem emit de executoribus m. Ricardi Camsale . . . Here the Richard of Campsall is called "magister" although as it seems, the Rector of Saint Martin's is meant who is called "dominus" in Simon's will; it would appear that outside specifically academic documents, this variation is without great significance.

⁴ M. R. James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover* (Cambridge, 1903), p. 300, n°. 973: 17 Legenda sanctorum Ric

Priory.⁵ The distinction between two men of the same name is, of course, an inference which may yield to new evidence, but with the texts at our disposal, it seems to be secure and it is to the Richard of Campsall who was Fellow of Balliol and Merton that the works written by "Richard of Campsall" must be attributed whereas those possessed by "Richard of Campsall" and found later outside the Merton library must be assigned to the Rector of Saint Martin's.⁶ We shall turn, therefore, to the academic career of the Oxford theologian.

I.

Our theologian's name indicates that he was a native of the village of Campsall in the West Riding of Yorkshire. The village still exists, situated about eight miles from Doncaster and notable for the ruins of a mediaeval church which seems to have been enlarged in the early years of the fourteenth century.⁷ Its name appears in the Domesday Book as "Cansale" and in view of mediaeval orthography, it will be useful to notice the various spellings of the name. The forms "Camsala" (1157), "Camsal" (1208), "Cameshal" (1227), and "Kameshal" (1239) are given for the village⁸ and the modern spelling "Campsall" occurs at least as early as 1680.⁹ The theologian himself is designated as "Camsale", "Cameshale", "Campsalis", "Kameshale", "Kampsal", "Cansale", "Kanpsal" and even as "Compsaley" in various manuscript references to his opinions.¹⁰ All these seem to represent normal phonetic variations on "Cansale", the oldest form we know, with an intrusive letter *p* and, owing to the long last syllable, a doubled final letter *l* in the modern spelling.

The earliest dated mention of this Oxford scholar occurs in the records of Merton College; in 1306 he was one of three bursars who rode into Northumberland to take the rents of Ponteland and Embleton Co. and expenses are noted for the shoeing of his horse.¹¹ He is named among the witnesses to a legal act in the records of Balliol College which the editor's marginal note assigns to a date between 1295 and 1310 as *Dominus Ricardus de Camsale*.¹² Two points make it possible to restrict the period which the editor suggests for the dating of this document. First, in 1308 he is no longer "Dominus" but "Magister" and described as "presently ruling in Arts at Oxford" in a document which records

Campsale; for remarks of the editor of the catalogues on the donors of books, cf. p. 539.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 437: remarks on donors, cf. p. 543; the listing in this catalogue is n^o. 5:2 *Biblia Ricardi cameshale*; cf. p. 413, n^o. 5, for a second listing of these volumes.

⁷ The assignment of books once possessed by Richard of Campsall which are found outside the possession of Merton College to the Campsall of Saint Martin's is motivated by the extreme improbability of a Fellow's books ending outside the collection of the College; *v. infra*, note 29, for the text of Archbishop Kilwardby's statute on the point. It should be noted, however, that even under this statute, a Fellow's books might be lost to the College — they might, for example, be sold to pay his debts.

⁸ Cf. J. E. Morris, *The West Riding of Yorkshire* (London, 1931), pp. 145–148; the aisles and nave of the ruins of the mediaeval church, according to this description, seem to have been added in the early fourteenth century which makes the inference of more than one "Richard of Campsall" less difficult to accept.

⁹ E. Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names* (Oxford, 2nd, ed., 1940), p. 80; also, 'A History of the County of York' in the series *The Victorian History of the Counties of England*. II, p. 246; III,

p. 505.

¹⁰ Thus Adams, *Index Villaris* (London, 1680), p. 69.

¹¹ Cf. the forms in the documents cited in notes 1, 3, 4, 5, 12, 16, 20, and in the *Mss. Lat. 986*, fol. 28^v, Gonville and Caius, 668*.

¹² This piece of information has been provided by the librarian of Merton College, Mr. Wallace-Hadrill, who refers to Rec. 5978, the founder of the College had authorized expenses in connection with horses used on College business: cf. *Merton Muniments*, edd. P. S. Allen and H. W. Garrod (OHS, Oxford, 1928), p. 26, ll. 95–96: *Yconomy autem
aut fratres nullum equum teneant nisi quatenus maneriorum necessitas requirit . . .
ne Domus ex eorum precio prægravetur . . .
nisi tunc demum cum scholares pro communi
Domus ipsius utilitate ad loca aliqua fuerint
destinati.*

¹³ H. E. Salter, *The Oxford Deeds of Balliol College* (OHS, Oxford, 1913), p. 141: . . . his testibus magistro Thoma de Pontefracto, mago Adam de Kurle, domino Stephano de Curnubia, domino Ricardo de Camsale, domino Galfrido de Tendrynge et alii. Here the variation between "magister" and "dominus" must be considered significant of the academic distinction between the Master and the Bachelor, cf. *supra*, note 3.

his fulfilling the office of procurator in company with colleagues from the faculties of Canon and Civil Law in the presence of John Dalderby, Bishop of Lincoln, on the business of the confirmation of William de Bosco as Chancellor of the University.¹³ Second, since he appears in the Merton record of 1306 as a bursar of that College and, as we shall see, was later buried in the Merton Chapel,¹⁴ we must assume that from 1306 at least he was a Fellow of Merton for burial among the Fellows is one of the specific advantages guaranteed to members of the College by the founder's statutes.¹⁵ Consequently, his connection with Balliol must pre-date 1306. His Balliol-Merton transfer is confirmed by the record of an act which took place on the 25 July, 1325, in the Hall of Balliol in the presence of several Masters of Theology, Richard of Campsall among them, "who all had once been Fellows of the aforesaid House".¹⁶ The earliest appearance of Campsall's name with the title "Master of Theology" is in a record of the confirmation of Henry de Gower as Chancellor on the 18 October, 1322.¹⁷ On the 14 June, 1323, he is qualified with the title which the English translation of the Worcester *Liber Albus* renders as "professor of sacred scripture",¹⁸ a translation, undoubtedly, of the mediaeval professor *sacrae paginæ* which is equivalent to "professor of Theology" since the university organization of our period did not separate, although it did distinguish, the disciplines of Theology and Scripture. In the next year there is a record of fifteen *solidi* annual rent paid by Master Richard of Campsall to Oseney Abbey for a lecture hall.¹⁹

What seems to have been the high point in our theologian's Oxford career occurred in 1325/26 when a town and gown dispute was the occasion of his appointment as commissary to take the place of the Chancellor.²⁰ The dispute and its solution is a vignette of mediaeval university life and has been preserved in official record by the public notary. The mayor of Oxford, William of Burcester, without the consent of the Chancellor, William of Alburywyke, and

¹³ H. E. Salter, *Snappé's Formulary and Other Records* (OHS, Oxford, 1924), p. 66: Memorandum quod viii Idus Aprilis anno domini MCCCV octavo apud Tingehurst magistri Ricardus de Cestria in decretis, Willenus de Ichen in iure civili, ac Ricardus de Camsale in artibus apud Oxoniam actualiter regentes coram episcopo personaliter constituti, exhibuerunt ei literam Universitatis Oxoniae clausam sub hac forma . . . (p. 67) . . . magistrum Ricardum de Camsale officium procuratoris nostre Universitatis . . . faciendum. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 325 for the editor's remarks on this document.

¹⁴ G. C. Brodrick, *Memorials of Merton College with Biographical Notices of the Wardens and Fellows* (OHS, Oxford, 1885), p. 175: Richard Camsale (or Kamshall), S.T.P. He was an eminent theologian, originally of Balliol College. He was Commissary or Vice-Chancellor of the University in 1225 (sic). He gave books to the College, and was buried in the Chapel under a marble tablet, inscribed with "Saxon" characters.

¹⁵ *Merton Muniments*, p. 26, ll. 96-97: Socii quoque dicte congregationis, sicuti usque ad vite exterminium socii fuerunt in convictu, sic et, ubi simul egerint, cum suis sociis atque confratribus, ecclesiasticam in sua morte habeant sepulturam.

¹⁶ *Oxford Deeds of Balliol*, p. 285, sub 570: Acta sunt ista in aula de Balliolo . . . die sancte Margarete virginis (25 July, 1325) . . . presentibus magistris sacre theologie doctoribus magistro Ricardo de Camsale et magistro

Waltero de Horkestaw una cum magistris Ricardo filio Radulphi et Ricardo de Retford qui omnes quondam dictæ domus socii extiterunt.

¹⁷ *Snappé's Formulary*, p. 71: Memorandum quod xv Kal. Novembris anno domini MCCXXII apud Quappelade magistri Ricardus de Camsale sacre theologie professor

¹⁸ J. M. Wilson, *The Worcester Liber Albus* (SPCK, London, 1920), p. 202.

¹⁹ H. E. Salter, *The Cartulary of Oseney Abbey III* (OHS, Oxford, 1931), p. 154: A. (i.e. annual rent) xv s. Schole super seldas per mag. R. de Campsale.

²⁰ The event was evidently known to Wardeyn Brodrick (*v. supra*, note 14) and has merited Campsall's name a place in the list of Vice-Chancellors given in *The Historical Register of the University of Oxford to the End of the Trinity Term 1888* (Oxford, 1888), p. 21; the editors remark on the custom of appointing a temporary Vice-Chancellor for a particular act and Campsall's 1325 appointment is adduced as an instance of this procedure: the same incident is recounted in Brian Twyn, *Antiquitatis Academiae Oxoniensis Apologia* (Oxford, 1608), p. 302; it is referred to in Professor Powicke's notice, *v. supra*, note 2. I have given the date as 1325/26 because the process overlaps the 1 January, 1326 but contemporary notices, in accordance with the Mediaeval English calendar simply date it as 1325.

indeed against the express prohibition of that "reverend and discreet man", moved the town pillory from its proper and accustomed place to a new location unsanctioned by custom. For this act of contempt, the Chancellor excommunicated the mayor and he in his turn appealed against this sentence in writing to the Regent Masters. Richard of Campsall was assigned to act in the Chancellor's name and the mayor and a train of burghers appeared before him. After an amicable discussion, the mayor agreed to withdraw his appeal to the Regents and to request absolution from our Master of Theology. He was accordingly absolved and conceded both that he had infringed the privileges of the University and that the pillory should be moved again, this time to a place agreed upon by Campsall and himself. All parties went to the pillory and agreed to move it six feet nearer the North Gate (at the end of the modern Corn-market Street)—a judgment of Solomon with which, the notary adds, the mayor and burghers complied within a fortnight.²¹

Our last certain notation on the career of Richard of Campsall is the information that he was buried in the choir of Saint John's Church, the chapel of Merton from 1292, in a grave which was still identifiable in the seventeenth century thanks to a marble slab which carried an inscription partly in Latin and partly in "Saxon" characters. Only the Latin portion has been transcribed and this, unfortunately, does not include the date of Campsall's death.²² The marble slab has disappeared. About 1671 some stones from this part of the choir were moved to the transepts but a survey by the Merton authorities in 1890 failed to identify the tombstone of Richard of Campsall.²³ His burial in the Merton chapel, as we have already remarked, indicates that he remained a Fellow of Merton until his death and from this it must be concluded that he did not become a Franciscan as has been suggested.²⁴

Hence the following dates, supported by secure documentary evidence, may be assigned for the career of Richard of Campsall:

- (1) before 1306: Fellow of Balliol; after 1306: Fellow of Merton.
- (2) 1308: Regent Master in Arts.
- (3) 1322: Regent Master in Theology.
- (4) 1325/26: *locum tenens* for the Chancellor.

This meagre outline, however, can be supplemented by some highly probable inferences. First, as to the date on which he became a Master in Theology. In February, 1314, the Chancellor, Henry of Harclay, and eleven Regent Masters in Theology condemned eight articles as heretical.²⁵ The phrasing of the record in the Chancellor's Book suggests that this solemn act at the Austin Friars was the work of all the Regent Masters of the faculty and it is improbable that any Regent Master in Theology could have abstained. Campsall's name is not among the signatures and hence it is probable that he was not a Master in Theology at that date. Since he had that grade in 1322, we have the period 1314-1322 as the

²¹ The full text of the Notary's report of this incident is printed in H. Anstey, *Munimenta Academica I*, 'Libri Chancellarii et Procuratorum' (Rolls Series, London, 1868), pp. 113-117.

²² J. Gutch, A. Wood, *The History and Antiquities of the Colleges and Halls in the University of Oxford* (Oxford, 1786), pp. 23-24; the text of the inscription given by the editors is: *Orate pro anima Magistri Ricardi de Camsale sacre pagine professor . . . hic jacet tumulatum.*

²³ This information also is available thanks to the courtesy of the librarian of Merton College who refers to H. Hurst, *An Account of the Sepulchral Monuments in the Chapel of Merton College* (M.S., 1890), p. 43.

²⁴ Thus Victorin Doucet, O.F.M. 'L'oeuvre scolaistique de Richard de Conington, O.F.M.',

Archivum Franciscanum Historicum, xxix (1936), 420, note 4; recent information permits me to say that Father Doucet has abandoned this identification of Richard of Campsall as a Franciscan in favor of his identification as a diocesan cleric as proposed here.

²⁵ Anstey, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 100-102: *Isti articuli subscripti fuerunt reprobati tanquam erronei a Magistris theologiae Universitatis Oxonie anno Domini 1314 mense Februarii . . . Sciendum quod hi Magistri erant tunc regentes in theologia, qui omnes unanimi consensu decreverunt articulos praedictos esse haereticos . . .*

H. Rashdall, (F. M. Powicke, A. B. Emden edd.) *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages III* (Oxford, 1935), pp. 158-159.

period when he most likely attained that rank. Further, since we know that in 1308 he was a Regent in Arts and that for a Master in Arts to attain the full license in Theology required about nine years of study and academic exercises, we may assume that nine years of successful work in Theology ended for Campsall in the period 1314-1322, most likely between 1314 and 1317 since a later date would imply that he either took more than the usual time or did not at once begin the work leading to the degree of Master in Theology. Working back from this, we can assign the years 1305-1308 as the most probable for the attainment of the license in Arts. Since a Master in Arts had spent about three years from his "determination" as Bachelor,²⁷ Campsall's degree of Bachelor in Arts was most probably granted between 1302 and 1305 and we have seen that the document which refers to him as *Dominus*, the normal title of the Bachelor,²⁸ must be placed on other considerations before 1306. Because the age of students entering the University varied so widely, we can hardly work back to the date of his birth from these dates but it does not seem too much to assume that a date of birth in the penultimate decade of the thirteenth century would account for the probable dates of his various academic grades.

As for the date of his death, the evidence is even less satisfactory. The only reasonably secure evidence is based upon a catalogue of theological books in the Merton Library which Professor Powicke edited as "T" in the study we have had occasion to cite. This list includes the titles of five volumes and their previous owner is put down as Richard of Campsall.²⁹ Now since it is improbable that a professor should dispose of his books during his lifetime—and here we are dealing with the rare and enormously expensive mediaeval codices—and since it was provided by statute that a Fellow of Merton should leave his books to the College at his death,³⁰ we may infer that Campsall died before the catalogue was completed. The catalogue, unfortunately, is not dated, but the editor has tentatively assigned it to a point between 1350-1360 on the ground that it contains no mention of books which are known to have come to the College in the third quarter of the century.³¹

Consequently, the extreme dates 1280-1290 and 1350-1360 are submitted as probable dates for Richard of Campsall's birth and death.

²⁷ C. E. Mallet, *A History of the University of Oxford I* (London, 1924), p. 188, note 5; The clerk who did not proceed beyond the Bachelor's degree was styled *Dominus*, in English *Dan*, *Dompte* or *Sir* . . .

²⁸ Powicke, *op. cit.*, p. 3, where "T" is described as a catalogue of theological books containing 250 entries; p. 114 for the listing of the volumes which previously belonged to Richard of Campsall, a psalter, two volumes of Augustine, a volume of Anselm, and one of Hugh of St. Victor.

²⁹ *Injunctions of Archbishop Kilwardby, 1276*, ed. H. W. Garrod, (Oxford, 1929), p. 14: *Condicitor est insuper concessum et statutum ut scholares dictam domum ingressi et dictam domum ingredientes, Libri sui quos secum attulerint et Libros quos ibi commorantes perquisierint dictae domui remaneant in forma subscripta viz. ut si ii qui in eadem domo commorantes in fata decesserint, aero alieno onerentur, debita sua de bonis suis ac etiam de libris quis quatenus opus fuerit, per visum Custodis seu Vice-Custodis persolvantur. Residuum autem dictorum librorum, si quod fuerit, dictae domui remanebit. Si vero Religionis habitum assumpserint, Libri eorum dictae domui ad usum [Sociorum suorum] Scholarium*

suorum remaneant omnino. Quod si beneficium uberioris aut gradum uberiorem assecuti fuerint, per quod extra dictam Societatem studio vident, aut in suis Beneficiis recideant, aut etiam ad aliorum obsequium se transferant, Libros suos habeant ad usum summa ita quod in morte sua Libros suos aut justam compensationem dictae domui relinquant.

Cf. *ibid.*, p. 8, the remarks of the editor on the effect of these provisions: Kilwardby enacts, in effect, that the books of individual Fellows are ultimately the property of the College; and it is probably to this statutory injunction that the College owed its wealth of books which compares remarkably with that of similar institutions.

³⁰ Professor Powicke's reasons for this dating are given, *op. cit.*, p. 3: The date is 1350-60 . . . not before 1350 is proved by the inclusion of an entry describing Bradwardine's treatise *De Causa Dei* (no. 158) as 'summa domini Cantuariensis de causa dei contra pelagios', i.e. . . . after (his) . . . brief tenure . . . (as Archbishop of Canterbury) 1349 . . . the date is 1350-60, for none of the existing books which are known to have been given to the college in the third quarter of the century are mentioned.

II.

The following sparse indications may be given as to the works of Richard of Campsall:

(1) Every mediaeval Master in Theology had been a Bachelor of the *Sentences* and it is to be presumed that Richard of Campsall published his *Commentary on the Sentences* since references to his opinions found in contemporary authors seem to derive from such a *Commentary* with one exception. The single exception is a citation by Adam of Woodham of an opinion which he attributes to "Campsall and Ockham in their ordinary responses", i.e., in the academic exercise of *responsiones*.³¹ But Campsall's *Commentary on the Sentences* is not known to be extant.

(2) A *Commentary on the Elements of Euclid*. This work, otherwise unknown, is mentioned by Holcot.³²

(3) *XVI Dicta Venerabilis Ricardi de Capsalis*. This is a brief treatise on the divine foreknowledge, printed in the 1496 Bologna edition of the *Expositio Aurea* of William of Ockham and has been noted by Prantl³³ and Böhner.³⁴

(4) *Questiones super 3 libr' phisicorum*. This work and the one following are listed in the catalogue of Saint Augustine's, Canterbury, under the name "Master Richard of Campsall" but the editor of the catalogue has not succeeded in finding any trace of them after the surrender of the monastery to the Crown.³⁵

(5) *Notabilitates eiusdem super omnes libros phisicorum*.

(6) *Questiones dicte a Ricardo de Camsal super librum Priorum Analetorum*. This work is extant in one manuscript, Gonville and Caius, 668*, fols. 76a-117b.³⁶ It has not, to my knowledge, been edited.

(7) *Logica Campsale Anglici valde utilis et realis contra Ocham*. This work, extant in one manuscript (v. *supra*, note 1), is written in answer to Ockham's *Summa Logicae* and contains the author's reply to all of the *pars prima* of Ockham's *Summa* but breaks off at the foot of a page refuting the *pars secunda*. The description *valde utilis et realis contra Ocham* is extremely apt; from the point of view of its utility to the anti-Ockhamist, the work undertakes to provide a counter-demonstration for each stage of the Venerable Inceptor's argument and all this is done in the name of a realism of common natures. Although the testimony of the single extant manuscript of the work is accepted in attributing this *Logica* to Richard of Campsall, the attribution must remain tentative until the problem presented by certain citations of Campsall in contemporary theologians has been resolved.

III.

If Campsall is almost unknown to us, he enjoyed no small fame among his own contemporaries and the tone of their citations suggests that his name was respected as well as known.

³¹ Ms. Vat. Lat. 955, fols. 182^v-183^r: . . . et ideo sit ibi fallacia accidentis sicut dixit Campsall et Ockham in suis responsionibus ordinariis.

³² Ms. Cambridge, Pembroke College, (a quodlibetal question of Holcot), 236, fol. 152^v: . . . Patet instantia, tertio Elementorum Euclidii, propositione 15 in Commento Camp. This reference, as well as that mentioned in note 40, is available thanks to Father Joseph Wey, C.S.B., Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto.

³³ C. Prantl, *Geschichte der Logik im Abendlande* IV (Leipzig, 1927), pp. 97-98; cf. note 387, p. 98. Prantl has followed the spelling "Capsalis" of the 1496 edition of the

Expositio Aurea of Ockham in which the horizontal stroke over the letter "a" which would make the name "Campsalis" is missing.

³⁴ Ph. Böhner, O.F.M., *Tractatus de Praedestinatione et de Praescientia Dei et de Futuris Contingentibus* of William Ockham (St. Bonaventure, N.Y., 1945), p. 87.

³⁵ M. R. James, op. cit., p. 363: *Questiones magri Rici de Campsale super 3 libr' phisicorum / Notabilitates breves eiusdem super omnes libros phisicorum*.

³⁶ M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Gonville and Caius College II* (Cambridge, 1908), pp. 665 sqq.

To begin with the most obscure, three anonymous *Commentaries on the Sentences*, all three as yet unedited, contain references to the opinions of Campsall. One of these, preserved in a Florence manuscript, contains a solution of the question: Whether the will is a free or necessary principle of its own acts? which is identified as the response of Campsall.²⁷ Another, extant in a Vatican manuscript, informs us that an English doctor named Campsall held that intuitive and abstractive knowledge are the same, but in succession and not simultaneously.²⁸ The third, also in a Vatican manuscript, is described as containing references to the same author.²⁹

In addition to these citations in anonymous works, four known authors have referred to the teaching of Campsall and research will undoubtedly multiply such references. The first of the four is Robert Holcot, O.P. (d. 1349), who, in his *Commentary on the Sentences*, reports our author as holding that "if no rose exists, the proposition 'a rose is understood' is false".³⁰ The same author, in a quodlibetal question refers to a *Commentary* on the third book of the *Elements of Euclid* by an author whose name, as abbreviated by the scribe, seems to be Campsall.³¹ Reference to this otherwise unknown work of Campsall has already been made in the listing of his works.

The English Carmelite, John Baconsthorpe, "recites" an Ockhamist opinion in his *Commentary on the Sentences* and the marginal notation in one manuscript, "Camsale", has suggested that this opinion is to be attributed to our author.³² But this opinion, which comes from the *Summa Logicae* of Ockham, is expressly refuted by the author of the *Logica* attributed to Campsall. This is the first considerable objection to the definitive attribution of the *Logica* to Richard of Campsall but it is not impossible to resolve the apparent opposition. Since it is simply a marginal notation, the word "Camsale" might well be intended to suggest a source for the refutation of the Ockhamist position.³³

Both the 1512 Paris edition of Adam of Wodham's *Commentary on the Sentences* as abbreviated by Henry de Oyta and the Vatican manuscript of the original work³⁴ contain references to Campsall which appear to be derived from that theologian's *Commentary on the Sentences*. It is of some interest that one reveals Campsall as something of a practical psychologist in his reflections on acquired habits which result in well-behaved dogs and children and on whether such habits affect the freedom of the will;³⁵ another presents under our author's name the position that since virtue is concerned with what is difficult.

²⁷ Ms Flor. Nat., conv. supp. A. 3.508, fols. 147^c-154^a.

²⁸ Ms Vat. Lat. 4284, fols. 1^a-188^b; fol. 52^a: Quidam doctor Anglicus qui vocatur camp-sale ponit quod eadem res est notitia intuitiva et abstractiva, successive tamen et non simul.

²⁹ Ms Vat. Lat. 986; cf. Pelzer, *Codices Vaticani Latini I*, p. 458; the reference to our theologian as "Compsaley" occurs on fol. 28^v.

³⁰ A text established by Father Wey, (*v. supra*, note 32) by comparing Ms Balliol 71, fol. 145^a, Oriel 15, fol. 206^v, and B. M. Royal 10.C. vi, fol. 130^v of Holcot's *Commentary* reads: Tenet Campsale quod haec est falsa: 'rosa intelligitur', rosa non existente, et sua opposita est vera, viz. 'nulla rosa intelligitur' . . .

³¹ *v. supra*, note 32; the abbreviation "Camp" should, it seems, be read "Campsale", if for no other reason, for want of another name which it would fit.

³² B. M. Xiberta, *De magistro Iohanne Baconsthorpe O. Carmelitarum* (Rome, 1927), p. 117: Est alius qui reputat se hoc efficaciter demonstrare, CAMSALE [Richardus Camp-

sall], sic: Si relatio esset alia res a fundamento, igitur tot res generantur uno actu quo relationes; sed quando moveo digitum acquiruntur infinitae relationes, quia acquiruntur infinitae distantiae . . . et sic apparet inopinabile sequitur, quod ad motum digitum unius impleretur mundus infinitis rebus⁴. Note 4: In i Sent., d. 28, q. 1. Nomen doctoris legitur tantum in margine codicis Londonensis.

³³ The argument is termed an Ockhamist position on the strength of its appearance in the Venerable Inceptor's *Summa Logicae* I, 50, in the ed. of Ph. Böhner O. F. M. (St. Bonaventure, N.Y., Louvain, 1951), p. 145. ll. 8-16; the answer in the *Logica* attributed to Campsall is to be found on fol. 64^r, l. 41-64^v, l. 5.

³⁴ The printed "abbreviatio" referred to is: Adam de Wodham, *Lectura in Libros Sententiarum, Opus ab Henrico de Oyta Contractum* (Paris, 1512); a copy of this work is preserved in the Paris Bibl. Nat., R XVI 662. The Vatican manuscript referred to is: Vat. Lat. 955.

³⁵ Vat. Lat. 955, fol. 39^v.

it increases in proportion to the difficulty it overcomes;⁴⁶ in another an *ars Camsale* is set out for the detection of certain paralogisms in the theological exposition of the Trinity and this use of Logic in Theology is attributed both to Ockham and to Campsall "in their ordinary responses"⁴⁷—an association of the two names which must be considered in resolving the problem of the attribution of the *Logica*.

Campsall's name, along with those of many other contemporary theologians, appears eight times in the very elaborate table of contents of one Paris manuscript of the *Commentary on the Sentences* of Walter of Chatton, O.F.M.⁴⁸ This author's citations of Campsall raise the same problem as does that of Baconsthorp with respect to the authenticity of the *Logica*. Walter of Chatton attributes five opinions to Campsall and of the five, two can be controlled by comparison with the *Logica*—first, Whether God is in a genus? and second, Whether there exist real relations? In each case the "Ockhamist" position—that God is in a genus and that there are no real relations—is attributed by Chatton's scribe to Richard of Campsall whereas the opposite solutions are proposed and defended by the author of the *Logica*.⁴⁹ The thorny question, therefore, of the doctrinal orientation of Campsall involves the solution of the problem posed by the attribution of the anti-Ockhamist *Logica* to this theologian and the attribution to the same man of definitively Ockhamist positions by the Baconsthorp and Chatton manuscripts. At the present stage of research no categorical answer is possible.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, fols. 39^r; 39^v; cf. fol. 33^r.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, fols. 182^v; 183^r; *v. supra*, note 31.

⁴⁸ The manuscript referred to is Paris, Bibl. Nat., Lat. 15881; cf. L. Baudry, Gauthier de Chatton et son commentaire des *Sentences*, *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge XIV* (1943-1945), 333-339; Baudry mentions that Campsall's name is cited "five times" (p. 345), actually it occurs eight times.

⁴⁹ Ms. cit., fol. 3^{rb}, ll. 32-33; fol. 35^{vb}, ll. 21-34 and fol. 62^{ra}, ll. 42-46; the author of the *Logica* takes a negative position on the

first issue, (*v. supra*, note 1), fol. 26^r, ll. 9-11; Ad primum istorum dico quod Deus non est in genere, neque ab eo potest abstrahi conceptus 'differentiae'—loquendo de 'differentia' proprie dicta—et per consequens nec sibi competit definitio. He denies the second, fol. 60^r, ll. 16-21: Quantum ad primum dico quod relatio realis est aliquid praecedens omnem intentionem, etiam duratione, ducens intellectum de necessitate naturae secundum se totum ad cognoscendum aliquid ab ipso distinctum realiter.

Mary Legends in Italian Manuscripts in the Major Libraries of Italy

SISTER MARY VINCENTINE GRIPKEY S.C.L.

I. Manuscripts of Mary Legends in Italian: Group I.

1. INTRODUCTORY SURVEY

In his monumental work, 'Studien zu den mittelalterlichen Marienlegenden,' Adolf Mussafia listed Mary legends in Latin and Old French which are found in manuscript form in the libraries on the continent. H. L. D. Ward analyzed the contents of similar manuscripts in the British Museum, and J. A. Herbert supplemented this catalogue¹ after examining Mary legends inserted in the *exempla* of writers of the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries. A. Poncelet in his *Index miraculorum*² registered the *initia* of almost two thousand Marian tales found in the Latin collections prior to the fifteenth century. Louis Villecourt³ has made a study of the legends in Arabic. Frequently manuscript collections are described in notes appended to the various editions of Mary legends.⁴

No scholar had investigated the Mary legends in Italian until Ezio Levi d'Ancona in the introduction to *Il libro dei cinquanta miracoli della Vergine*⁵ made a survey of manuscripts containing the 'miracoli della Madonna.' He listed thirty-seven to be found in the libraries of Italy. It was not his purpose to analyze the individual legends. Although he gave the prologues to such collections as have them, and occasionally presented the titles of legends and their *incipits*, the identification is usually too vague for the careful scholar. Moreover, he failed to show accurately the relation between the manuscripts and omitted several of importance.

This study will supplement the information given by Levi, omitting a description of manuscripts already given in his work or in inventories indicated by him, and attempting to arrange the manuscripts in related groups. To his list of thirty-seven manuscripts two most important for the subject of manuscript relations have been added: *Mss Florence, Bib. Medicea Laurenziana Ashburnham 546* and *Milan, Bib. Ambrosiana P. 172 sup.* Included also are two of minor importance: *Mss Florence, Bib. Riccardiana 1354* and *Riccardiana 1676*.⁶ Manuscript sigla adopted by Levi, even for the manuscripts of the Vatican Library, are retained and whenever possible the captions of the various legends are those first used by Mussafia and Ward.

Mussafia divided the earliest of the Latin legends into three groups: (1) *HM*,

¹ *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien* (phil.-hist. Kl.), CXIII (1886); CXV (1887); CXIX (1889); CXXIII (1890); CXXXIX (1898). These articles are here designated as *Studien I, II, III, IV, V.*

² *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum II* (London, 1890); *ibid.*, III (London, 1910).

³ 'Miraculorum B. Virginis Mariae quae saec. VI-XV latine conscripta sunt index postea perficiendus,' *Analecta Bollandiana*, XXI (1902), 214-360.

⁴ 'Les collections arabes des miracles de la sainte Vierge,' *Analecta Bollandiana*, XLII (1924), 31-68, 266-87.

⁵ The most recent edition is that of Evelyn Faye Wilson who also makes a thorough

study of collections of Mary legends made in Northern France in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, cf. *The Stella Maris of John of Garland* (Mediaeval Academy of America Publication, 45, Cambridge, Mass., 1946), pp. 3-76.

⁶ Bologna, 1917, pp. liv-lxxxiii.

⁷ The writer had to discontinue her research at the outbreak of the war in 1939. She did not examine *Mss Verona, Bib. Comunale 1224* (V²) and *Rome, Bib. Angelica 1983* (Ra). Fortunately, the one legend in the Veronese manuscript can be identified from Levi's description (cf. *infra*, Group I, n.128); Ra contains miraculous occurrences localized at Lucca and unrelated to the legends considered in this study (cf. *infra*, Group V, F¹⁰, no. 107 and n. 184).

a series of seventeen legends, beginning with the 'Hildefonsus' legend and ending with 'Murielis'; (2) the series of four elements with the 'Jew of Bourges' (fire), 'Theophilus' (air), 'Childbirth in the Sea' (water), and 'Julian and St. Basil' (earth); (3) TS, a series of seventeen, beginning with the 'Toledo' legend and ending with 'Saturday'. He used as the starting point of his investigations a collection which he designated as Pez,⁸ and which in its original form consisted of forty-two numbers.

These legends of the eleventh and twelfth centuries recur in later Latin and Old French collections in almost the same arrangement. However, those in Italian are later in date, and while the compilers frequently include these popular legends, they no longer observe the original order. During the last decades of the fourteenth century and the early part of the fifteenth, the compilations were enriched with many tales from vernacular collections and cloister records. Heterogeneous as they may seem, it is possible to divide the Italian manuscripts into at least four groups in which a series of tales recur in the same sequence.

Group I: a series of eighty-one legends called the *Libro del Naufragio* found in MSS. Florence, Bib. Medicea Laurenziana Ashburnham 546, Florence, Bib. Riccardiana 1284, Vatican City, Vat. Barberiniano lat. 4032, Milan, Bib. Ambrosiana P. 172 sup., Rome, Bib. Casanatense 281, and also in part in the shorter MSS. Florence, Bib. Naz. *Palatino* LIII and *Palatino* CXXXVII, Florence, Bib. Riccardiana 1345 and Riccardiana 1406.

Group II: a series of thirty-three legends found in MSS. Florence, Bib. Riccardiana 1431, Riccardiana 1408, and used in part by the compilers of Florence, Bib. Naz. *Magliabechiano* XXXVIII.70, Florence, Bib. Naz. *Palatino* LXXIII, Vatican City, Vat. Barberiniano lat. 4032, and Vatican City, Vat. lat. 8085.

Group III: a series called the *Libro del Cavaliere* found in most Italian incunabula, in MSS. Naples, Bib. Naz. xii.F.25, Padua, Bib. Antoniana 220, and used by the compilers of Florence, Bib. Naz. *Magliabechiano* XXXVIII.70, Vatican City, Vat. Barberiniano lat. 4032, and Florence, Bib. Riccardiana 1277.

Group IV: a series found in the first parts of MSS. Florence, Bib. Naz. *Magliabechiano* XXXVIII.70, and Vatican City, Vat. Barberiniano lat. 4032.

Group V: occasional Mary legends in twenty-one miscellaneous manuscripts.

2. ANALYSIS OF GROUP I.

*FLa*⁹—Ashburnham 546, an early fifteenth-century manuscript, acquired by the Italian government in 1884 from the successor to the Earl of Ashburnham, is now in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana at Florence.¹⁰ The eighty-one legends occupy the first ninety-two folios.

*Fr*¹¹—Riccardiano 1284,¹² also at Florence in the Biblioteca Riccardiana, is a fifteenth-century manuscript, containing eighty-one¹³ Mary legends on fol. 2-79. The first folio is mutilated.

Ma—Ambrosiano P. 172 sup., a fifteenth-century manuscript, once in the

⁸ *Studien* I, pp. 22-30 and III, p. 5. The Latin collection, published by Bernhard Pez in 1731, has been reprinted by Thomas Frederick Crane, *Liber de miraculis sanctae Dei genitricis Mariae* (Ithaca, 1925).

⁹ A perusal of MS. Ashburnham 546 reveals no clue as to the compiler, copyist, or exact date. The first indication of ownership is on the protective leaf of parchment, where Giovanni Mazzuoli, called 'Lo Stradino,' leaves this note: 'El qual libro lo chavai di Parma quando pigliamo d'essa la parte di là dal fiume chol . . . esercito della Santità di N. S. Leone decimo. This would be before 1515 as Leo X (Pope 1513-1521) withdrew papal troops from Parma in that year, when for political reasons Parma passed

into the hands of Francis I of France. The manuscript, written in Italy in an early fifteenth-century hand, consists of 139 leaves of paper. The first six folios and fol. 139 are blurred by humidity; although the first folio is mutilated, the legend can be identified. Fol. 31 is blank but the tale continues on 32. There is imperfect foliation after fol. 24, running 24, 26, 25, 27. Fol. 93 begins the life of St. Mary of Egypt, and lives of other saints follow.

¹⁰ S. Morpurgo, *I manoscritti della R. Biblioteca Riccardiana di Firenze; I codici italiani* I (Rome, 1900), p. 344; Levi, op. cit., p. lxiii.

¹¹ Levi, following the error of Morpurgo, gives eighty, loc. cit.

possession of Frederic Cardinal Borromeo¹² and now in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana at Milan, contains eighty-two legends of the Blessed Virgin on fols. 1-81.

Rc—Casanatense 281 (formerly C.iv.4),¹³ an early fifteenth-century manuscript, containing eight-three 'miracles' on fols. 4-117, is in the Biblioteca Casanatense at Rome.

Rv³—Vat. Barb. lat. 4032 (formerly xvl.128) in the Vatican Library is a compilation of 187 legends (fols. 11-123) made by Duccio di Gano of Pisa in the late fourteenth or more probably in the fifteenth century.¹⁴ Nos. 128-187 are from this series.

Fp²—Palatino LIII, a fifteenth-century manuscript in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale at Florence, contains forty-one¹⁵ Marian tales (fols. 1-56) of which thirty-nine are from Group I.

Fr²—Riccardiano 1345,¹⁶ a fifteenth-century manuscript in the Biblioteca Riccardiana at Florence, is the work of a Brigittine Nun (fol. 90). It contains forty-three legends (fols. 121-147), thirty-six being from Group I.

Fp⁴—Palatino CXXXVII¹⁷ is a fifteenth-century manuscript in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale at Florence, containing six 'miracles' (fols. 23^v-38^v) of which four are from Group I, and two in Group IV.

Fr³—Riccardiano 1406 in the Biblioteca Riccardiana is dated 1460.¹⁸ It contains two legends from Group I (fols. 78-82^v).

3. THE CONTENT OF EACH LEGEND IN GROUP I.

1. PILGRIM IN THE SEA.¹⁹ Pilgrims bound for Jerusalem are shipwrecked. From his small boat a bishop sees their souls ascend to heaven in the form of doves. One pilgrim calls upon Mary who wraps her cloak about him and brings him to

¹² The manuscript was formerly in the possession of the Canonesses Regular of St. Augustine at the Convent of S. Maria Annunziata in Porta Nuova in Milan (fol. 81^v). In 1603 it was given as a gift to Frederic Cardinal Borromeo who founded the Ambrosian Library in 1609. It is written in various hands with changes of script on fols. 19, 33, 33^v, 41, 49, and 67. Fols. 17-8, 30-2, and 40^v are lined but blank.

¹³ Levi, *op. cit.*, pp. lxxix-lxxxv.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. lxxix; D. Sante Pieralisi, *Inventarium codicum mss. Bibliothecae Barberinae XVI* (Rome, ca. 1902), p. 126. For Duccio di Gano and the date of Rv³, cf. *infra*, Group IV.

¹⁵ L. Gentile, *I codici Palatini I* (Rome, 1889), p. 61; Levi, *op. cit.*, pp. lix-lx. There are forty-one, not forty-three tales, as Levi records. Fol. 71 reads: *Iste liber scribit B.V.M. unius fratres (sic) fraternitas sancte B. orate pro eo.* It is possible that the copyist was a Brigittine monk, cf. *infra*, n.16.

¹⁶ S. Morpurgo, *op. cit.*, p. 405; Levi, *op. cit.*, p. lxiv. The supposition, that Fr² is the work of a Nun of the Order of St. Bridget, is based upon the words on fol. 90. Sermon angeli che revelato dall' angelo alla nostra madre Santa Bricida. The Monastery of Paradiso near Florence, founded in 1394 both for men and women, was a very active literary center at the beginning of the fifteenth century; cf. *Mss Riccardiano 1267* (fol. 190), 1507 (fol. 146), and 1625 (fol. 120); *Palatino XLIV* (fol. 183^v), *LIX* (fol. 158), and *CXLII* (fol. 1).

¹⁷ L. Gentile, *op. cit.*, I, p. 124; Levi, *op. cit.*, pp. lx-lxi. Giovanni Tortoli has printed the six 'miracles' in his uncritical edition, *Miracoli della Madonna e storia della Sam-*

ritana (Florence, 1898).

¹⁸ S. Morpurgo, *op. cit.*, pp. 444-5; Levi, *op. cit.*, p. lxiv. The copyist and date are known: Questo libro è di Bernardo di Iachopo di Piero di messer Antonio Machiavelli; el quale schrissi di mia propria mano a onore di Dio l'anno 1460. Deo grazias. See P. Litta, *Celebri famiglie italiane V* (Milan, 1819-1852), Tavola I, no pagination, for Antonio Machiavelli, married to Lisa di Piero and eldest son of Lorenzo Machiavelli, who was a public figure in Florence as late as 1439; also for Bernardo Machiavelli (b. 1428), jurist and father of the famous Niccolò Machiavelli (b. 1469).

¹⁹ Because T. F. Crane in his reprint of Pez and in his notes to Ms Cornell B. 14 in 'Miracles of the Virgin,' *Romanic Review* (indicated hereafter as RR), II (1911), 235-79 has made an exhaustive survey of variants in Latin and vernacular collections; and more recently Evelyn Faye Wilson in her notes to *The Stella Maris of John of Garland* gives a complete list of variants, the writer will frequently refer to these and to other scholarly editions of Mary legends. Precise indications will be made only to very early versions of the legend or to a particular collection which was in all probability the source, or to a collection omitted by editors. For 'Pilgrim in the Sea' cf. Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale* (Venice, 1494), VII, 88; Pez, no. 27, pp. 93-4; RR, II, no. 2, 242-3; E. F. Wilson, *op. cit.*, no. 10, pp. 166-7. To these references may be added Richard Becker, *Gonzalos Milagros und ihre Grundlagen mit einem Anhange: Mitteilungen aus der lat. Hs. Kopenhagen, Thott 128* (Strassburg, 1910), no. 24, pp. 81 ff.

land. *FLa²*, fol. 1 (incomplete in its present mutilated state); *Fr³* (fol. 1 is missing but the last part of the legend on fol. 2 shows correspondence); *Ma*, fol. 1; *Rc*, fol. 4; *Rv³*, no. 128, fol. 65^v; *Fp²*, fol. 1; *Fr⁵*, fol. 121.

2. LIGHT ON THE MASTHEAD.²⁰ During a storm on the 'mare di Bretagna' passengers on board a ship invoke various saints. A bishop prevails upon them to pray to the Blessed Virgin. Thereupon a light appears above the mast and the storm ceases. *FLa²*, fol. 1; *Fr³*, fol. 2; *Ma*, fol. 1^v; *Rc*, fol. 5^v; *Rv³*, no. 129, fol. 66; *Fp²*, fol. 2; *Fr⁵*, fol. 121^v.

3. HOURS SUNG DAILY.²¹ A clerk, visiting a monastery, is surprised to find the Hours of the Virgin sung in solemn chant. He is told by a monk that it is in gratitude to Mary who interceded for him in a vision of judgment which prompted him to amend his life. *FLa²*, fol. 1^v; *Fr³*, fol. 2^v; *Ma*, fol. 2^v; *Rc*, fol. 6; *Rv³*, no. 130, fol. 66^v; *Fp²*, fol. 3; *Fr⁵*, fol. 122.

4. 120 AVES DAILY; SAVED FROM DROWNING.²² A young girl accustomed to salute Mary by saying 120 Aves daily is requested by the Virgin to say the prayers more slowly, particularly the words, *Dominus tecum*, and to prepare for her death within eight days. Because of the vision the girl's mother hangs a picture of Mary in a place of honor. When her son falls into the river, she has recourse to the Virgin and sees him walk upon the water to safety. *FLa²*, fol. 2^v; *Fr³*, fol. 3^v; *Ma*, fol. 4; *Rc*, fol. 7; *Rv³*, no. 131, fol. 67; *Fp²*, fol. 4^v; *Fr⁵*, omitted; *Fp⁴*, fol. 28^v.

5. TWO DEVILS IN PRISON.²³ At the instigation of the evil spirit a monk and a pious woman are led to elope. Overtaken, they are placed in prison. Because of their deep contrition Mary releases them and makes two devils take their place. *FLa²*, fol. 3^v; *Fr³*, fol. 4; *Ma*, fol. 4; *Rc*, omitted; *Rv³*, no. 132, fol. 68; *Fp²*, fol. 5; *Fr⁵*, fol. 122^v.

6. ROBBER SLAPPED.²⁴ Thieves in England attempt to remove a gold image of the Christ-Child from a statue of the Virgin. They are felled by a blow from her hand and her arm remains extended until they are chastised. *FLa²*, fol. 6; *Fr³*, fol. 5^v; *Ma*, fol. 6; *Rc*, fol. 8; *Rv³*, no. 133, fol. 69; *Fp²*, fol. 7^v; *Fr⁵*, fol. 123^v.

7. PAINTER: BABY SAVED.²⁵ This is a strange combination of two unrelated tales. The devil, enraged to find an artist painting him most hideous and the Virgin most beautiful, blows down the scaffolding. The Virgin in the picture stretches out her arm and saves the artist. A mother, bathing her babe in lukewarm water over a stove, leaves the child while she investigates a crash outside her home. When she returns, the water is boiling, but the baby is uninjured. *FLa²*, fol. 6; *Fr³*, fol. 5^v; *Ma*, fol. 6; *Rc*, fol. 8^v; *Rv³*, omitted; *Fp²*, fol. 8; *Fr⁵*, omitted; *Fp⁴*, fol. 29^v.

8. BARNS FILLED.²⁶ During a period of famine, monks in an abbey in Jerusalem

²⁰ Vincent of Beauvais, *op. cit.*, vii, 89. Cf. Pez, no. 28, p. 94; RR, II, no. 3, 243-4; R. Becker, *op. cit.*, no. 25, p. 83. In the Latin and Old French collections the first and second tales are usually found as one or in sequence. See Jean Miélot, *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, ed. G. F. Warner for the Roxburgh Club (Westminster, 1885), no. xxxiii where the two legends are combined.

²¹ Cf. Pez, no. 34, p. 98; Introduction to Miélot, no. xxxv; E. F. Wilson, *op. cit.*, no. 23, pp. 180-1. See also *infra*, Group V, *Fr¹⁰*, no. 65.

²² This is a variant of the 'Eulalia' legend in which 150 Aves are said daily, cf. Musafia, *Studien I*, 942, no. 32; Pez, no. 32, p. 97; *infra*, Groups II, 6 and III, 7. The sequel, 'Saved from Drowning,' is peculiar to Group I of this study.

²³ The tale is related by Jacques de Vitry (ca. 1180-1240). For a conspectus of the history of this legend cf. *The Exempla or Illustrative Stories from the Sermones Vulgares of Jacques de Vitry*, ed. T. F. Crane

(London, 1890), no. ccxxxii, pp. 256-7. Variants are also listed by Alfons Hilka, *Die Wundergeschichten des Caesarius vom Heisterbach III* (Bonn, 1937), 175, n. 55. See also the Italian version, *Miracoli della gloriosa Vergine Maria*, ed. Piero Misciattelli (Milan, 1929), no. 59, pp. 154-9; *infra*, Groups III, 59 and V, *Fn⁶*, *Fp³*, no. 30, and *Fr¹*, no. 6.

²⁴ T. F. Crane, *ibid.*, no. eclxxvi, pp. 115-6 with variants on p. 255. Cf. *infra*, Groups II, 19, and V, *Fr¹⁰*, no. 133.

²⁵ The 'Painter' is a popular Mary legend, cf. E. F. Wilson, *op. cit.*, no. 54, pp. 204-5; A. Hilka, *op. cit.*, III, 184, no. 63; Villecourt, *op. cit.*, no. 74, p. 68 and no. 45, p. 280. Cf. P. Misciattelli, *op. cit.*, no. 10, pp. 23-4; *infra*, Group II, 14 and III, 10. The two tales in combination are found in *Ms Riccardiano* 1675, fols. 67-8; cf. *infra*, Group V, *Fr¹⁰*, no. 81.

²⁶ The earliest appearance of the legend is in *Gloria martyrum* of Gregory of Tours, cf. *Gregorii Turonensis opera II*, ed. Wilhelm Arndt and Bruno Krusch (Hanover, 1885),

pray to Mary and find their barns filled with wheat with which they are able to take care of the poor. *FLa²*, fol. 7; *Fr³*, fol. 6^v; *Ma*, fol. 7; *Rc*, fol. 9^v; *Rv³*, no. 134, fol. 69^v; *Fp²*, fol. 9; *Fr⁵*, fol. 124.

9. ALEXIUS IN THE MINE.²⁷ Emperor Aloya (Alexius III of Constantinople), while seeking silver and gold in a mine, is imprisoned by a fall of earth. Angels, at the command of the Virgin, supply his wants for a year during which his wife, the Empress Giordana, has daily Mass said for him. At the end of this time Mary instructs the bishop how to find him. *FLa²*, fol. 8; *Fr³*, fol. 7; *Ma*, fol. 8; *Rc*, fol. 10^v; *Rv³*, no. 135, fol. 70; *Fp²*, fol. 10^v; *Fr⁵*, fol. 125^v; *Fp⁴*, fol. 32.

10. DROWNED SACRISTAN.²⁸ A sacristan is drowned and because of his dissolute life is buried in unconsecrated ground. Mary appears to an elderly monk and orders that his body be buried honorably. As a sign of his repentance he will find three lilies growing from his mouth and upon his tongue the words *Ave Maria* in letters of gold. *FLa²*, fol. 9; *Fr³*, fol. 8; *Ma*, fol. 9; *Rc*, omitted; *Rv³*, no. 136, fol. 71; *Fp²*, fol. 12; *Fr⁵*, fol. 125^v.

11. MILK.²⁹ A canon named Caterio, devoted to Mary, suffers from cancer of the lips and tongue. They are healed when she anoints them with the milk of her breast. *FLa²*, fol. 10; *Fr³*, fol. 8^v; *Ma*, fol. 9^v; *Rc*, fol. 12; *Rv³*, no. 137, fol. 71^v; *Fp²*, fol. 12^v; *Fr⁵*, fol. 126.

12. VISION OF MARY WITH STS. MARTIN AND NICHOLAS.³⁰ The Virgin, accompanied by the Saints Martin and Nicholas, awakens a monk to chant the Office. Afterwards, because of his devotion, she foretells his happiness in eternity. *FLa²*, fol. 10^v; *Fr³*, fol. 9; *Ma*, fol. 10; *Rc*, fol. 12^v; *Rv³*, no. 138, fol. 72; *Fp²*, fol. 13^v; *Fr⁵*, fol. 126^v.

13. LOVE BY BLACK ART.³¹ A virtuous clerk wins the love of a young girl by renouncing his faith in a pact with the evil spirit. Having refused to deny the Mother of God, he is granted a vision of Mary at his wedding feast. Repentant, he obtains permission from the bishop to put away his bride and gives himself up to the service of God. *FLa²*, fol. 11^v; *Fr³*, fol. 10; *Ma*, fol. 11; *Rc*, fol. 14; *Rv³*, no. 139, fol. 72^v; *Fp²*, fol. 14^v; *Fr⁵*, fol. 127.

14. MARY'S NAME IN GOLD LETTERS.³² A monk scribe always letters the name of Mary in gold. Before his death she appears to tell him that his name is written in the Book of Life. *FLa²*, fol. 13^v; *Fr³*, fol. 12; *Ma*, fol. 12^v; *Rc*, fol. 16^v; *Rv³*, no. 140, fol. 74; *Fp²*, fol. 17^v; *Fr⁵*, fol. 128^v.

pp. 494-5 (9). Using Gregory as his source, Flooard (895-966) gives a metrical version in his work, *De triumphis Christi et ss. Palaestinae I*, 4; PL, 125, 495-6. For variants cf. E. F. Wilson, *op. cit.*, no. 6, pp. 160-1; Villecourt, *op. cit.*, no. 26, p. 275. See also P. Misiattelli, *op. cit.*, no. 21, pp. 59-60; *infra*, Group III, 21.

²⁷The tale is told as early as the eleventh century by Peter Damian (d. 1072) in his *Opusculum XXXIII: De Bono suffragiorum*, 5; PL 145, 567, and in the twelfth century by Peter the Venerable (d. 1156) in *De Miraculis II*, 2; PL, 189, 911. Cf. *RR*, II, no. 6, 246; J. Morawski, 'Mélanges de littérature pieuse: Les miracles de Notre-Dame en vers français, I-III' *Romania*, LXI (1935), 320, n. 5.

²⁸There are several versions of the 'Drowned Sacristan.' These are given exhaustive treatment by Franz Ritter, *Die Legende vom ertrunkenen Glöckner* (Strassburg, 1913); more briefly Crane makes a study of the distinctive features of each version in *RR*, II, no. 8, 249. See also E. F. Wilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 178-80.

²⁹Mussafia, *Studien* I, 44, notes that the miracle is recorded of an inhabitant of

Nevers, named Gregory in the *Ms Paris*, Bib. nat. 14463 (SV). This agrees with the text of *Rv³*, fol. 71^v: *Fu uno venerabile canonico o vero diacono della chiesa nivernense il quale ebbe nome Caterio (Chaterico in Rc).* See also P. Misiattelli, *op. cit.*, no. 73, pp. 217-9 and *infra*, Group III, 73. For variants cf. E. F. Wilson, *op. cit.*, no. 1, pp. 155-6; *RR*, II, no. 12, 254.

³⁰Cf. *infra*, Group III, 74.

³¹Cf. the story of the Senator Proterius in the *Vita sancti Basili*; PL, 73, 302-5, or the version in the Italian *Ms Florence*, Bib. Naz. II, IV, 56 (fols. 187-8). Very similar to no. 13 is that of *Ms British Museum Royal* 20 B xiv printed by Mussafia together with the versions of William of Malmesbury and Adgar; cf. *Studien* IV, 53 ff. Cf. Pez, no. 35, pp. 98-9; E. F. Wilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 163-4.

³²In most of the tales Mary's name is written in three colors: auro, minio, croco; cf. Etienne de Bourbon, *Anecdotes historiques, légendes et apollogues tirés du recueil inédit*, ed. Lecoy de la Marche (Paris, 1877), no. 130, pp. 119-20; Mussafia, *Studien* V, 37-8. For variants cf. *RR*, II, no. 17, 258-9; Villecourt, *op. cit.*, no. 28, p. 50.

15. WILL FOR DEED.²² A rich knight, worldly but very charitable and devoted to the Virgin and to St. Michael, vows to build a monastery in their honor. He dies before his intention is carried out. Through Mary's intercession he receives the merit of his promise and the monk's cowl. *FLa²*, fol. 14; *Fr³*, fol. 12^v; *Ma*, fol. 13; *Rc*, fol. 17; *Rv³*, no. 141, fol. 74^v; *Fp²*, fol. 18^v; *Fr⁵*, fol. 128^v; *Fp⁴*, fol. 34^v.

16. KNIGHT AND SQUIRE.²³ As a knight is thrown from his horse, his squire utters a prayer to the Virgin to preserve him. The knight, uninjured, refuses to acknowledge the favor and a few moments later is again thrown and killed. *FLa²*, fol. 15^v; *Fr³*, fol. 13^v; *Ma*, fol. 14^v; *Rc*, fol. 19; *Rv³*, no. 142, fol. 76; *Fp²*, fol. 20^v; *Fr⁵*, fol. 129^v.

17. ABBOT ELSINUS.²⁴ A storm at sea overtakes Elsinus, Abbot of the Abbey of Ramsey in England, when he is returning from a mission to Denmark. A man appears in pontifical robes and enjoins him to celebrate the Feast of the Immaculate Conception each year on December 8. He promises to do so and the storm ceases. *FLa²*, fol. 16; *Fr³*, fol. 14; *Ma*, fol. 14^v; *Rc*, fol. 19^v; *Rv³*, omitted; *Fp²*, fol. 21; *Fr⁵*, omitted.

18. DROWNED SACRISTAN.²⁵ A sacristan drowns and would have been damned had not his soul, through the intercession of Mary, been restored to his body that he may do penance. *FLa²*, fol. 17; *Fr³*, fol. 15; *Ma*, fol. 15; *Rc*, omitted; *Rv³*, omitted, the compiler having already inserted the story as no. 65;²⁶ *Fp²*, fol. 22; *Fr⁵*, fol. 129^v.

19. CHARITABLE ALMSMAN.²⁷ A poor man is rewarded by a vision of Mary on his death-bed because he has always shared his alms with others poorer than himself. *FLa²*, fol. 18; *Fr³*, fol. 15^v; *Ma*, fol. 16; *Rc*, fol. 21; *Rv³*, omitted; *Fp²*, fol. 24; *Fr⁵*, fol. 130^v.

20. BREAD TO THE CHRIST-CHILD.²⁸ While his mother is praying before a statue of the Madonna and Child, a little boy offers the Infant Jesus a piece of bread. The image deigns to speak when the boy cries because his offer is not accepted and promises that he will eat with Him in heaven within three days. The child dies as foretold. *FLa²*, fol. 18^v; *Fr³*, fol. 16; *Ma*, fol. 16^v; *Rc*, fol. 21^v; *Rv³*, omitted; *Fp²*, fol. 24^v; *Fr⁵*, fol. 130^v.

21. SEVERED HAND.²⁹ Caesarius of Rome becomes Pope. A woman kisses his hand and to remove all temptations against chastity he cuts it off. The Roman populace demands that he celebrate Mass. His trust in Mary procures from her

²² See the Italian version of Casimiro Stolfi (ed.), *Cronaca de' monaci compilata da un monaco degli Angeli* (Prato, 1862), no. 84, pp. 200-1. Cf. E. F. Wilson, *op. cit.*, no. 55, pp. 205-6; Villecourt, *op. cit.*, no. 69, pp. 56-7.

²³ Cf. P. Misciattelli, *op. cit.*, no. 34, pp. 38-9; *infra*, Group III, 34.

²⁴ The legend of 'Elsinus' is found in the spurious works of St. Anselm, *Sermo de Conceptione Beatae Mariae*; PL, 159, 319; *Miraculum de Conceptione Sanctae Mariae*; *ibid.*, 324. Elsinus was the Abbot of St. Augustine's in Canterbury, but he is mentioned as Abbot of Ramsey both by William of Malmesbury (see Mussafia, *Studien IV*, 19) and by Wace, *The Conception Nostre Dame*, ed. William R. Ashford (Chicago, 1933), pp. 1-11. Cf. Pez, no. 19, p. 90; RR, II, no. 18, 259-60; E. F. Wilson, *op. cit.*, no. 34, pp. 188-9.

²⁵ Walter of Cluny who wrote his *De Miraculis S. Mariae Virginis* after 1141 inserts this version, cap. 4; PL 173, 1384. Cf. Pez, no. 2, pp. 82-3; E. F. Wilson, *op. cit.*, no. 38.

²⁶ See the Italian version of Casimiro Stolfi (ed.), *Cronaca de' monaci compilata da un monaco degli Angeli* (Prato, 1862), no. 84, pp. 200-1. Cf. *infra*, Group V, *Fr¹⁰*, no. 25.

²⁷ Cf. *infra*, Group IV, 65.

²⁸ Cf. Pez, no. 5, p. 84; E. F. Wilson, *op. cit.*, no. 48, p. 198. See also R. Becker, *op. cit.*, no. 5, p. 62; *infra*, Group V, *Fr²*, no. 28 and *Fr¹⁰*, nos. 5 and 123.

²⁹ Cf. *infra*, Group IV, 32 and 56.

³⁰ The legend agrees with the account of Walter of Cluny, *op. cit.*, 3; PL 173, 1383-4, and that of Vincent of Beauvais, *op. cit.*, VII, 99. Cf. E. F. Wilson, *op. cit.*, no. 49, pp. 198-9; *infra*, Group II, 18.

³¹ Cf. *infra*, Group IV, 126.

³² As in the version of James of Voragine, Caesarius takes the name of Leo I as Pope (440-461). cf. *Legenda aurea*, cap. 88, ed. T. Graesse (Leipzig, 1850), p. 367. Cf. Mussafia, *Studien I*, 75 and II, 4 and 88; RR, II, no. 19, 261-2; Villecourt, *op. cit.*, no. 29, p. 50, and no. 54, p. 62. See also P. Misciattelli, *op. cit.*, no. 38, pp. 105-8; *infra*, Groups III, 38 and V, *Fr¹⁰*, no. 61.

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the restoration of the hand. *FLa^a*, fol. 19^v; *Fr^a*, fol. 16^v; *Ma*, fol. 17; ¹³ *Rc*, fol. 22^v; *Rv^a*, omitted; ¹⁴ *Fp^a*, fol. 25^v; *Fr^b*, fol. 131.

22. PREFECT OF ROME.¹⁵ A priest rears an orphan boy, who on his death-bed promises to appear to him after death. The boy keeps his promise and his spirit takes the priest to the church of St. Agnes in Rome to assist at a Mass celebrated by St. Peter and attended by the Virgin and her retinue of saints and angels. The Mass over, the priest witnesses an old woman enter and beg Mary to deliver from purgatory the soul of the Prefect of Rome, who had given her a coat on a cold Christmas day. Her request is granted. *FLa^a*, fol. 21; *Fr^a*, fol. 18^v; *Ma*, fol. 20; *Rc*, fol. 24; *Rv^a*, no. 143, fol. 76; *Fp^a*, the tale begins on fol. 27^v, and ends on fol. 29^v, fol. 28 being cut out (identification is possible despite the mutilation); *Fr^b*, fol. 132; *Fp^b*, fol. 78.

23. NUN'S PENANCE LEFT UNCOMPLETED.¹⁶ A nun dies before she can perform complete penance for past sin. She appears to her abbess and tells her that she is still expiating in purgatory, but that the Virgin has promised to obtain her release soon. *FLa^a*, fol. 22^v; *Fr^a*, fol. 19^v; omitted in both *Ma* and *Rc*; *Rv^a*, no. 144, fol. 77^v; *Fp^a*, fol. 29^v; *Fr^b*, fol. 133.

24. TWO BROTHERS AT ROME.¹⁷ One brother, Peter, thought to be saintly, is sent to purgatory for avarice; the other, Stephen, is condemned for robbing the churches of Sts. Lawrence and Agnes. Stephen finds an intercessor in St. Prix (Proiecto) who pleads with Mary. He is restored to life for thirty days of penance. *FLa^a*, fol. 23^v; *Fr^a*, fol. 20; *Ma*, fol. 21; *Rc*, fol. 26; *Rv^a*, no. 145, fol. 78^v; *Fp^a*, fol. 31^v; *Fr^b*, fol. 133^v.

25. NATIVITY OF THE VIRGIN.¹⁸ For many years on the night of the eighth of September a hermit is wont to hear angel-music. At length it is revealed to him by an angel that it is the angelic celebration of Mary's Nativity. *FLa^a*, fol. 26; *Fr^a*, fol. 21^v; *Ma*, fol. 22; *Rc*, fol. 27; *Rv^a*, omitted; *Fp^a*, fol. 32^v; *Fr^b*, fol. 134^v.

26. OCTAVE OF THE NATIVITY.¹⁹ This is the story of the institution of the Octave of the Feast of the Nativity of the Virgin by Innocent IV (1245), in accordance with a vow made by the Cardinals who were kept prisoners by Frederick II for three months. *FLa^a*, fol. 26^v; *Fr^a*, fol. 21^v; *Ma*, fol. 22; *Rc*, fol. 27^v; *Rv^a*, omitted; *Fp^a*, fol. 33; *Fr^b*, fol. 135.

27. IMAGE OF SARDINAY.²⁰ A monk on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land visits a recluse and promises to bring her back a picture of Our Lady. Forgetting his promise, he is reminded by a voice from heaven. On his return trip his life is saved three times through invocation of the Virgin and he resolves to keep the image. He leaves the money given him by the hermitess on an altar in her oratory, but cannot find the exit until he leaves the picture there. An oil of miraculous virtue exudes from the image. *FLa^a*, fol. 26^v; *Fr^a*, fol. 22; *Ma*, fol. 22^v;

¹⁴ Only a fragment of the legend is given in *Ma*. A part of fol. 17^v, fol. 17^v, 18^{r-v} are lined but blank. The end of the tale on fol. 19 and 20 is in another hand.

¹⁵ Cf. *infra*, Group IV, 38 and 108.

¹⁶ Peter Damian, *Opusc. XXXIV: Disputatione de variis apparitionibus et miraculis*, 4; PL, 145, 587-8. Aloys Meister (ed.), *Die Fragmente der Libri VIII miraculorum des Caesarius von Heisterbach* (Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Alterthumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte, Supplementheft, 13, Rome, 1901), iii, no. 42, pp. 170-3. A. Hilka, *op. cit.*, III, no. 62, 181-3; Mussafia, *Studien*, V, no. 62, 10.

¹⁷ Mussafia, *Studien*, V, 59-64. Cf. Pez, no. 42, pp. 105-6; Introduction to Miélot, no. xviii; Villecourt, *op. cit.*, no. 41, p. 57.

¹⁸ Gregory the Great relates the vision of a knight who sees Peter in torment and Stephen crossing the Bridge of Dread, cf. *Dia-*

logi, IV, 37; ed. Umberto Moricca (*Fonti per la Storia d'Italia*, Rome, 1924), pp. 280 ff. Cf. Pez, no. 10, p. 86; E. F. Wilson, *op. cit.*, no. 46, p. 197; *infra*, Group V, *Fr^b*, no. 73.

¹⁹ The legend occurs three times in the works of Honorius of Autun who wrote between 1122 and 1137: *Gemma animae* III, 166, *Sacramentarium*, 45, and *Sveculum ecclesiae*; PL, 172, 689, 769, 1001. The source is doubtlessly the *Legenda aurea*, cap. 131; *ed. cit.*, p. 590, where both this and the following story of the establishment of the octave of the feast are found together. For variants cf. E. F. Wilson, *op. cit.*, no. 15, pp. 170-1. See also P. Missiattielli, *op. cit.*, no. 46, pp. 122-4; *infra*, Groups II, 21 and III, 46.

²⁰ *Legenda aurea*, *ibid*. Cf. *infra*, Group V, *Fp^a*, no. 6.

²¹ Cf. Gaston Raynaud, 'Le miracle de Sardenay,' *Romania*, XI (1882), 519-37 and XIV (1885), 82-93; *RR*, II, no. 21, 263-4.

Rc, fol. 28; Rv³, omitted; Fp², fol. 33^v; Fr⁵, fol. 135.

28. PILGRIM OF ST. JAMES.⁵¹ Girardus visits his mistress the night before starting on a pilgrimage to the tomb of St. James at Compostella. The devil in the form of the saint intercepts him on his journey and persuades him to kill himself. He is restored to life by the judgment of the Virgin. FLa², fol. 27^v; Fr³, fol. 23; Ma, fol. 23^v; Rc, fol. 29^v; Rv³, omitted;⁵² Fp², fol. 35^v; Fr⁵, fol. 136.

29. VIRGIN COMES TO DEVIL INSTEAD OF HIS VICTIM.⁵³ An impoverished knight promises to bring his wife to the devil in return for wealth. On the way the wife stops to pray at a chapel. The Virgin impersonates her and accompanies the knight, putting the devil to flight. FLa², fol. 28^v; Fr³, fol. 24; Ma, fol. 24^v; Rc, fol. 31; Rv³, omitted;⁵⁴ Fp², fol. 37; Fr⁵, fol. 136^v.

30. MONKS BY THE RIVERSIDE.⁵⁵ Standing by the riverside, engaged in idle talk, monks see devils conveying the soul of Ebroin, Mayor of the Palace, to hell and are told that they would have been carried off, too, were it not for their prayer to the Virgin. FLa², fol. 30; Fr³, fol. 25^v; Ma, fol. 25^v; Rc, fol. 32^v; Rv³, omitted;⁵⁶ Fp², fol. 39^v; Fr⁵, fol. 137^v.

31. FIVE JOYS.⁵⁷ The Virgin visits a dying clerk, promising him a share in the joy he has so often wished her in singing the anthem, *Five Gaudes*. FLa², fol. 30^v; Fr³, rubrics only on fol. 25^v; Ma, fol. 26; Rc, fol. 33; Rv³, omitted;⁵⁸ Fp², fol. 39^v; Fr⁵, fol. 137^v.

32. VISION OF JUDGMENT.⁵⁹ A sinner dreams that he is being judged. Truth and Justice acquit him of two accusations of the devil who would have claimed him when his good and evil deeds were being weighed in a balance, had not the Virgin put her hand in the scale. FLa², fol. 31^v is blank, a portion of the legend being given on fols. 32-33 inclusive; Fr³, fol. 26 is blank, the last part of the tale being given on fol. 27^v; Ma, fol. 26; Rc, fol. 33^v; Rv³, no. 146, fol. 79; Fp², fol. 40^v; Fr⁵, fol. 138.

33. THE VIRGIN'S CHOIR. A bishop⁶⁰ is led by Mary into her chapel one night.

⁵¹ Originally the miracle was ascribed to St. James, see Hugh of St. Victor, *Liber de sacramentis* II, 2; PL, 176, 583. In the metrical version of Guaiferius, Benedictine of Monte Cassino, St. James is the principal protagonist and the Virgin plays a secondary role, *Carmina*, no. ii; PL, 147, 1285-8. Guibert of Nogent, writing his *Monodiarum* or *De Vita sua* about 1114 or 1115, gives it the form that has survived in Marian collections, III, 19; PL, 156, 955-6. In the spurious works of St. Anselm are two versions: one makes no mention of Mary; PL, 159, 335-8: the other depicts her restoring Giraldus to life, *ibid.*, 340). Cf. Pez, no. 8, p. 85; E. F. Wilson, *op. cit.*, no. 50, pp. 199-200; R. Becker, *op. cit.*, no. 8, p. 65.

⁵² Cf. *infra*, Group IV, 66.

⁵³ *Legenda aurea*, cap. 119; *ed. cit.*, p. 513 (3). This, one of the most popular legends in the Italian collections, is the first in the *Libro del Cavaliere* (cf. *infra*, Groups II and III, 1). See also 'Le Dit du povre chevalier,' A. Jubinal, *Nouveau recueil de contes, dits, fabliaux et autres pièces inédites* I (Paris, 1839), 138-44; Alfonso el Sabio, *Cantigas de Santa María* II, ed. by La Real Academia Española (Madrid, 1889), 302-3, no. 216 with variants listed on p. lxxxvi. Add to the bibliographical references of A. Hilka (*op. cit.*, III, 210-11, no. 96), L. Biadene, 'Un miracolo della Madonna: La leggenda dello Sclavo Dalmatina,' *Propugnator*, N. S. VI, ii (1893), 319-72; P. Misciattelli, *op. cit.*, no. 1, pp. 3-6; *infra*, Group V, Fp², no. 1, and Fr¹⁰, no. 71.

⁵⁴ Cf. *infra*, Group IV, 113.

⁵⁵ *Legenda aurea*, cap. 119; *ed. cit.*, p. 516 (6); Alfonso el Sabio, *op. cit.*, II, 354-5 and xxviii, no. 254. For variants cf. *Liber exemplorum ad usum praedicantium*, ed. A. G. Little (Aberdeen, 1908), no. 535, p. 150. Cf. *infra*, Group V, Fp¹, no. 3, and Fr¹⁰, no. 130.

⁵⁶ Cf. *infra*, Group IV, 102.

⁵⁷ Cf. Peter Damian, *Opusc. XXXIV: Disputatio de variis apparitionibus*, 4; PL, 145, 588. Add to the variants listed by Crane in Pez, (no. 4, pp. 83-4), R. Becker, *op. cit.*, no. 4, p. 62; *infra*, Groups II, 9 and IV, 35 and 96. Cf. 'Seven Joys' in P. Misciattelli, *op. cit.*, no. 8, pp. 19-20; *infra*, Group III, 8.

⁵⁸ Cf. *infra*, Group IV, 35 and 96.

⁵⁹ No. 32 corresponds to the version found in the *Legenda aurea*, cap. 119; *ed. cit.*, pp. 514-5 (4). For variants cf. A. Hilka, *op. cit.*, III, 212, n. 97. See also P. Misciattelli, *op. cit.*, no. 63, pp. 166-71; *infra*, Groups III, 63 and V, Fp¹, no. 1.

⁶⁰ The bishop is not named as in the *Legenda aurea*, cap. 131; *ed. cit.*, p. 591 (3). In Pez and in other collections the bishop is said to be St. Dunstan. See the *Vita S. Dunstani* by the four biographers, 'B,' Osbern, Eadmer, and William of Malmesbury in *Memorials of Saint Dunstan*, ed. Wm. Stubbs (Rolls Series, LXIII, London, 1874), pp. 48, 118, 208, and 316. For the hymn of Sedulius cf. PL, 19, 753. For the variants cf. Pez, no. 25, pp. 92-3; see also P. Misciattelli, *op. cit.*, no. 64, pp. 171-3; *infra*, Groups III, 64 and V, Fp¹, no. 8.

and there he hears her choir of virgins sing the hymn: *Cantemus domino socie cantemus honorem.* *FLa²*, fol. 33; *Fr³*, fol. 27^v; *Ma*, fol. 27; *Rc*, fol. 35; *Rv⁵*, no. 147, fol. 80; *Fp²*, fol. 42; *Fr⁶*, fol. 138.

34. CHRIST-CHILD SEIZED AS PLEDGE.⁶¹ A widow prays before a statue of the Madonna and Child for the release of her son made captive by enemies. When her prayers are not heard, she snatches the figure of the Infant Jesus from the arms of Mary to keep in pledge. That night the Virgin releases the son from prison, bidding him tell his mother to restore her Child. *FLa²*, fol. 33^v; *Fr³*, fol. 28; *Ma*, fol. 27^v; *Rc*, fol. 35^v; ⁶² *Rv⁵*, omitted; ⁶³ *Fp²*, fol. 43^v; *Fr⁶*, fol. 139; *Fr⁶*, fol. 81^v-82^v.

35. TAPER LEFT BEHIND BY AN ANGEL.⁶⁴ A rich countess has erected a chapel dedicated to Mary and is most disappointed not to have Mass there on the Feast of the Purification. Suddenly she finds herself attending a Mass at which the entire Heavenly Court assists. At the Virgin's command she is given a taper like the rest, but at the Offertory refuses to give it up. She struggles with the angel and awakens to find a fragment in her hand. *FLa²*, fol. 34; *Fr³*, fol. 28^v; *Ma*, fol. 28; *Rc*, fol. 36; *Rv⁵*, no. 148, fol. 80; *Fp²*, fol. 44^v; *Fr⁶*, fol. 139^v.

36. DEVIL AS SERVANT.⁶⁵ A robber-knight is served for fourteen years by an evil spirit in human form who is on the watch to kill him, but cannot do so as the knight never omits his practice of a daily prayer to the Virgin. *FLa²*, fol. 35^v; *Fr³*, fol. 30; *Ma*, fol. 29^v, fol. 30, 31, 32 are blank, and the end of the tale in two different hands follows on fol. 33; *Rc*, fol. 38; *Rv⁵*, omitted; ⁶⁶ *Fp²*, fol. 45^v; *Fr⁶*, fol. 140.

37. TOLEDO.⁶⁷ In the Cathedral of Toledo, on the Feast of the Assumption, Mary is heard to complain that the Jews are still insulting her Son. Jews are found mutilating a waxen image of Christ and are put to death. *FLa²*, fol. 36^v; *Fr³*, fol. 30^v; *Ma*, fol. 33^v; *Rc*, fol. 39; *Rv⁵*, no. 149, fol. 81^v; *Fp²*, fol. 47; *Fr⁶*, fol. 141.

38. HOURS OF THE VIRGIN.⁶⁸ Although not according to their rule, monks at the Monastery of 'San Vincencio' daily recite the Hours of the Blessed Virgin. Following the suggestion of a negligent monk, Goçço, they abolish the custom, but calamities visit the monastery until the devotion is resumed. *FLa²*, fol. 37; *Fr³*, fol. 31; *Ma*, fol. 34; *Rc*, fol. 39^v; *Rv⁵*, no. 150, fol. 82^v; *Fp²*, fol. 48; *Fr⁶*, fol. 141.

⁶¹ *Legenda aurea*, cap. 131; *ed. cit.*, pp. 591-592 (4). For variants cf. A. Hilka, *op. cit.*, III, 216, n. 102; J. Morawski, *op. cit.*, pp. 200-1; Villecourt, *op. cit.*, no. 18, pp. 45-6. In Italian the tale is found in Levi, *op. cit.*, no. 20, pp. 42-3; J. Ulrich, 'Recueil d'exemples en ancien italien,' *Romania*, XIII (1884), no. 6, 30-1; P. Misciattelli, *op. cit.*, no. 47, pp. 124-6; *infra*, Groups III, 47; IV, *Fr¹*, no. 102; V, *Fp²*, no. 5, *Fr¹⁰*, nos. 43 and 48.

⁶² The copyist wrongly gives the rubrics for 'Vision of Judgment' (*cf. supra*, no. 32) to this legend.

⁶³ Cf. *infra*, Group IV, nos. 105, 114 and the curious variant, no. 116.

⁶⁴ Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus miraculorum*, ed. J. Strange in 2 vols. (Cologne, 1851), VII, 20, ii, 26-7 and A. Meister, *op. cit.*, iii, no. 28, pp. 157-8; Fidel Fita, 'Treinta leyendas ror Gil de Zamora,' *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, XIII (1888), no. 63, 200-2; *Legenda aurea*, cap. 37; *ed. cit.*, pp. 165-6 (2). For other variants A. Hilka, *op. cit.*, III, 169, n. 48; Villecourt, *op. cit.*, no. 34, p. 53. See also P. Misciattelli, *op. cit.*, no. 19, pp. 56-7; *infra*, Groups III, 19; IV, *Fr¹*, no. 101; V, *Fr¹⁰*, no. 1.

⁶⁵ *Legenda aurea*, cap. 51; *ed. cit.*, pp. 221-222 (3). Many of the Latin collections con-

tain this version; cf. A. Hilka, *op. cit.*, III, 190, n. 73 and 213, n. 98; RR, II, no. 25, 270; Villecourt, *op. cit.*, no. 55, p. 284. It is first among the five Mary legends in Bonavesina da Riva, *Laudes de Virgine Maria*, ed. I. Bekker in the *Bericht über die zur Bekanntmachung geeigneten Verhandlungen der Königl. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Berlin, 1850), pp. 491-91, II, 101-12. See also Levi, *op. cit.*, no. 39, p. cxlii; P. Misciattelli, *op. cit.*, no. 2, pp. 6-8; *infra*, Groups II, and III, no. 2; V, *Fr¹*, no. 5, and *Fr¹⁰*, no. 51. For a slightly different version cf. *infra*, Group I, *Ma* 78-Rc 73.

⁶⁶ Cf. *infra*, Group IV, 63.

⁶⁷ 'Toledo' is the first legend in the TS group. Cf. C. Neuhaus (ed.), *Die lateinischen Vorlagen zu den alt-französischen Adgar-schen Mar'enlegenden* (Aachen-leben, 1883-1887), pp. 51-2; or *Die Quellen zu Adgar's Mar'enlegenden nach der Londoner Handschrift Egerton 612* (Erlangen, 1882), pp. 29-32; R. Becker, *op. cit.*, no. 19, p. 73. Cf. E. F. Wilson, *op. cit.*, no. 9, p. 166.

⁶⁸ This Benedictine monastery is located near Pietrapertusa, Italy. Peter Damian relates the same story of the monastery of St. Barnabas of Gamagno about the year 1056 in his *Epist. VI*, 32; PL, 144, 431.

39. BLASPHEMING MERCHANT.⁶⁹ An avaricious merchant swears by the breasts of Mary and falls dead. *FLa^a*, fol. 38; *Fr^s*, fol. 32; *Ma*, fol. 35; *Rc*, fol. 40; *Rv^s*, no. 151, fol. 83; *Fp^s*, fol. 49^v; *Fr^s*, fol. 142.

40. ST. JOHN THE ALMONER.⁷⁰ During a time of famine St. John, Patriarch of Alexandria (606–616), sells all his household furnishings and bedding in order to buy food for the poor. A merchant procures for him new bedding, but this, too, is given away. Repeating this forty-four times, the merchant is finally impoverished. One night when the saint is lamenting that he has nothing more to give, the Virgin appears and after receiving a scolding for coming into his apartments, smilingly tells him that God is pleased with his almsgiving and will supply his needs. The next day on his way to celebrate Mass, he is given a purse filled with gold by an angel and during the Mass the identity of his feminine visitor is revealed. *FLa^a*, fol. 38^v; *Fr^s*, fol. 32^v; *Ma*, fol. 35; *Rc*, fol. 41; *Rv^s*, no. 152, fol. 83. At this point the correspondence between Group I and *Fp^s* and *Fr^s* ceases.⁷¹

41. ST. ELIZABETH'S VISION OF THE ASSUMPTION.⁷² St. Elizabeth prays to have a fuller knowledge of the mystery of Mary's Assumption into heaven. On this feast day at the Consecration of the Mass she is permitted to witness what occurred. *FLa^a*, fol. 40^v; *Fr^s*, fol. 34^v; *Ma*, fol. 37; *Rc*, fol. 43^v; *Rv^s*, no. 153, fol. 84^v.

42. SIEGE OF CHARTRES.⁷³ After the Assumption the clothing of Mary is found in the tomb. Her tunic comes into the possession of the church at Chartres and is displayed as a banner by the bishop during the siege of the city. The foe, Rollo and his band of Normands, are struck by blindness. *FLa^a*, fol. 41^v; *Fr^s*, fol. 35; *Ma*, fol. 38; *Rc*, fol. 44^v; *Rv^s*, omitted.⁷⁴

43. THEOPHILUS.⁷⁵ In this version Theophilus is the archdeacon of the Church

⁶⁹ Etienne de Bourbon, *op. cit.*, no. 131, p. 112; Vincent of Beauvais, *op. cit.*, VII, 104. Cf. RR, II, no. 22, 265–6; Villecourt, *op. cit.*, no. 51, pp. 282–3.

⁷⁰ See *Vitae patrum* in which John believes the woman to be 'Eleemosyna'; PL, 73, 345–55; Vincent of Beauvais, *op. cit.*, XXII, 108; *Legenda aurea*, cap. 27; *ed. cit.*, pp. 130–31; *Magnum speculum exemplorum*, ed. John Major (Venice, 1608), vii, no. 30, p. 498. An Old French version in *Ms R.3.46* of Trinity College has been printed by Paul Meyer, 'Notice d'un manuscript de Trinity College (Cambridge) contenant les Vies en vers français de Saint Jean l'Aumônier et de Saint Clément, Pope,' *Notices et extraits des mss. de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, XXXVIII, 1 (1903), 14. The version of Alfonso el Sabio differs, cf. *op. cit.*, II, 215–6, no. 145.

⁷¹ The two legends remaining in *Fp^s* and the seven in *Fr^s* which do not correspond to the *Libro del Naufragio* series will be analyzed among the miscellaneous legends of Group V; cf. *infra*, Group V, *Fp^s* and *Fr^s*.

⁷² No. 41 corresponds to the account in the *Legenda aurea*, cap. 119; *ed. cit.*, p. 510. Cf. P. Livarius Oliger O.F.M., 'Revelationes B. Elisabeth Disquisitio critica una cum textibus latino et catalaunensi,' *Antonianum*, I (1926), 24–83; F. W. E. Roth, *Die Visionen und Briefe der hl. Elisabeth* (2nd ed. Brunn, 1886); D. M. Manni, *Vite di alcuni Santi scritte nel buon secolo della lingua toscana* (Florence, 1752), pp. 358–70; Paul Meyer, 'Notice sur un légendier français du XIII^e siècle classé selon l'ordre de l'année liturgique,' *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, XXXVI (1899), 46 (114). It is significant that the manu-

scripts in Group I attribute the revelations concerning the Assumption to Elizabeth, *figliuola del Re d'Ungheria* (the copyist of *Fr^s* has St. Elizabeth *d'Inghilterra*). For attribution both to St. Elizabeth of Hungary and St. Elizabeth of Schönau, cf. P. Oliger, *loc. cit.* Legend 41 in Group I serves to introduce legend 42, 'Siege of Chartres'; Evelyn Faye Wilson notes that the visions of Elizabeth of Schönau are introductory to the Mary legends in the three collections of Vincent of Beauvais, Vendôme, and *Ms Paris. Bib. nat. fr. 818*; cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 37, 44, n. 218 and 49.

⁷³ William of Malmesbury briefly relates the incident, *Gesta regum anglorum* I, ed. Wm. Stubbs (Rolls Series, XC, London, 1887–1889), pp. 137–8. See Wace, *Roman de Rou et des ducs de Normandie* I, ed. Hugo Andreassen (Heilbronn, 1877–1879), 68–71. For the Latin version of G'lon of Chartres in the local collection of Chartres, cf. A. Thomas, 'Les miracles de Notre-Dame de Chartres. *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des chartes*, XLII (1881) no. 27, 549–50; for the translation into Old French, cf. Jehan le Marchant, *Miracles de Nostre-Dame de Chartres*, ed. G. Gratet-Duplessis (Chartres 1855), no. 28, pp. 179–84. For variants cf. RR, II, no. 5, 245; E. F. Wilson who briefly but thoroughly traces the historical and miraculous aspects of the legend, *op. cit.*, no. 32, pp. 186–7; *infra*, Group II, 22.

⁷⁴ Cf. *infra*, Group IV, 74.

⁷⁵ The legend derives from the Greek text of Eutychianus, cf. A. Jubinal, *Oeuvres complètes de Rutebeuf* II (Paris, 1839), pp. 331–357. For the earliest Latin translation, that of Paul the Deacon of Naples, cf. Robert

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of Tarsus in 'Cicilia.' Through humility he refuses to become bishop and later, when deposed from his office, he signs a compact with the devil to regain his former honors. Repenting, he obtains forgiveness and recovers possession of the signed pact through the assistance of Mary. *FLa²*, fol. 42; *Fr³*, fol. 35^v; *Ma*, the tale begins on fol. 38^v and ends in a different hand on fol. 41^v, but fol. 40^v is blank; *Rc*, fol. 45; *Rv³*, no. 154, fol. 85^v.

44. ST. JOHN DAMASCENE.⁷⁶ During his captivity by the Saracens St. John teaches handwriting to the son of one of his masters. Years later, by the command of Emperor Theodosius, he is released, but in consequence of a letter forged by his former pupil, he is accused of treason and his hand cut off. It is miraculously restored by the Virgin. *FLa²*, fol. 45; *Fr³*, fol. 38; *Ma*, fol. 41^v; *Rc*, fol. 48^v; *Rv³*, no. 155, fol. 88.

45. DISOBEDIENT SON.⁷⁷ In the diocese of Toulouse in September of 1256 the mistress of the castle of 'Settiforni' commands her son to the evil spirit because of his disobedience and ill temper. That night devils are about to carry him off through the chimney when the boy invokes the Virgin. The devils release him, letting him fall upon the ashes below. He remains dwarfed in stature for the rest of his life. *FLa²*, fol. 48; *Fr³*, fol. 40^v; *Ma*, fol. 44; *Rc*, fol. 51; *Rv³*, no. 156, fol. 90.

46. FOUNDATION OF DOMINICAN ORDER.⁷⁸ Pope Innocent sends twelve Cistercian abbots on an embassy of peace to the Albigensians. One of them witnesses a man raised from the dead. The resuscitated man tells of seeing Mary on her knees, pleading with her Son to send an Order to save men and of having her prayer granted. *FLa²*, fol. 48^v; *Fr³*, fol. 41; *Ma*, fol. 44^v; *Rc*, fol. 52; *Rv³*, no. 157, fol. 90^v.

47. JULIAN THE APOSTATE.⁷⁹ In his campaign against the Persians the Emperor Julian stops at Caesarea and insults St. Basil, threatening to destroy the city on his return. The archbishop prays to the Mother of God and at her command Julian is killed by St. Mercurius. *FLa²*, fol. 50; *Fr³*, fol. 42; *Ma*, fol. 45; *Rc*, fol. 53; *Rv³*, no. 158, fol. 91^v.

48. BROTHER OF THE KING OF HUNGARY.⁸⁰ The brother of the King of Hungary

Petsch, *Theophilus* (Heidelberg, 1908), pp. 2 ff. For bibliographical references cf. E. F. Wilson, *op. cit.*, no. 60, pp. 208-9. To her list of variants in Latin collections may be added R. Becker, *op. cit.*, no. 28, pp. 80 ff.; to the Italian list, P. Misiattelli, *op. cit.*, no. 36, pp. 93-103; W. Friedmann, *Altitalienische Heiligenlegenden nach den Hs. XXXVIII. 110 der Bib. Naz. Centrale in Florenz* (Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur, XIV, Dresden, 1908), pp. 36-7; *infra*, Group III, 36 and V, *Fn⁵*, no. 10, *Fp¹*, no. 13 and *Fr¹⁰*, no. 35. For the dramatic version cf. Alessandro d'Ancona, *Sacre rappresentazioni dei secoli XIV, XV, et XVI II* (Florence, 1872), pp. 445-67.

⁷⁸ The story in the life of St. John Damascene is told by John of Jerusalem (PG, 94, 453-6). Vincent of Beauvais includes the legend in the *Speculum historiale*, XVII, 103-5; H. Kjellman notes that the tales in Ms Paris, Bib. nat. fr. 818 and in the *Speculum historiale* are identical in details which differ from the biography of John of Jerusalem; he concludes: l'auteur français et Vincent de Beauvais ont connu le même récit latin. Cf. 'La légende de Saint Jean Damascène,' *Studier i Modern Språkvetenskap*, VIII (1921), 103-20. For variants cf. A. Hilka, *op. cit.*, III, 177, n. 58; *RR*, II, no. 23, 267-8; Villecourt, *op. cit.*, no. 10, pp. 268-9. Add to references P. Misiattelli, *op. cit.*, no. 65, pp.

174-83; *infra*, Groups III, 65, and V, *Fr¹⁰*, no. 53.

⁷⁹ The legend is substantially the same as no. 24 in Ms Cornell E. 14 of which Crane writes: I have not found any other version of this miracle, cf. *RR*, II, 268-9. Here the tale is localized at Toledo, Spain. Research librarians in the archives of the cathedrals and of the libraries in Toulouse and Toledo have been, unable to identify the castle of 'Settiforni.'

⁸⁰ *Legenda aurea*, cap. 113; *ed. cit.*, p. 469. This pope was probably Innocent III (1198-1216), cf. *infra*, n. 110.

⁸¹ The legend is contained in the *Vita S. Basili*, falsely attributed to Amphilochius (d. ca. 400). See Otto Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchl. Literatur* III (Freiburg, 1912), p. 130, n. 1 and p. 227. The attribution of the first Latin version to Ursus who lived in the ninth century is likewise questioned. See *Vita Sancti Basili*; PL, 73, 312-3, n. 3; *Acta SS.*, 14 June, p. 417; John of Salisbury, *Polycraticus*, VIII, 21; PL, 199, 798. Variants are indicated by E. F. Wilson, *op. cit.*, no. 24, pp. 181-2 and to these may be added Villecourt, *op. cit.*, no. 56, p. 62; W. Friedmann, *op. cit.*, no. 11, pp. 37-40; *infra*, Group V, *Fn⁵*, no. 11; *V*, *Fr¹⁰*, no. 90.

⁸² See the spurious works of Anselm, *Sermo de Conceptione Beatae Mariae*; PL, 159, 320-1; *Legenda aurea*, cap. 189; *ed. cit.*, p. 870. For

has vowed to remain chaste in consequence of a cure through the Virgin's intercession. At the death of the King he is forced to accept the throne and to marry. After the nuptial Mass he remains to recite the Hours of the Blessed Virgin. Mary appears to him and upbraids him for breaking his vow. At the first opportunity he slips away, and later he becomes Patriarch of Aquileia. *FLa²*, fol. 52^v; *Fr³*, fol. 44^v; *Ma*, fol. 48; *Rc*, fol. 55; *Rv³*, no. 159, fol. 93^v.

49. DEMONS AS SWINE.⁵¹ The Virgin delivers a Carthusian Brother from devils in the form of swine. *FLa²*, fol. 53^v; *Fr³*, fol. 45; *Ma*, fol. 49; *Rc*, fol. 57; *Rv³*, no. 160, fol. 94^v.

50. LANDMARKS REMOVED.⁵² A peasant who has been dishonest in acquiring land dies. Devils and angels dispute over his soul, but because of his devotion to the Mother of God, the evil spirits are forced to retire and he is permitted to return to life to do penance. *FLa²*, fol. 54^v; *Fr³*, fol. 46; *Ma*, fol. 49^v; *Rc*, fol. 58^v; *Rv³*, no. 161, fol. 95.

51. SIGHT RESTORED.⁵³ In Rome at the time of Pope Boniface IV (607-614), Victor, a Christian, blind from birth, is wont to sing anthems to Mary outside the Pantheon, then the Church of St. Mary and the Martyrs. He is taunted by the Jews, who promise to become Christians if the Mother of God will obtain for him his sight. On the Feast of the Purification as he is chanting a *responsorium* of his own composition, the miracle occurs and many Jews are converted. *FLa²*, fol. 54^v; *Fr³*, fol. 46^v; *Ma*, fol. 49^v; *Rc*, fol. 58^v; *Rv³*, no. 162, fol. 95^v.

52. DROWNED CLERK.⁵⁴ A clerk of dissolute life drowns and the devils claim his soul. He is saved by Mary, who interposes because of his frequent calling upon her to obtain for him the strength to overcome his temptations. *FLa²*, fol. 55^v; *Fr³*, fol. 47; omitted in *Ma*, *Rc*, and *Rv³*.

53. LITANY CHANTED. In Lombardy two brothers who are at feud with another family find themselves unarmed in the presence of the enemy. They begin to chant the Litany of the Blessed Virgin Mary, as they ride towards their armed foe, who remain paralyzed, unable to strike a blow, until the brothers are beyond their reach. *FLa²*, fol. 57; *Fr³*, fol. 48^v; *Ma*, fol. 50^v; *Rc*, fol. 59^v; *Rv³*, no. 163, fol. 96.

54. MOTHER-IN-LAW AND SON-IN-LAW.⁵⁵ A woman, suspected unjustly of incest with her son-in-law, becomes temporarily unbalanced and has him murdered. She repents of her deed, but is accused and condemned to be burned. She prays to Mary and is unharmed by the fire. *FLa²*, fol. 57^v; *Fr³*, fol. 49; *Ma*, fol. 50^v; *Rc*, fol. 60; *Rv³*, omitted.⁵⁶

55. COULD LEARN ONLY *Ave Maria*.⁵⁷ An illiterate knight becomes a Cistercian,

variants cf. *RR*, II, no. 20, 263; Levi, *op. cit.*, no. 40, pp. cxlii ff., E. F. Wilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 162-3, *infra*, Group V, *Fr³*, no. 21.

⁵¹ Peter the Venerable relates the legend, *De Miraculis II*, 29; PL, 189, 946, and later it is told by Vincent of Beauvais, *op. cit.*, VII, 112. Cf. *RR*, II, no. 13, 255; *infra*, Group V, *Fr³*, no. 63.

⁵² Cf. Pez, no. 11, p. 87; E. F. Wilson, *op. cit.*, no. 47, pp. 197-8; R. Becker, *op. cit.*, no. 11, p. 67; *infra*, Groups IV, 21 and IV, *Fr³*, no. 60.

⁵³ The blind man is usually called Didymus, the blind philosopher of Alexandria, cf. Ward, *op. cit.*, II, 649. Mussafia indicates a version in which he is called Victor, cf. *Studien I*, no. 54, 955. For variants cf. *RR*, II, no. 16, 257-8; E. F. Wilson, *op. cit.*, no. 31, pp. 185-6.

⁵⁴ Cf. *supra*, Group I, nos. 10 and 18.

⁵⁵ The mother-in-law is called Theodeberta by Guibert of Nogent, in his *De Laude S. Mariae*, 10; PL, 156, 564-8) but Soiburga by Herman of Tournai, author of the Laon col-

lection, *De Miraculis S. Mariae Laudunensis III*, 27; PL, 156, 1008. See also the *Auctarium Laudunense* and the *Auctarium Ursicampinum*, attached to the Chronicle of Sigebert of Gembloux; PL, 160, 359, 405; Helinand of Froidmont, *Chronicon*; PL, 212, 1017. Our version corresponds to the *Legenda aurea*, cap. 131: *ed. c.t.*, pp. 594-5. Cf. J. Morawski, *op. cit.*, pp. 201-2; Alfonso el Sabio, *op. cit.*, II, 355-8, no. 255 with variants on pp. lxiv-lxv; P. Mischiattielli, *op. cit.*, no. 4, pp. 10-2; *infra*, Groups II, and III, no. 4; V, *Fr¹⁰*, no. 32.

⁵⁶ Cf. *infra*, *Rv³*, no. 93, in Group II, 4.

⁵⁷ See A. Meister, *op. cit.*, iii, no. 71, pp. 195-6 or A. Hilka, *op. cit.*, III, no. 91, 206; *Legenda aurea*, cap. 51; *ed. cit.*, p. 221; see also Thomas of Cantimpré who composed his moral treatise, the *Bonum universale de apibus II*, 29, 9 (Cologne, ca. 1473) between the years 1270-1272. In his version a tree issues from the monk's mouth. Bonavesin da Riva includes the legend in his *Laudes de Virgine Maria*, loc. cit., ll. 473-528, pp. 490-1. For other variants, cf. *RR*, II, no. 25, 270;

but can learn none of the prayers except the two words, *Ave Maria*. After his death a lily grows on his grave, having these words on its leaves in letters of gold and its roots in the mouth of the monk. *FLa²*, fol. 58^v; *Fr³*, fol. 50; *Ma*, fol. 52; *Rc*, fol. 62; *Rv³*, no. 164, fol. 96.

56. EUCHARISTIC MIRACLE.⁸⁸ At the Consecration of the Mass a priest suddenly beholds the Host changed into the form of a small child in Mary's arms, and an angel proclaims Him to be Lord of heaven and earth. *FLa²*, fol. 59; *Fr³*, fol. 50^v; *Ma*, fol. 52; *Rc*, fol. 62^v; *Rv³*, omitted.⁸⁹

57. JEWISH BOY.⁹⁰ On an Easter morning a little Jewish boy slips in with his companions to receive Communion. He relates this to his parents, and his father in much anger throws him into a red-hot furnace. The neighbors are attracted by the mother's cries and find the child unhurt, having been protected by the Virgin whose picture hung over the main altar in the church at Bourges. The father is cast into the furnace and the mother with many other Jews becomes Christian. *FLa²*, fol. 59^v; *Fr³*, fol. 50^v; *Ma*, fol. 52^v; *Rc*, fol. 62^v; *Rv³*, omitted.⁹¹

58. PRAYER PUTS DEVIL TO FLIGHT.⁹² A woman, molested by the devil in the form of a youth, is advised by a holy man to say: 'Santa Maria, aiutami.' She does so and the devil vanishes, cursing the one who taught her this. *FLa²*, fol. 60^v; *Fr³*, fol. 51^v; *Ma*, fol. 53; *Rc*, fol. 64; *Rv³*, no. 165, fol. 96^v.

59. PLOUGHING ON THE MAGDALEN'S DAY.⁹³ Peter, a ploughman, works on the Feast of St. Mary Magdalen and is punished by the loss of his property and of his leg. The leg is restored by the Virgin and St. Hippolytus. Later Peter becomes a hermit and is freed from the devil in the form of a woman when he throws a stole over her and finds only a corpse. *FLa²*, fol. 61; *Fr³*, fol. 52; *Ma*, fol. 53^v; *Rc*, fol. 64^v; *Rv³*, no. 166, fol. 97.

60. THIEF SUSTAINED.⁹⁴ A thief, who is usually named Ebbo, but unnamed in this version, is sustained for three days on the gallows by the Virgin. He later becomes a monk. *FLa²*, fol. 62; *Fr³*, fol. 53^v; *Ma*, fol. 55^v; *Rc*, fol. 66^v; *Rv³*, omitted.⁹⁵

61. MARY AND BRIDEGROOM.⁹⁶ The writer goes to great pains to explain that the clerk in this legend is under minor Orders and being free to marry, becomes betrothed. After the apparition of Mary, who upbraids him for giving up the

Villecourt, *op. cit.*, no. 28, p. 275; Miélot, no. vii. Add to these references P. Misiattelli, *op. cit.*, no. 3, pp. 9-10 and no. 37, pp. 104-5, *infra*, Groups II, 3; III, 3 and 37B; V, *Fr¹⁰*, no. 24.

⁸⁸ This is the version of Peter the Venerable, *De Miraculis I*, 8; PL 189, 89^v, where the priest is Gerard of Cluny, cf. *infra*, Group III, 25.

⁸⁹ *Rv³* has a slightly different version, cf. *infra*, Group IV, 54.

⁹⁰ Cf. Eugen Wolter, *Der Judenknabe* (Bibliotheca Normannica, II, Halle, 1879); Theodor Pelizaeus, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Legende vom Judenknaben* (Halle, 1914). J. Ulrich has printed an Old Italian version from Ms British Museum Additional 22557, cf. *op. cit.*, no. 52, pp. 54-5. Lists of variants may be found in Pez, no. 31, p. 97; Villecourt, *op. cit.*, no. 13, pp. 43-4; more to be recommended, E. F. Wilson, *op. cit.*, no. 3, pp. 157-9. Cf. *infra*, Groups IV, *Fn¹*, no. 103; V, *Fp¹*, no. 2, *Fr³*, no. 1 and *Fr¹⁰*, nos. 30 and 135.

⁹¹ Cf. *infra*, Group IV, 120.

⁹² *Legenda aurea*, cap. 119; *ed. cit.*, p. 517 (8); an interesting variant may be found in the *Dialogus miraculorum* of Caesarius of Heisterbach, VII, 27, ii, 37. Cf. Villecourt, no. 17, p. 271; J. Morawski in *Romania*, LXI

(1935), 324.

⁹³ The legend is first told by Guibert of Nogent, *De Laude S. Mariae*, II; PL, 156, 570. See also H. Isnard 'Recueil des miracles de la Vierge du XIII^e siècle,' *Bulletin de la Société arch... du Vendômois*, XXVI (1887), 206-10; F. Fita, *op. cit.*, no. 68, pp. 207-13; Introduction to Jean Miélot, no. xli; J. Morawski in *Romania*, LXIV (1933), 458-60. Cf. *infra*, Group V, *Fr¹⁰*, no. 62.

⁹⁴ No. 60 is found in most mediaeval collections, cf. Pez, no. 6, p. 84; RR, II, no. 11, 252-3; Levi, *op. cit.*, no. 19, p. exxxi; E. F. Wilson, *op. cit.*, no. 61, pp. 209-10. Add to their references R. Becker, *op. cit.*, no. 6, p. 63; *infra*, Group V, *Fp¹*, no. 8, *Fr³*, nos. 2 and 24, *Fr¹⁰*, nos. 33, 49, and 125.

⁹⁵ Cf. *infra*, Group IV, 33 and 61.

⁹⁶ The details correspond to the sixteenth legend of the HM series, cf. Pez. 'Clerk of Pisa,' pp. 18-9 with notes on p. 89. Evelyn Faye Wilson presents the six versions of the 'Bridegroom' tale with bibliographical indications for each type, *op. cit.*, pp. 151-6. See also Anna Wyrerhök and Jo Morański, *Les légendes du 'Fiancé de la Vierge'*, (Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk. Poace Komisji Filologicznej, vii, 3, Poznań, 1934). Cf. *supra*, no. 48; *infra*, Group V, *Fp¹*, no. 10, *Fr³*, no. 3 and *Fr¹⁰*, no. 29.

higher life of chastity, he leaves his fiancée and enters religion. *FLa²*, fol. 63; *Fr³*, fol. 54; *Ma*, fol. 55^v; *Rc*, fol. 67^v; *Rv³*, no. 167, fol. 98^v.

62. VISION OF JUDGEMENT.⁹⁷ A clerk, living a dissolute life, is brought to a virtuous one by a dream in which he has a vision of judgement and is saved only because the Virgin intercedes for him. *FLa²*, fol. 63^v; *Fr³*, fol. 54^v; omitted in *Ma* and *Rc*; *Rv³*, no. 168, fol. 99.

63. THE PRIEST OF ONE MASS.⁹⁸ A saintly priest is suspended by the bishop because he knows only the Mass of the Blessed Virgin with the introit: *Salve sancta parens*. He has recourse to Mary, who appears to the bishop, threatening him with death if he does not reinstate the priest. *FLa²*, fol. 64^v; *Fr³*, fol. 55^v; *Ma*, fol. 56; *Rc*, fol. 69; *Rv³*, no. 169, fol. 100.

64. SIEGE OF CONSTANTINOPLE.⁹⁹ During the reign of the Emperor Theodosius, the Saracens under 'Musilimo' besiege Constantinople. Because of the prayers of the citizens, they are powerless and their leader sees the city shielded by the mantle of the Virgin, who descends each day from heaven with her host of angels. He with a thousand of his men asks to venerate her image in the Basilica and then withdraws. *FLa²*, fol. 65; *Fr³*, fol. 56; *Ma*, fol. 57; *Rc*, fol. 70; *Rv³*, no. 170, fol. 100^v.

65. DELIVERED FROM PURGATORY.¹⁰⁰ A Roman matron, Maria Mariozza, receives the Sacraments of the Dying but fails to confess her frequent sins of vanity. A year after her death she is seen on the Feast of the Assumption by her godmother to whom she reveals that she has been delivered from purgatory through the intercession of Mary, and that on this feast day the number of souls liberated exceeds the population of Rome. As a proof of her veracity she foretells the death of the godmother within a year. The godmother dies on the vigil of the Feast the following year. *FLa²*, fol. 66^v; *Fr³*, fol. 57; *Ma*, fol. 58; *Rc*, fol. 72; *Rv³*, no. 171, fol. 101^v.

66. OFFICE OF THE DEAD.¹⁰¹ A monk who is negligent in saying his regular Office, but daily recites the Office of the Dead, dies. The dead for whom he has prayed become his advocates with Mary who pleads with her Son, obtaining a short purgatorial sentence. *FLa²*, fol. 67^v; *Fr³*, fol. 58^v; *Ma*, fol. 59; *Rc*, fol. 74^v; *Rv³*, no. 172, fol. 102^v.

67. MONK REVIVED FOR CONFESSION.¹⁰² A monk in Burgundy named Bassus, upon returning from a pilgrimage, stops at a monastery where he dies suddenly and without the sacraments. While the monks are praying over his body, he revives and tells them how at his death two angels came to receive his soul, but that the evil spirits had contested their rights on the ground of justice. Mary

⁹⁷ *Legenda aurea*, cap. 131; *ed. cit.*, p. 593 (8); F. Fita, *op. cit.*, no. 59, p. 196. The details also agree with the version in *Ms Arundel 406* (fol. 24) of the British Museum, described by Ward, *op. cit.*, II, 663 (11).

⁹⁸ *Legenda aurea*, *loc. cit.* (7). Many scholars consider the version in Peter Damian, *Opusc. XXXIII: de bono suffragiorum*, 3; PL, 145, 564, the source of this legend. Peter Damian's story of an inept clerk removed by his bishop and of the Virgin's ordering that the prelate be beaten with a rod is the subject of another legend in Group I of this study, cf. *infra*, no. 68. For variants of 'The Priest of One Mass' cf. Pez, no. 9, p. 86; E. F. Wilson, *op. cit.*, no. 25, p. 182. In addition cf. R. Becker, *op. cit.*, no. 9, p. 65; P. Misiattelli, *op. cit.*, no. 27, pp. 75-6; *infra*, Groups III, 27, IV, 35, V, *Fp¹*, no. 11 and *Fp²*, no. 27.

⁹⁹ Similar in detail to no. 64 is the legend in *Ms Paris, Bib. nat. fr. 818*, no. 77, cf. H. Kjellman (*ed.*), *La deuxieme collection*

anglo-normande des miracles de la sainte Vierge et son original latin (Paris and Uppsala, 1921), no. 77, pp. 305-6. See also Arlette P. Ducrot-Granderye, 'Etudes sur les Miracles Nostre Dame de Gautier de Coinci', *Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fenniae*, Series E. XXV, 2 (Helsinki, 1932), 219 ff; Alfonso el Sabio, *op. cit.*, I, 44-5, no. 28. Ward in his description of the legend in *Ms Royal B. xiv* of the British Museum identifies 'Musilimo' as Masalmas, the Saracen leader who besieged Constantinople in 716, in the reign of Theodosius III, cf. *op. cit.* II, 629 (11).

¹⁰⁰ Peter Damian relates the tale in *Opusc. XXXIV: Disputatio de variis apparitionibus et miraculis*, 3; PL, 145, 586-7. Cf. Villecourt, *op. cit.*, no. 17, p. 45.

¹⁰¹ See Peter Damian, *ibid.*, 588-90.

¹⁰² The source is Peter Damian, *Opusc. XXXIII: De bono suffragiorum*, 2; PL, 145, 563. Cf. *RR*, II, no. 9, 249-50; *infra*, Group III, 66.

intervenes and his spirit is permitted to return to his body that he may confess. He dies immediately afterwards. *FLa²*, fol. 68^v; *Fr³*, fol. 59; *Ma*, fol. 60; *Rc*, fol. 76; *Rv³*, no. 173, fol. 103^v.

68. BISHOP BEATEN.¹⁰³ The writer of this legend recalls that St. Gregory appeared after his death to his successor and beat him for being avaricious, and for not continuing his charities. In this tale the Virgin appears to a bishop who has removed a poor cleric from a benefice on the pretext that he is *idiota* and who, now, according to Mary, is suffering from hunger, thirst, and cold. She orders the youth who accompanies her to strike the prelate on the back and shoulders. Needless to say, the cleric is recalled. *FLa²*, fol. 70^v; *Fr³*, fol. 59; *Ma*, fol. 61^v; *Rc*, fol. 79; *Rv³*, no. 174, fol. 105.

69. VISION OF STS. PETER AND PAUL: MARINO'S VISION OF MARY.¹⁰⁴ The first part of the legend relates how Saints Peter and Paul appear to a dying priest who recovers the use of his tongue and is heard to speak with them. In a similar manner Mary appears to Marino, who becomes much vexed when those around his bed refuse to rise in her presence. They believe that he is delirious, but his spiritual director who knows his devotion to the Mother of God is not so skeptical. *FLa²*, fol. 72; *Fr³*, fol. 62; *Ma*, fol. 63; *Rc*, fol. 81; *Rv³*, no. 175, fol. 106.

70. DYING CLERK.¹⁰⁵ A dying clerk who has been faithful in the recitation of the Hours of the Blessed Virgin dreads the judgment because of sins in his past life. He dies happily after she appears to him and gives him the assurance that he is forgiven. *FLa²*, fol. 74; *Fr³*, fol. 64; omitted in *Ma* and *Rc*; *Rv³*, no. 176, fol. 107^v.

71. HILDEFONSUS.¹⁰⁶ After a long introduction concerning the writings of Hildefonsus, Archbishop of Toledo, it is related that he enters his Cathedral to celebrate the Mass of the vigil of the Assumption, and is presented with a branch of palm, signifying his victory over the world, the flesh, and the devil; he is told that he is clothed in a vestment of 'grace.' His successor dares to use the seat occupied by the Virgin and falls into disgrace and is banished. *FLa²*, fol. 74^v; *Fr³*, fol. 64^v; *Ma*, fol. 64^v; *Rc*, fol. 84^v; *Rv³*, no. 177, fol. 108.¹⁰⁷

72. ST. THOMAS OF CANTERBURY.¹⁰⁸ Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, suspends a priest for knowing only the Mass of the Blessed Virgin. She directs him to appeal to the prelate, giving as a sign a hairshirt which he had secretly hidden for future sewing and which she has completed. The priest is reinstated. *FLa²*, fol. 76; *Fr³*, fol. 66; *Ma*, fol. 66^v; *Rc*, fol. 86^v; *Rv³*, no. 178, fol. 110^v.

73. UNWILLING TO DENY MARY.¹⁰⁹ An impoverished knight consults a wizard,

¹⁰³ The story of St. Gregory is from the *S. Gregorii Magni vita* of Paul the Deacon; PL, 75, 58. The legend of the Blessed Virgin, ordering the bishop to be beaten with a rod, is taken literally from Peter Damian, *ibid.*, 3; 564.

¹⁰⁴ Gregory the Great relates the first part of the legend in the *Dialogi*, IV, 12; pp. 243-5; Peter Damian tells of a Marinus consoled in his death agony, *loc. cit.*; 566.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Peter Damian, *Opusc. X: De horis canoniciis*, 10; PL, 145, 230.

¹⁰⁶ This version is based on the account of Cixila, Bishop of Toledo (770-783) who, not only relates the gift of a chasuble, but the promise: *vestimentis gloriae jam in hac vita erneris*. Cixila refers to the palm in a figurative way: *Remansit Dei servus in tantum sollicitus de adipiscenda gloria, quantum perspicuum de sibi donata palma victoriae*. *Vita S. Ildefonsi*; PL, 96, 48. For variants cf. Pez, no. 1, p. 82; E. F. Wilson, *op. cit.*, no. 38, pp. 190-1.

¹⁰⁷ At this point Duccio di Gano, compiler

of *Rv³*, makes an error in foliation which runs 108, 110, etc.

¹⁰⁸ The details of this version agree more nearly with the *Legenda aurea*, cap. 11; *ed. cit.*, p. 68 and the Old French version in *Ms Paris, Bib. nat. fr. 12483*, printed by J. Morawski in *Romania*, LXI, 345-8 than with similar accounts by Caesarius of Heisterbach. *Dialogus miraculorum* VII, 4, ii, 5-6 or Thomas of Cantimpré, *op. cit.*, iii, 29 (12). In no. 72 the suspension occurs because of the priest's ignorance. It is not a question of morals as in Miélot, no. Ixii or Kjellman. *op. cit.*, no. lix, pp. 255-63. See also O'wald Pelbart of Temesvar, *Pomerium de Sanctis hyenuales et estivales* (Hagenau, 1515), no. xxxv: *Magnum speculum exemplorum* VIII, no. 77, p. 526. Cf. *supra*, no. 63 and *infra*. Group V, *Fp³*, no. 6.

¹⁰⁹ Caesarius of Heisterbach, *ibid.*, II, 12, i. 78 ff.; A. Hilkja, *op. cit.*, III, no. 103, 217-8 or A. Meister, *op. cit.*, iii, no. 83, pp. 206-7. Cf. E. Galtier, *'Byzantina Romania'*, XXIX (1900), 524-7; J. Morawski, *ibid.*, pp. 187-90.

but refuses to become rich by renouncing the Virgin. Repentant, he enters a Chapel to pray before a statue of the Madonna. The figure of the Virgin lays the Christ-Child on the altar and pleads for his forgiveness. This is witnessed by a rich knight who offers him the hand of his only daughter. *FLa^a*, fol. 77^v; *Fr^a*, fol. 66^v; *Ma*, fol. 67^v; *Rc*, fol. 88; *Rv^a*, no. 179, fol. 111.

74. THREE LANCES.¹¹⁰ While Dominic is in the Basilica of St. Peter's in Rome, waiting for the confirmation of his Order by Pope Honorius III (1216-1227), he has a vision in which he sees Christ threatening to destroy the world with three lances because of the sins of avarice, pride and lust, and Mary interceding, promising to send her two servants, Dominic and Francis, to convert the world. *FLa^a*, fol. 79^v; *Fr^a*, fol. 68^v; *Ma*, fol. 69^v; *Rc*, fol. 110;¹¹¹ *Rv^a*, no. 180, fol. 113.

75. BEATRICE THE SACRISTAN.¹¹² Beatrice, sacristan of a convent in Cologne, leaves her keys at the feet of a statue of the Virgin and lives a worldly life for fifteen years. Repentant, she returns and finds that her duties have been performed by Mary and her absence has been undetected. *FLa^a*, fol. 80; *Fr^a*, fol. 69; *Ma*, omitted; *Rc*, fol. 111^v; *Rv^a*, no. 181, fol. 113^v.

76. VISION OF MARY. After a short digression on the subject of purity, it is related that Mary appears to a saintly Cistercian, and in answer to his queries explains that the whiteness of her vesture is due to her sinlessness, and the splendor which surrounds her signifies that after her Son, God has destined her to be the light and splendor of a world which will find in her all virtues. *FLa^a*, fol. 82; *Fr^a*, fol. 71; *Ma*, fol. 70^v; *Rc*, fol. 91^v; *Rv^a*, no. 182, fol. 115.

77. CRUST IN CHRIST'S WOUNDS.¹¹³ A monk who finds the food served in the monastery unpalatable has a vision in which he is told by Mary to meditate on the Passion. She then gives him a crust of bread which she has dipped in Christ's wounds. *FLa^a*, fol. 83; *Fr^a*, fol. 71^v; *Ma*, fol. 71; *Rc*, fol. 92^v; *Rv^a*, no. 183, fol. 115^v.

78. VIRGIN ACTS AS KNIGHT.¹¹⁴ *FLa^a*, *Fr^a*, and *Rv^a* localize the legend in Portugal with the knight Pantaleon as the protagonist. On his way to a tournament he stops at the chapel of a monastery to hear Mass and continues to hear one after another until it is too late to go to the tournament. In the meantime he has been impersonated by the Virgin who has unhorsed twenty-five knights and even the King of Portugal. Upon leaving the chapel, Pantaleon is greeted as the hero of the day by his prisoners, and in bewilderment he accompanies them to his castle, makes them dine and take repose. Once alone he prays for

The Florentine, Jacopo Passavanti (d. 1357), recounts this and the next two legends in *Lo specchio della vera penitenza I* (Milan, 1808), pp. 115 ff. For variants cf. Crane, *The Exempla from the Sermones Vulgares of Jacques de Vitry*, no. 295, pp. 263-4; Villecourt, *op. cit.*, no. 59, pp. 63-4. Add to these references P. Misciattelli, *op. cit.*, no. 74, pp. 220-4; *infra*, Groups III, 75, and V, *Fr^a*, 50 and 101. For the legend, 'Unwilling to deny the Trinity' which Galtier (*loc. cit.*) gives as the original source of the Mary legend and which is found in the Greek manuscripts, cf. *infra*, Group IV, 44.

¹¹⁰ *Légende aurea*, can. 113; *ed. cit.*, p. 470; Passavanti, *op. cit.*, I, 110. Cf. Levi, *op. cit.*, no. 48, p. c(iv). The bull of confirmation was given Dec. 22, 1216.

¹¹¹ The compiler of *Rc* inserts 'Three Lances' and the next legend, 'Beatrice,' at the end of his collection. Cf. *infra*, the table for *Rc* in Group I, 78 and 80.

¹¹² Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus miraculorum*, VII, 34, ii, 43. Cf. H. Watenphul, *Die Geschicht der Marienlegende von Beatrice der Küsterin* (Göttingen, 1904); also, R. Guiette, *La légende de la sacristine*

(Paris, 1927); J. Passavanti, *op. cit.*, I, 229. A brief but thorough list of the variants is given by Crane in his notes to the *exempla* of Jacques de Vitry, *op. cit.*, no. 60, p. 189; by Villecourt, *op. cit.*, no. 25, pp. 48-9. Cf. J. Morawski, *ibid.*, pp. 172-3.

¹¹³ The tale is frequently found among the mediaeval Latin *exempla*. Occasionally it is Christ, not Mary, who bids the monk to dip the crust in His wounds. Similar to no. 77 is the account of Odo of Cheriton, cf. Léopold Hervieux (ed.), *Les fabulistes latins depuis le siècle d'Auguste jusqu'à la fin du moyen âge IV* (Paris, 1896), no. 11, p. 239; and in Italian, cf. Levi, *op. cit.*, no. 44, p. 76. For variants cf. A. Hilka, *op. cit.*, III, p. 129, n.l. See also *infra*, Group V, *FLa^a*, no. 2.

¹¹⁴ Caesarius of Heisterbach relates a similar tale of Walter of Birbech in the *Dialogus miraculorum*, VII, 38, ii, 49-50. Cf. Mussafia, *Studien*, III, 31; J. Morawski, *ibid.*, pp. 199-200. In the version of Alfonso el Sabio the knight is assisting the Count Don García in his expedition against the Moors at San Estebán de Gormaz, cf. *op. cit.*, I, 90-3, no. 63, with variants on pp. xlvi-xlii.

enlightenment and the Virgin appears to him, telling him the truth and urging him to a life of sanctity. Thereupon, Pantaleon frees the nobles, gives his goods to the poor and enters a monastery. *FLa²*, fol. 83^v; *Fr³*, fol. 72; *Ma*, fol. 71^v; *Rc*, fol. 93;¹¹⁵ *Rv³*, no. 184, fol. 116.

79. OUR LADY OF THE SNOW.¹¹⁶ In a dream Pope Liberius (352-366) and John, a Patrician of Rome, are told by the Virgin to build a church where they will find snow. The next day, the fifth of August, snow is discovered on the Esquiline Hill and the site is selected for the Basilica of St. Mary Major. *FLa²*, fol. 87^v; *Fr³*, fol. 75; *Ma*, fol. 73^v; *Rc*, fol. 93^v; *Rv³*, no. 185, fol. 119.

80. WIFE RESUSCRITATED.¹¹⁷ A knight daily retires to a private chapel dedicated to the Mother of God. His wife, thinking that he goes to visit his mistress, kills herself, but is restored to life by the Virgin at the knight's prayers. A child is born with a wound on its forehead; this is likewise healed. *FLa²*, fol. 91^v; *Fr³*, fol. 79; *Ma*, fol. 76^v; *Rc*, fol. 109;¹¹⁸ *Rv³*, no. 186, fol. 122.

81. CHARITABLE JEW.¹¹⁹ During a famine in Egypt a Jew gives away all his grain to the poor. In distress he is about to turn away a woman and child when he finds his barn miraculously filled. The visitors vanish. He and his family become Christian. *FLa²*, fol. 92; *Fr³*, fol. 79^v; *Ma*, fol. 77; *Rc*, fol. 100^v; *Rv³*, no. 187, fol. 122^v.

At this point *Fr³* ends, *FLa²* continues with the legend of St. Mary of Egypt, and *Rv³* with that of St. Elizabeth. *Ma* and *Rc* still bear a resemblance to each other as the correspondence in the next six legends shows. Both manuscripts have consistently omitted objectionable stories; the first of the tales which follow is no. 77 in *Ma* and no. 72 in *Rc* (Cf. Chart).

Ma 77-Rc 72. NO DEATH WITHOUT CONFESSION.¹²⁰ A French knight is mortally wounded by his enemy but cannot die until his confession has been heard—a grace he obtains because he has always fasted on the vigils of the feasts of the Virgin that he may have a happy death. *Ma*, fol. 77^v; *Rc*, fol. 101^v.

Ma 78-Rc 73. DEVIL AS SERVANT.¹²¹ A devil enters the service of an impoverished knight who soon becomes rich through the efforts of his servant. A French bishop discovers from the devil's remarks on the age of the moon that he is an evil spirit in disguise. *Ma*, fol. 77^v; *Rc*, fol. 101^v.

Ma 79-Rc 77. ELECTUARY.¹²² A physician, who becomes a monk at Clairvaux,

¹¹⁵ The compilers of *Ma* and *Rc* give just the bare details, do not name the knight nor localize the legend. Cf. *Legenda aurea*, cap. 131; *ed. cit.*, pp. 590-1 (2).

¹¹⁶ The *Festum Dedicacionis S. Mariae ad Nives*, celebrated on the fifth of August, was observed in the Basilica of St. Mary Major as early as the twelfth century. Gregory XI (1371) and Pius II (1453) gave the sanction of their authority to it. See Alfonso el Sabio, *op. cit.*, II, 428 ff., no. 309; Silvano Razzi, *De' miracoli di nostra donna* (Florence, 1595), pp. 43-4.

¹¹⁷ Cf. Edmond Albe, *Les miracles de Notre-Dame de Roc-Amadour au xii^e siècle* (Paris, 1907), no. 7, p. 85; Hugo of Trimberg, *Solse-rium*, ed. Erich Seemann (Münchener Texte, ix, Munich, 1914), no. 27, pp. 56-8. There is a version in Old French prose in *Ms Paris, Bib. nat. fr. 7018³*, fol. 9^v; cf. Gustave Servois, *Notices et extraits du recueil des miracles de Notre-Dame de Roc-Amadour*, *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des chartes*, XVIII (1856), 40-1; in Old English, cf. C. Horstmann, *Altenglische Legenden* (Heilbronn, 1881), p. 329; in German, cf. Johannes Bolte (ed.), *Marienlegenden des xv Jahrhunderts*, *Alemannia*, XVII (1889), no. 10, pp. 8-9 and no. 34, pp. 18-9. See also Alfonso el Sabio, *op.*

cit., I, 133-5, no. 85; Herbert, *op. cit.*, III, 547, no. 98 for *Ms Arundel 506* (fol. 20), a fourteenth-century manuscript in the British Museum. Cf. *infra*, Group V, *Fr²*, fol. 74^v-^v.

¹¹⁸ Cf. *infra*, the table for *Rc* in Group I, no. 78.

¹¹⁹ Etienne de Bourbon relates the story of a Saracen, *op. cit.*, no. 89, pp. 83-4. A Saracen is also the protagonist in *Mss British Museum Additional 16539* (fol. 90), *Additional 18364* (fol. 12), and *Additional 27333* (fol. 67^v), cf. Herbert, *op. cit.*, III, 469, 607, 669 respectively. Alfonso el Sabio relates a similar tale of a charitable woman (*op. cit.*, II, 286, no. 203) and of a pagan in Sicily (*op. cit.*, II, 466-8, no. 335).

¹²⁰ See Etienne de Bourbon's story of a French knight of Nevers, *op. cit.*, no. 121, p. 104; Kjellman, *op. cit.*, no. 60, pp. 263-6 with variants on pp. lxxiv-lxxv; J. Morawski, in *Romania*, LXIV, 324, no. 2. Many different versions will be noted throughout this study: Groups II, 29 and 33; III, 18; IV, *Fr⁴*, no. 54; V, *Fr¹⁰*, nos. 45, 46, 47, 75, 77, and 122.

¹²¹ Cf. *infra*, Group V, *Fr⁴*, no. 12. Cf. *supra*, no. 36 which is slightly different.

¹²² Herbert of Torres, *De Miraculis*; PL, 185³, 1365; *Exordium magnum ordinis Cisterciensis* II, 19; *ibid.*, 1077. See also Caesarius of

declines to eat the coarse food served in the monastery. He sees Mary enter and give a syrup to the other monks, but only after he promises to amend does he receive his portion. *Ma*, fol. 79^v; *Rc*, fol. 108^v.

Ma 80-*Rc* 74. SPEAKING IMAGE.¹²³ While a nun is praying before an image of Mary, she hears the Virgin speak to her Son. Joyful to be favored with such a miracle, the religious bursts out weeping. The writer notes that she differs from Mary Magdalen who wept from contrition, not as she does from devotion. *Ma*, fol. 79^v; *Rc*, fol. 103.

Ma 81-*Rc* 75. YOUTH SAVED FROM DEATH.¹²⁴ A youth in the service of a great Lord wins favor because of his integrity, but the master is persuaded by a jealous servant that the boy is in love with the Lady of the castle. Instructions are sent to the owner of a kiln that he is to throw into his furnace without question the messenger who will come to him on the following morning. The innocent boy stops to hear a Mass at a Lady-chapel and the envious servant, inquiring at the kiln, is burned to death. The Lord then discovers his error. *Ma*, fol. 80; *Rc*, fol. 103^v.

Ma 82-*Rc* 76. INCOMPLETE GARMENT.¹²⁵ Mary appears to a monk who says seventy-five *Aves* daily, showing him a garment which is three-fourths covered with *Aves*, and asking him to finish the other fourth. *Ma*, fol. 81; *Rc*, fol. 105.

At this point *Ma* ends and *Rc* continues with a short sermon on the Mass and the Eucharist (fols. 105^v-108^v). The compiler of *Rc* then goes back to the legend of the 'Electuary' for his no. 77, to the story of the 'Wife Resuscitated' (Group I, no. 80) for his no. 78, to the tales of the 'Three Lances' and 'Beatrice' (Group I, nos. 74 and 75) for his nos. 79 and 80. Before concluding his manuscript, he relates the three legends which follow:

Rc 81. 120 *Aves* DAILY. Fol. 112^v.¹²⁶

Rc 82. CURED FOR A YEAR.¹²⁷ A girl named Margarita enters a convent much against her father's wishes. She is stricken with a fatal illness and is expected to die when the Blessed Virgin appears to her, cures her, and urges her to strive for sanctity within the next year when she will return to take her to heaven. She dies a year later. Fol. 113.

Rc 83. GIOVANNI ACUTO.¹²⁸ In the year 1370 a band of soldiers led by Giovanni Acuto, an Englishman, ravages the city of Faenza. The nuns in a convent are helpless and one of them flees to the chapel to pray that God will protect her

Heisterbach, *Dialogus miraculorum* VII, 47, ii, 67; A. Hilka, *op. cit.*, III, no. 89, 204-5; A. Meister, *op. cit.*, iii, no. 69, pp. 193-4; Goswin Frenken (ed.), *Die Exempla des Jacob von Vitry* (Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters, V, Munich, 1914), no. xi, pp. 103-4; J. T. Welter (ed.), *La Tabula exemplorum secundum ordinem alphabeti, recueil d'exempla compilé en France à la fin du xiiie siècle* (Paris, 1926), no. 270, p. 71 with variants on p. 113, n. 270. Levi gives an Italian version, *op. cit.*, no. 28, pp. 52-3. See also Bonavesin da Riva, *Vulgare de Eleemosynis*, ed. I. Becker, *Bericht über die zur Bekanntmachung geeigneten Verhandlungen der Königl. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Berlin, 1850), no. 3, pp. 453-6, ll. 610-737. For variants cf. Villecourt, *op. cit.*, no. 32, p. 52. Cf. *infra*, Group V, *F^r10*, no. 54.

¹²⁶ Cf. J. T. Welter, *op. cit.*, no. 217, p. 58 and n. 125, n. 217.

¹²⁷ Etienne de Bourbon, *op. cit.*, no. 373, pp. 329-30. Cf. Wilhelm Hertz, *Deutsche Sage im Elsass* (Stuttgart, 1872), pp. 278-93; E. Galtier, *op. cit.*, pp. 507-13; Villecourt, *op. cit.*, no. 64, p. 286; Alfonso el Sabio, *op. cit.*, I, 125-7, no. 78 with variants on pp. xlvi-

xlvii. Cf. *infra*, Group V, *Fⁿ4*, fol. 60 and *F^r5*, no. 40. For the other version of the 'Fridolin' legend where the calumny hinges on the motif of bad breath, cf. *infra*, Group V, *F^r10*, no. 22.

¹²⁸ Cf. A. Hilka, *op. cit.*, III, 165, no. 44 and n. 44; A. Meister, *op. cit.*, iii, no. 24, p. 133; P. Misciattelli, *op. cit.*, no. 50, pp. 133-4; *infra*, Group III, 50.

¹²⁹ Cf. *supra*, Group I, 4.

¹³⁰ 'Cured for a Year' is found in an Italian manuscript of the fourteenth century, Vatican City, Vat. lat. 5086 (fol. 199) together with the next legend, 'Giovanni Acuto.' Cf. *infra*, Group V, *Rv*¹.

¹³¹ Cf. *infra*, Group V, *Rv*¹ (fol. 200). The same version may be found in the 15th century manuscript, Verona, Bib. Comunale 1224 (fol. 105). See also Francesco Zambrini (ed.), *Martirio d'una fanciulla Faentina narrato per Frate Filippo da Siena nel secolo xiv* (Scelta di curiosità letterarie, 3, Bologna, 1861), pp. 8-12. Giovanni Acuto is the Italianized form of the name, Sir John Hawkwood (d. 1394) who attained great renown as a condottiere in the Italian wars of the fourteenth century. Under his leadership Faenza was destroyed in 1378.

SISTER MARY VINCENTINE

virginity. A soldier enters and attracted by her beauty is about to make off with her, when another disputes his claim. They are deciding it by duel when Acuto appears and, rather than lose a soldier, he martyrs the nun. Fols. 115-117.

4. TABLE OF CORRESPONDENCE.

The following table, showing omissions, illustrates more clearly the relationship between *FLa^a* and *Fr^a*, *Ma* and *Rc*, *Fp^a* and *Fr^b*, and the use which Duccio di Gano of Pisa, compiler of *Rv^a*, made of the legends of Group I.

	<i>FLa^a</i>	<i>Fr^a</i>	<i>Ma</i>	<i>Rc</i>	<i>Rv^a</i>	<i>Fp^a</i>	<i>Fr^b</i>	<i>Fp^a</i>	<i>Fr^c</i>
1. Pilgrim in the Sea.....	1	1	1	1	128	1	1	..	..
2. Light on the Masthead.....	2	2	2	2	129	2	2	..	..
3. Hours Sung Daily.....	3	3	3	3	130	3	3	..	..
4. 120 Aves Daily; Saved from Drowning	4	4	4	4	131	4	..	3	..
5. Two Devils in Prison.....	5	5	5	..	132	5	4	..	..
6. Robber Slapped.....	6	6	6	5	133	6	5	..	..
7. Painter; Baby Saved.....	7	7	7	6	..	7	..	4	..
8. Barns Filled.....	8	8	8	7	134	8	6	..	..
9. Alexius in the Mine.....	9	9	9	8	135	9	7	5	..
10. Drowned Sacristan.....	10	10	10	..	136	10	8	..	..
11. Milk.....	11	11	11	9	137	11	9	..	..
12. Mary with Sts. Martin and Nicholas.....	12	12	12	10	138	12	10	..	..
13. Love by Black Art.....	13	13	13	11	139	13	11	..	..
14. Mary's Name in Gold Letters.....	14	14	14	12	140	14	12	..	..
15. Will for Deed.....	15	15	15	13	141	15	13	6	..
16. Knight and Squire.....	16	16	16	14	142	16	14	..	..
17. Abbot Elsinus.....	17	17	17	15	..	17	..	..	..
18. Drowned Sacristan.....	18	18	18	..	..	18	15	..	..
19. Charitable Almsman.....	19	19	19	16	..	19	16	..	..
20. Bread to the Christ-Child.....	20	20	20	17	..	20	17	..	..
21. Severed Hand.....	21	21	21*	18	..	21	18	..	..
22. Prefect of Rome.....	22	22	22	19	143	22*	19	..	1
23. Nun's Penance Left Uncompleted.....	23	23	..	..	144	23	20	..	..
24. Two Brothers at Rome.....	24	24	23	20	145	24	21	..	..
25. Nativity of the Virgin.....	25	25	24	21	..	25	22	..	..
26. Octave of the Nativity.....	26	26	25	22	..	26	23	..	..
27. Image of Sardinay.....	27	27	26	23	..	27	24	..	..
28. Pilgrim of St. James.....	28	28	27	24	..	28	25	..	..
29. Virgin Comes to Devil.....	29	29	28	25	..	29	26	..	..
30. Monks by the Riverside.....	30	30	29	26	..	30	27	..	..
31. Five Joys.....	31	31*	30	27	..	31	28	..	..
32. Vision of Judgment.....	32*	32*	31	28	146	32	29	..	..
33. Virgin's Choir.....	33	33	32	29	147	33	30	..	..
34. Christ-Child Seized as Pledge.....	34	34	33	30	..	34	31	..	2
35. Taper Left Behind by an Angel.....	35	35	34	31	148	35	32	..	..
36. Devil as Servant.....	36	36	35*	32	..	36	33	..	..
37. Toledo.....	37	37	36	33	149	37	34	..	..
38. Hours of the Virgin.....	38	38	37	34	150	38	35	..	..
39. Blaspheming Merchant.....	39	39	38	35	151	39	36	..	..
40. St. John the Almoner.....	40	40	39	36	152	..	..	..	..
41. St. Elizabeth's Vision.....	41	41	40	37	153	..	..	..	..
42. Siege of Chartres.....	42	42	41	38	..	..	..	..	..
43. Theophilus.....	43	43	42*	39	154	..	..	..	..
44. St. John Damascene.....	44	44	43	40	155	..	..	..	..

* Incomplete

MEDIAEVAL STUDIES

	<i>FLa</i> ²	<i>Fr</i> ³	<i>Ma</i>	<i>Rc</i>	<i>Rv</i> ³	<i>Fp</i> ²	<i>Fr</i> ⁵	<i>Fp</i> ⁴	<i>Fr</i> ⁶
45. Disobedient Son.....	45	45	44	41	156	..	..	..	..
46. Foundation of Dominican Order.....	46	46	45	42	157	..	..	..	..
47. Julian the Apostate.....	47	47	46	43	158	..	..	..	..
48. Brother of the King of Hungary.....	48	48	47	44	159	..	..	..	..
49. Demons as Swine.....	49	49	48	45	160	..	..	..	..
50. Landmarks Removed.....	50	50	49	46	161	..	..	..	..
51. Sight Restored.....	51	51	50	47	162	..	..	..	..
52. Drowned Clerk.....	52	52	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
53. Litany Chanted.....	53	53	51	48	163	..	..	..	..
54. Mother-in-law and Son-in-law.....	54	54	52	49	..	..	..	..	..
55. Could Learn Only <i>Ave Maria</i>	55	55	53	50	164	..	..	..	..
56. Eucharistic Miracle.....	56	56	54	51	..	..	..	..	..
57. Jewish Boy.....	57	57	55	52	..	..	..	..	..
58. Prayer Puts Devil to Flight.....	58	58	56	53	165	..	..	..	..
59. Ploughing on the Magdalen's Day.....	59	59	57	54	166	..	..	..	..
60. Thief Sustained.....	60	60	58	55	..	..	..	..	..
61. Mary and Bridegroom.....	61	61	59	56	167	..	..	..	..
62. Vision of Judgment.....	62	62	..	..	168	..	..	..	..
63. Priest of One Mass.....	63	63	60	57	169	..	..	..	..
64. Siege of Constantinople.....	64	64	61	58	170	..	..	..	..
65. Delivered from Purgatory.....	65	65	62	59	171	..	..	..	..
66. Office of the Dead.....	66	66	63	60	172	..	..	..	..
67. Monk Revived for Confession.....	67	67	64	61	173	..	..	..	..
68. Bishop Beaten.....	68	68	65	62	174	..	..	..	..
69. Vision of Sts. Peter and Paul; Marino.	69	69	66	63	175	..	..	..	..
70. Dying Clerk.....	70	70	..	..	176	..	..	..	..
71. Hildefonsus.....	71	71	67	64	177	..	..	..	..
72. St. Thomas of Canterbury.....	72	72	68	65	178	..	..	..	..
73. Unwilling to Deny Mary.....	73	73	69	66	179	..	..	..	..
74. Three Lances.....	74	74	70	79	180	..	..	..	..
75. Beatrice.....	75	75	..	80	181	..	..	..	..
76. Vision of Mary.....	76	76	71	67	182	..	..	..	..
77. Crust in Christ's Wounds.....	77	77	72	68	183	..	..	..	..
78. Virgin Acts as Knight.....	78	78	73	69	184	..	..	..	..
79. Our Lady of the Snow.....	79	79	74	70	185	..	..	..	..
80. Wife Resuscitated.....	80	80	75	78	186	..	..	..	..
81. Charitable Jew.....	81	81	76	71	187	..	..	..	..
No Death without Confession.....	..	..	77	72	..	..	..	..	..
Devil as Servant.....	..	..	78	73	..	..	..	..	..
Electuary.....	..	..	79	77	..	..	..	..	..
Speaking Image.....	..	..	80	74	..	..	..	..	..
Youth Saved from Death.....	..	..	81	75	..	..	..	..	..
Incomplete Garment.....	..	..	82	76	..	..	..	..	..
120 <i>Aves</i> Daily.....	..	..	..	81	..	..	..	..	..
Cured for a Year.....	..	..	..	82	..	..	..	..	..
Giovanni Acuto.....	..	..	..	83	..	..	..	..	..

A study of the chart for Group I would lead one to conclude that *FLa*² and *Fr*³, both containing the series of eighty-one legends which constitutes the *Libro del Naufragio*, are closely related. No. 32 in *FLa*² is incomplete and *Fr*³ gives only the rubrics of no. 31 and the last part of no. 32; therefore, one may presuppose a manuscript which was the archetype and which was used by the compilers of the other manuscripts considered in Group I.

Rc and *Ma* both contain a short version of no. 78, "The Virgin Acts as Knight".

not found in *FLa²*, *Fr³* and *Rv³*; both omit nos. 23, 52, 62, and 70. But the manuscripts are dissimilar: *Ma* contains nos. 5, 10, and 18, omitted in *Rc*, and omits no. 75 which the compiler of *Rc* inserts towards the end of the collection as no. 80. *Rc* adds the last three legends, nos. 81, 82, and 83. The scribes of *Ma* frequently enlarge upon the text of the versions found in *FLa²*, *Fr³* and *Rv³*; *Rc* does not. *Ma* contains three incomplete legends, nos. 21, 35, and 42.

In *Rv³* the compiler, Duccio di Gano of Pisa, consistently omits all legends which appear in synopsized or variant form in the first part of his collection. He could not have used *Rc* which does not contain his nos. 136, 144, 168, and 176. Only a close study of the text would permit one to decide whether he used *FLa²* directly or another manuscript akin to *Fr³*.

As for the shorter manuscripts, *Fp²* and *Fr⁵*, *Fp²* presents without omission the first thirty-nine legends of the *Libro del Naufragio*; *Fr⁵* omits nos. 4, 7, and 17. *Fp²* and *Fr⁵* are identical for the next two legends not taken from Group I, and then the similarity ceases; the scribe of *Fr⁵* continues with legends taken from the *Libro del Cavaliere* (Cf. Group V, *Fp²* and *Fr⁵*).

Of the six Mary legends in *Fp⁴*, four are from Group I; two are from Group IV.¹²⁰ Both legends contained in *Fr²* are from the *Libro del Naufragio*.¹²⁰

II. Manuscripts of Mary Legends in Italian: Group II.

Ezio Levi d'Ancona indicates four manuscripts¹ as belonging to the series, called the *Libro del Cavaliere*: *Mss Florence, Bib. Riccardiana 1408* and *Riccardiana 1431*, Naples, Bib. Naz. xii.F.25 and Padua, Bib. Antoniana 220. A close study reveals that, although *Mss Riccardiano 1408* and 1431 are related to each other, they are quite distinct from the other two. These Florentine manuscripts begin with the legend which has given the name, *Libro del Cavaliere*, to the series. They contain only thirty and thirty-three Marian legends,² respectively. *Ms Riccardiano 1431* has only twenty of the fifty-nine tales found in Naples, Bib. Naz. xii.F.25; *Ms Riccardiano 1408*, only seventeen of these fifty-nine. There is evidence that neither of the compilers of the Florentine manuscripts used Padua, Bib. Antoniana 220.³

Nevertheless, *Mss Riccardiano 1408* and 1431 constitute a series, important in manuscript relations inasmuch as a number of compilers drew from this series only. The compiler of *Ms Florence, Bib. Naz. Magliabechiano XXXVIII.70* found the shorter and longer series sufficiently different from each other to use each as a source. Differences in vocabulary and structure, in the details of the narratives, and in the sequence make it advisable to treat *Mss Riccardiano 1408* and 1431 with their related manuscripts as Group II and the longer manuscripts of the *Libro del Cavaliere* as Group III.

¹²⁰ Cf. *infra*, Group IV, 2 and 14.

¹²⁰ While it was not the purpose of this study to show the relationship between the *Libro del Naufragio* and other collections, it might be noted in passing that twenty-four of the legends in the series are in the Pez collection. A study of details points to the direct use of the *Legenda aurea* and the legends in the works of Peter Damian and Peter the Venerable. One does not find this close adherence to detail in those stories first related by Gregory of Tours, Guibert of Nogent, Walter of Cluny, Honorius of Autun, and Herbert of Torres, or the legends contained in the thirteenth-century collec-

tions of Vincent of Beauvais, Caesarius of Heisterbach, Jacques de Vitry, and Etienne de Bourbon. The tales are revised to make them more dramatic. The long version of 'The Virgin Acts as Knight' (no. 78) is typical of this tendency.

¹ *Il libro dei cinquanta miracoli della Vergine*, p. xcvi, n. 1.

² Levi erroneously notes twenty-nine and thirty-five Mary legends respectively, *ibid.*, p. lxv.

³ Mary legends, nos. 12 and 28, Group II, are in *Mss Naples, Bib. Naz. xii F. 25*, but not in Padua, Bib. Antoniana 220.

1. ANALYSIS OF GROUP II.

Fr^s—Riccardiano 1431,¹ containing thirty-three Mary legends (fols. 62–79), is the work of Luigi Rucellai and is dated 1469.

Fr^r—Riccardiano 1408,⁵ a fifteenth-century manuscript in the same library, contains thirty Marian tales (fols. 108–116).

Rv^s—Vaticano *lat.* 8085^a is a fifteenth-century manuscript in the Vatican Library, containing twenty-one Mary legends (fols. 119–136) of which twenty are from Group II.

Fn^t—*Magliabechiano XXXVIII.70*⁷ in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale at Florence is also of the fifteenth century. It is a collection of 152 legends (fols. 16^v–78) of which nos. 67 to 97 are drawn from Group II.

Rv^s—Vaticano *Barberino lat.* 4032 has already been considered in Group I.⁸ The compiler, Duccio di Gano of Pisa, used the subjects of the legends in Group II for twenty-one of the Marian tales in his collection.

Fp^s—*Palatino LXXIII*⁹ is a manuscript of the fifteenth century in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale at Florence. Of its thirty Mary legends (fols. 198–218) only nos. 3, 10–18, and 27 correspond to Group II.

2. THE CONTENT OF EACH LEGEND IN GROUP II.

1. VIRGIN COMES TO DEVIL INSTEAD OF HIS VICTIM. Cf. Group I, 29 for summary; *Fr*^s, fol. 62; *Fr*^r, fol. 108; *Rv*^s, fol. 129^v; *Fn*^t, no. 94, fol. 45.

2. DEVIL AS SERVANT. Cf. Group I, 36;¹⁰ *Fr*^s, fol. 63^v; *Fr*^r omitted; *Rv*^s, fol. 130; *Fn*^t, no. 68, fol. 40.

3. COULD LEARN ONLY *Ave Maria*. Cf. Group I, 55; *Fr*^s, fol. 64^v; *Fr*^r, omitted; *Rv*^s, fol. 130^v; *Fn*^t, no. 67, fol. 40.

4. MOTHER-IN-LAW AND SON-IN-LAW. Cf. Group I, 54; *Fr*^s, fol. 64^v; *Fr*^r, omitted; *Rv*^s, fol. 130^v; *Fn*^t, no. 93, fol. 45; *Rv*^s, no. 93, fol. 51.

5. UNWILLING TO DENY MARY. A servant, having squandered the wealth of his master, has recourse to the evil spirit to regain it. He agrees to deny God but refuses to submit to the devil's demand that he deny Mary. Thereupon he is beaten. Bruised and wounded, he enters a church and begs help from her. His master enters and sees the Virgin healing the wounds of the servant whom he then sets free and makes wealthy.¹¹ *Fr*^s, fol. 65^v; *Fr*^r, fol. 109; *Rv*^s, fol. 131; *Fn*^t, no. 69, fol. 40^v; *Rv*^s, no. 94, fol. 51^v; *Fp*^s, no. 10, fol. 201^v.

6. 150 AVES DAILY.¹² The Virgin appears to a girl who has the custom of saying 150 *Aves* daily, and requests that she say them more slowly, and particularly the words, *Dominus tecum*. *Fr*^s, fol. 66^v; *Fr*^r, fol. 109; *Rv*^s, fol. 131^v; *Fn*^t, no. 70, fol. 40^v; *Rv*^s, omitted;¹³ *Fp*^s, no. 11, fol. 202.

¹ Levi, *op. cit.*, p. lxv; S. Morpurgo, *I manoscritti della R. Biblioteca Riccardiana di Firenze*, pp. 466–7.

⁵ Levi, *op. cit.*, pp. lxiv–lxv; S. Morpurgo, *op. cit.*, p. 447.

⁶ Levi, *op. cit.*, pp. lxxvii–lxxxix. According to Levi, there are nineteen Mary legends in this manuscript. He has omitted the *incipit* for the eleventh (cf. *infra*, no. 11) and numbers both thirteen and fourteen as twelve.

⁷ Levi, *op. cit.*, p. lvii. The number of legends contained in *Fn*^t is given as 156 by Levi. This is the number given in the index. In reality no. 152 is incomplete and fols. 79–88 are blank, a space which probably would have been used by the scribe for nos. 153, 154, 155 and 156. Cf. *infra*, Group III, 71–5.

⁸ Cf. *infra*. Nos. 128–83 in *Rv*^s were from Group I.

⁹ Levi, *op. cit.*, p. ix; L. Gentile, *I codici*

Palatini I, 76; *infra* Group V. The copyist, 'Pagholo di Piero del Perse' (fol. 139), complains in the midst of his work (fol. 89): Qui è finito di scrivere questi capitoli, e non posso iscrivere gli altri che seguono per ordine dopo questi, perch'io non posso più tenere questo libro ch'è della compagnia di santa brigida di firenze. Cf. *supra*, Group I, n. 16.

¹⁰ In Group I, 36 the devil acts as servant for fourteen years. In Groups II and III, the time element is twelve years. See also P. Misciattelli, *Miracoli della gloriosa Vergine Maria*, no. 2, pp. 6–8.

¹¹ Cf. *supra*, Group I, 73.

¹² Cf. *supra*, Group I, 4 ('120 Aves Daily'). For variants cf. Crane's notes to the reprint of Pez, no. 32, p. 97; A. Hilka, *Die Wundergeschichten des Caesarius von Heisterbach* III, 176, n. 57.

¹³ Cf. *infra*, Group IV, 59.

7. HAND ON THE CONVENT-DOOR.¹⁵ A nun stops to say a prayer to the Virgin before leaving her convent, but finding a hand on the lock and hearing a voice reprimanding her, she returns to her cell repentant. *Fr^s*, fol. 66^v; *Fr^t*, fol. 109^v; *Rv^s*, fol. 131^v; *Fn^t*, omitted; *Rv^s*, no. 95, fol. 52.

8. PILGRIM'S STAFF.¹⁶ A Cistercian monk on his way to Rome to receive the confirmation of his episcopal appointment notices a pilgrim's staff which has leafed with the words *Ave Maria* upon each leaf. He investigates and finds the incorrupt body of a pilgrim who had been assaulted by robbers. *Fr^s*, fol. 67; *Fr^t*, fol. 109^v; *Rv^s*, fol. 131^v; *Fn^t*, no. 71, fol. 41; *Rv^s*, omitted; ¹⁶ *Fp^s*, no. 13, fol. 202.

9. FIVE JOYS.¹⁷ Cf. Group I, 31; *Fr^s*, fol. 67^v; *Fr^t*, fol. 110; *Rv^s*, fol. 132; *Fn^t*, no. 72, fol. 41; *Rv^s*, no. 96, fol. 52; *Fp^s*, no. 12, fol. 202.

10. PACT WITH THE DEVIL.¹⁸ A man, wretchedly poor, makes a pact with the devil. He becomes repentant upon seeing an image of Mary in a church and despite the buffeting of the evil spirit he runs within. Three times the Virgin drives him from her presence, and then relenting, promises to obtain forgiveness from her Son. Through her assistance he also obtains the charter signed in his blood. *Fr^s*, fol. 67^v; *Fr^t*, fol. 110; *Rv^s*, fol. 132; *Fn^t*, no. 73, fol. 41; *Rv^s*, no. 97, fol. 52; *Fp^s*, no. 14, fol. 202^v.

11. DISCORD BETWEEN HUSBAND AND WIFE.¹⁹ A woman who lives peaceably with her husband is deceived by the devil who, appearing to her in the form of the Virgin, advises her to neglect domestic duties for prayer. The wife does not realize the deception until the third apparition when the evil spirit attempts to throw her into a well. At the invocation of Mary the devil vanishes. Reconciliation with her husband follows. *Fr^s*, fol. 68^v; *Fr^t*, fol. 110^v; *Rv^s*, fol. 132^v; *Fn^t*, no. 95, fol. 46; *Rv^s*, no. 98, fol. 52^v; *Fp^s*, no. 15, fol. 202^v.

12. SEVERED HAND.²⁰ In this version the Virgin discontinues appearing to the Bishop of 'Toletta' during his Mass. The bishop concludes that his impure thoughts as the result of his hand being kissed were more than mere temptations, and he has a servant cut it off. The canons of the Cathedral insist that he celebrate Mass on a Marian feast. At his urgent prayers Mary restores his hand. *Fr^s*, fol. 69^v; *Fr^t*, fol. 111; *Rv^s*, fol. 133; *Fn^t*, no. 88, fol. 43^v; *Rv^s*, no. 99, fol. 52^v; *Fp^s*, no. 16, fol. 203^v.

13. HOSPITALITY.²¹ A hermit goes to a nearby city to sell the baskets he has woven. He spends the proceeds of his labor on a beautiful image of the Virgin. On his return home he gets lost and at nightfall begs for hospitality at an unknown inn. His host, an aged man, overwhelms him with courtesies, and his hostess, a beautiful woman to whom he shows the image, counsels him to live a sinless life and to be devout to the Mother of God if he would advance in perfection. The next morning the aged host reveals that he is St. Peter and the woman,

¹⁵ See H. Isnard, 'Recueil des miracles de la Vierge du XIII^e siècle,' *Bulletin de la Société archéologique . . . du vendomois*, XXVI (1887), no. 27, 116-8. Cf. *supra*, 'Beatrice the Sacristan,' Group I, 75; *infra*, Group V, ²¹ *Fr^t*, no. 131.

¹⁶ For variants cf. A. Hilka, *op. cit.*, III, 186-7, n. 69. Cf. *infra*, Group IV, 64. See also Ms British Museum Harley 288 (fol. 25^v) described by Herbert, *op. cit.*, III, 566 (93). The Spanish version differs but slightly, cf. Climente Sanchez, *El libro de ejemplos*, ed. A. Morel-Fatio in *Romania*, VII (1878), no. 43, 509.

¹⁷ Cf. *infra*, Group IV, 64.

¹⁸ The legend, 'Seven Joys' is given in the *Libro del Cavaliere*, cf. *infra*, Group III, 8.

¹⁹ A variant of the 'Theophilus' legend, cf.

supra, Groups I, 43 and *infra*, III, 9; P. Misiattelli, *op. cit.*, no. 9, pp. 20-3.

²⁰ Cf. *infra*, Groups III, 40 and V, *Fr^t*, no. 17; P. Misiattelli, *op. cit.*, no. 40, pp. 110-2.

²¹ Cf. *infra*, Group III, 41; P. Misiattelli, *op. cit.*, no. 41, pp. 112-4; see also *supra*, Group I, 21 where a somewhat similar tale is told of Pope Leo I.

²² Cf. Goswin Frenken (ed.), *Die Exempla des Jacob von Vitry*, no. 4, pp. 97-9, or Joseph Greven (ed.), *Die Exempla aus den Sermones feriales et communes des Jakob von Vitry* (Sammlung mittellateinischer Texte, XIX, Heidelberg, 1914), no. 4, pp. 5-8; Etienne de Bourbon, *op. cit.*, no. 152, pp. 129-31. See also *infra*, Group III, 42; P. Misiattelli, *op. cit.*, no. 42, pp. 115-7.

Mary. The house suddenly disappears and the hermit finds his cell quite easily. *Fr^s*, fol. 70^v; *Fr^r*, fol. 111^v; *Rv²*, fol. 133^v; *Fn⁴*, no. 89, fol. 43^v; *Rv^s*, no. 100, fol. 53^v; *Fp^s*, omitted.

14. PAINTER.²² Cf. Group I, 7; *Fr^s*, fol. 71^v; *Fr^r*, fol. 112; *Rv²*, fol. 133^v; *Fn⁴*, no. 74, fol. 41; *Rv^s*, omitted; ²³ *Fp^s*, no. 17, fol. 203^v.

15. CHRIST-CHILD AND *Ave Maria*.²⁴ A woman very devout to Mary entertains a great desire to behold the Child Jesus. One day she sees a beautiful boy in church who asks her if she knows the *Ave Maria*. She begins to say the prayer and at the words, 'Blessed is the fruit of thy womb,' he reveals his identity and vanishes. *Fr^s*, fol. 71^v; *Fr^r*, fol. 112; *Rv²*, fol. 134; *Fn⁴*, no. 75, fol. 41^v; *Rv^s*, omitted; *Fp^s*, no. 18, fol. 204.

16. BLASPHEMER OF LOMBARDY.²⁵ A dicer swears that his knife may be thrust into the body of the Virgin if he does not speak the truth. His knife becomes bloody and he falls dead. *Fr^s*, fol. 72; *Fr^r*, fol. 112; omitted in *Rv²*, *Rv^s* and *Fp^s*; *Fn⁴*, no. 76, fol. 41^v.

17. MERCHANT OF ALEXANDRIA.²⁶ A merchant of Alexandria, before going to Constantinople on business, commends his wife and daughter to the protection of the Virgin. His servant attempts to rob and kill them, but becomes blinded and strikes himself. *Fr^s*, fol. 72; *Fr^r*, fol. 112^v; *Rv²*, fol. 134; *Fn⁴*, no. 77, fol. 42; *Rv^s*, no. 125, fol. 64.

18. BREAD TO THE CHRIST-CHILD. Cf. Group I, 20. In this version it is the mother who urges the child to offer the bread. The miracle takes place before an image of the Madonna in her own home, not at church. *Fr^s*, fol. 72^v; *Fr^r*, fol. 112^v; *Rv²*, omitted; *Fn⁴*, no. 78, fol. 42; *Rv^s*, no. 126, fol. 64^v.

19. ROBBER SLAPPED.²⁷ Cf. Group I, 6; *Fr^s*, fol. 73; *Fr^r*, fol. 112^v; *Rv^s*, omitted; *Fn⁴*, no. 96, fol. 46^v; omitted here in *Rv^s*.²⁸

20. THE VIRGIN'S RING OF ESPOUSALS.²⁹ For the construction of an altar in a Lady-chapel a rich and devout merchant buys materials from a Jew who tells him that he has the ring of the Virgin's espousals and that she will give him no peace until he puts it in Christian hands. The merchant keeps it in a secret place. His son suddenly dies and during the burial service, rising from the catafalque, warns his father that the ring is not for private devotion. It is afterwards reserved in the public chapel of a monastery. A countess of the Province of Chiusa tries on the ring. For her irreverence her finger withers. *Fr^s*, fol. 73^v; *Fr^r*, fol. 113; *Rv²*, fol. 134; *Fn⁴*, no. 97, fol. 46^v; *Rv^s*, no. 127, fol. 64^v.

21. NATIVITY OF THE VIRGIN.³⁰ Cf. Group I, 25; *Fr^s*, fol. 74^v; *Fr^r*, fol. 113^v; *Rv²*, omitted; *Fn⁴*, no. 90, fol. 44; *Rv^s*, no. 73, fol. 43^v.

22. SIEGE OF CHARTRES. Cf. Group I, 42; *Fr^s*, fol. 75; *Fr^r*, fol. 114; *Rv²*, fol. 134^v; *Fn⁴*, no. 79, fol. 42; *Rv^s*, no. 74, fol. 43^v.

23. BLASPHEMER OF SARDINIA.³¹ A dicer curses using the name of the Mother of God and falls dead. *Fr^s*, fol. 75; *Fr^r*, fol. 114; *Rv²*, omitted; *Fn⁴*, no. 83, fol. 42^v; *Rv^s*, no. 75, fol. 44.

²² Cf. *infra*, Group III, 10; P. Misiattelli, *op. cit.*, no. 10, pp. 23-4.

²³ Two versions are already given in *Rv^s*, cf. Group IV, 29 and 47.

²⁴ Cf. Caesaris of Heisterbach, *Dialogus miraculorum* VIII, 8, ii, 87-8; Introduction to Jean Miélot, no. 40; Villecourt, *op. cit.*, no. 21, p. 47; J. Morawski, 'Mélanges de littérature pieuse,' *Romania*, LXI (1935), 169-70. See also the slightly different version in Group III, 72; P. Misiattelli, *op. cit.*, no. 72, pp. 216-7; *infra*, Group IV, *Rv^s*, 72.

²⁵ Cf. Clemente Sanchez, *art. cit.*, in *Romania* VII, no. 54, 514-5.

²⁶ Johannes Monachus, *Liber de miraculis*, ed. M. Huber (Sammlung mittellateinischer Texte, V, Heidelberg, 1913), no. 11, pp. 55-6;

Johannes Moschos, *Pratum spirituale*, cap. lxxv, PL 74, 154. See also C. Stolfi (ed.), *Corona de' monaci*, no. 91, p. 215; P. Misiattelli, *op. cit.*, no. 43, pp. 117-8; *infra*, Group III, 43.

²⁷ P. Misiattelli, *op. cit.*, no. 44, pp. 119-20; *infra*, Group III, 44.

²⁸ Cf. *supra*, Group I, 6 where the legend occurs as no. 133 in *Rv^s*.

²⁹ P. Misiattelli, *op. cit.*, no. 45, pp. 120-2; *infra*, Groups III, 45 and V, *Fp^s*, no. 41 and *Fp^v*, no. 33.

³⁰ P. Misiattelli, *op. cit.*, no. 46, pp. 122-4; *infra*, Group III, 46.

³¹ Cf. *supra*, Groups I, 39 and II, 16. Cf. also Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale* VII, 104; Caesarius of Heisterbach,

24. EYES REMOVED.²² In honor of Mary's virginity a young French girl promises her to remain chaste. Finding that a count has fallen in love with her because of the beauty of her eyes, she removes them. *Fr^s*, fol. 75; *Fr^t*, fol. 114; omitted in *Rv^s* and *Rv^t*; *Fn^t*, no. 91, fol. 44.

25. *Ave Maria IN LETTERS OF GOLD.*²³ A youth consults a saintly religious as to the best manner in which to honor the Mother of God. The latter is granted a vision of a garment on which is embroidered the *Ave Maria* in letters of gold. *Fr^s*, fol. 76; *Fr^t*, fol. 114^v; *Rv^s*, fol. 134^v; *Fn^t*, no. 85, fol. 43; *Rv^s*, no. 76, fol. 44.

26. ONE KNEE.²⁴ The Virgin appears and bathes only one knee of a devotee who had never knelt on both in saying his prayers. *Fr^s*, fol. 76^v; *Fr^t*, fol. 114^v; omitted in *Rv^s* and *Fn^t*; *Rv^s*, no. 77, fol. 44.

27. ECSTASY DURING *Te Deum*. A clerk, while devoutly chanting the *Te Deum*, comes to the words, 'Ne horruisti virginis uterum,' and is transported into Heaven where he is presented to Christ by Mary as 'il mio chappellano.' *Fr^s*, fol. 76^v; *Fr^t*, fol. 114^v; *Rv^s*, omitted; *Fn^t*, no. 81, fol. 42^v; ²⁵ *Rv^s*, no. 78, fol. 44.²⁶

28. DAINTIES COVERED BY A SOILED CLOTH.²⁷ A sinner amends his life after a vision of Mary who offers him dainty food covered with a soiled cloth as a symbol of his daily prayers in a life of sin. *Fr^s*, fol. 76^v; *Fr^t*, fol. 114^v; omitted in *Rv^s* and *Rv^t*; *Fn^t*, no. 80, fol. 42^v; *Fp^s*, no. 3, fol. 199.

29. NO DEATH WITHOUT CONFESSION.²⁸ A knight who has fasted on Saturday in honor of the Mother of God is beheaded during a siege but cannot die until he has confessed and received the Sacraments of the Dying. *Fr^s*, fol. 77; *Fr^t*, fol. 115; *Fn^t*, no. 82, fol. 42^v; *Rv^s*, no. 79, fol. 44^v.

30. ONE-EYED KNIGHT.²⁹ Two Jews in Paris make fun of the Mother of God during the singing of a hymn in her honor. Thereupon a knight kills one with a blow, but the other escapes and at the king's court, accuses him of homicide, describing him as one-eyed. The knight is acquitted through the miraculous recovery of his eye. *Fr^s*, fol. 77; *Fr^t*, fol. 115; *Rv^s*, no. 20, fol. 135; *Fn^t*, no. 84, fol. 42^v; *Rv^s*, no. 107, fol. 57^v.

31. INCEST.³⁰ A very devout woman yields to the temptation of the evil spirit and commits incest with her son. The devil makes her sin known, and she is summoned to court. Mary appears in her stead much to the confusion of the devil who disappears, leaving behind a dead, putrid body which he had assumed. *Fr^s*, fol. 78; *Fr^t*, fol. 115^v; *Fn^t*, no. 92, fol. 44^v; *Rv^s*, no. 81, fol. 45; *Rv^t*, omitted; *Fp^s*, no. 24, fol. 210.

Dialogus miraculorum VII, 43, ii, 62; Villecourt, *op. cit.*, no. 51, pp. 282-3.

²² Group II, 24 corresponds to the legend in Group III, 51A (cf. *infra*) and to no. 51 in the reprint of *Incunabula A* by Claudio Conte Sormani Moretti (ed.), *Li miracoli della Madonna* (Parma, 1841). For the version in which Richard of England is a protagonist, cf. *infra*, Group III, 13; for the Italian variant of 'S'or Dea and Giubideo' cf. *infra*, Group V, *Fn^s*, no. 1 and n. 127.

²³ Compare this version with the legend 'Incomplete Garment,' *supra*, Group I, *Ma 82-Rc 76*.

²⁴ Cf. *infra*, Group V, *Fr¹⁰*, no. 40.

²⁵ Cf. *infra*, Group IV, *Fn^t*, no. 58.

²⁶ Duccio di Gano gives the same rubrics for nos. 78 and 79 in *Rv^s* (cf. Group II, 29, 'No Death without Confession'): D'uno che gli fu moço il capo dimandò poi penitentia.

²⁷ P. Misciattelli, *op. cit.*, no. 53, pp. 138-9; *infra*, Group III, 53. In Ms Additional 11579 of the British Museum there is a tale of dainty food on a soiled table-cloth, cf. Herbert, *op. cit.*, III, 529 (18); most of the Latin collections contain the version 'Dain-

ties in a Foul Dish,' cf. A. Hilka, *op. cit.*, III, no. 100, 215, n. 100; *infra*, Group IV, *Rv^s*, no. 51; *Fn^t*, no. 51.

²⁸ P. Misciattelli, *op. cit.*, no. 18, pp. 54-5; *infra*, Group III, 18. Cf. Thomas of Cantimpré, *Bonum universale de apibus* II, 29; Johannes Herolt, *Promptuarium Discipuli de miraculis beate Marie Virginis* (Venice, 1608), nos. 52, 53, and 54, p. 24. See also Alfonso el Sabio, *Cantigas de Santa María* I, 150-2, no. 96 with variants on pp. xxxii-xxxiv; *ibid.* pp. 186-7, no. 124. Cf. *supra*, Group I, n. 120; Villecourt, *op. cit.*, no. 7, p. 42.

²⁹ P. Misciattelli, *op. cit.*, no. 54, pp. 140-1; *infra*, Group III, 54. Cf. J. Morawski in *Romania* LXI, 319; Ward, *op. cit.*, II, 658 (16); J. Herbert, *op. cit.*, III, 445 (8) and 550 (128).

³⁰ P. Misciattelli, *op. cit.*, no. 55, pp. 142-4; *infra*, Group III, 55. The legend is not localized at Rome as in the early versions and is more simple than the Italian version in Levi, *op. cit.*, no. 14, pp. 30-2. For variants cf. A. Hilka, *op. cit.*, III, 192-3, n. 77; E. F. Wilson, *op. cit.*, no. 20, pp. 176-7.

32. THREE COUNSELS IN HUMILITY.¹¹ A Cistercian abbot asks a dying monk what acts he deems most meritorious during his religious life. The monk reveals that once he had been favored by an apparition of the Mother of God who had advised him to practice humility in clothing, food, and manners in order to overcome the temptations of the evil spirit. *Fr³*, fol. 78^v; *Fr⁷*, fol. 116; *Fn⁴*, no. 86, fol. 43; *Rv³*, no. 80, fol. 44^v; *Rv²* and *Fp³*, omitted.

33. NO DEATH WITHOUT CONFESSION.¹² During a battle between the citizens of Bologna and Modena a knight, who had the practice of fasting on the vigils of Marian feasts to obtain the grace of a happy death, is mortally wounded. He miraculously lives four days until he can be given the Sacraments of the Dying. *Fr⁸*, fol. 79; *Fr⁷*, fol. 116; *Fn⁴*, no. 87, fol. 43; omitted in *Rv³*, *Rv²*, and *Fp³*.

IMPERSONATED BY AN ANGEL.¹³ (The last legend of *Rv²* is not found in the other manuscripts of Group II). A widow builds a monastery in honor of the Mother of God and there hears Mass daily, asking Mary to protect her only son. The Virgin miraculously saves him from drowning and his mother permits him to consecrate his life to God in retirement provided that he choose the monastery which she has built. He dies, but the mother is not aware of this inasmuch as she daily hears his voice singing in choir. On her death-bed fourteen years later he appears to her, and she discovers that an angel had taken his place in choir. *Rv³*, no. 21, fols. 135-136.

3. TABLE OF CORRESPONDENCE.

The following table shows the relationship between the various manuscripts composing Group II. Indicated on the chart are the legends similar in narrative to the tales in the *Libro del Cavaliere* analyzed in Group III of this study.

	<i>Fr⁸</i>	<i>Fr⁷</i>	<i>Rv²</i>	<i>Fn⁴</i>	<i>Rv³</i>	<i>Fp³</i>	Group
1 Virgin comes to Devil.....	1	1	1	94	..	..	1
2 Devil as Servant.....	2	..	2	68	..	..	2
3 Could Learn Only <i>Ave Maria</i>	3	..	3	67	..	..	3
4 Mother-in-law and Son-in-law.....	4	..	4	93	93	..	4
5 Unwilling to Deny Mary.....	5	2	5	69	94	10	5
6 150 Aves Daily.....	6	3	6	70	..	11	7
7 Hand on the Convent-door.....	7	4	7	..	95	..	..
8 Pilgrim's Staff.....	8	5	8	71	..	13	..
9 Five Joys.....	9	6	9	72	96	12	..
10 Pact with the Devil.....	10	7	10	73	97	14	9
11 Discord between Husband and Wife.....	11	8	11	95	98	15	40
12 Severed Hand.....	12	9	12	88	99	16	41
13 Hospitality.....	13	10	13	89	100	..	42
14 Painter.....	14	11	14	74	..	17	10
15 Christ-Child and <i>Ave Maria</i>	15	12	15	75	..	18	..
16 Blasphemer of Lombardy.....	16	13	..	76	..	..	..
17 Merchant of Alexandria.....	17	14	16	77	125	..	43
18 Bread to the Christ-Child.....	18	15	..	78	126	..	..
19 Robber Slapped.....	19	16	..	96	..	..	44
20 The Virgin's Ring of Espousals.....	20	17	17	97	127	..	45
21 Nativity of the Virgin.....	21	18	..	90	73	..	46
22 Siege of Chartres.....	22	19	18	79	74	..	..
23 Blasphemer of Sardinia.....	23	20	..	83	75	..	..

¹¹ Johannes Herolt, *op. cit.*, III, p. 54. Cf. *infra*, Group V, *Fr³*, nos. 64 and 117.

¹² Cf. *supra*, Groups I, n. 120 and II, n. 38.

¹³ For an abbreviated version cf. Levi, *op. cit.*, no. 30, pp. 54-5; *infra*, Group V, *Fp²*, no. 40, and *Fr³*, no. 37.

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	<i>Fr^s</i>	<i>Fr^r</i>	<i>Rv²</i>	<i>Fn^t</i>	<i>Rv^s</i>	<i>Fp³</i>	Group III
24 Eyes Removed.....	24	21	..	91	51A
25 <i>Ave Maria</i> in Letters of Gold.....	25	22	19	85	76
26 One Knee.....	26	23	..	..	77	..	..
27 Ecstasy during <i>Te Deum</i>	27	24	..	81	78	..	..
28 Dainties Covered by a Soiled Cloth.....	28	25	..	80	..	3	53
29 No Death without Confession.....	29	26	..	82	79	..	18
30 One-eyed Knight.....	30	27	20	84	107	..	54
31 Incest.....	31	28	..	92	81	27	55
32 Three Counsels in Humility.....	32	29	..	86	80	..	..
33 No Death without Confession.....	33	30	..	87	..	..	..
Impersonated by an Angel.....	..	..	21	..	..	..	..

As indicated on the chart *Fr^r* omits nos. 2, 3, and 4 of *Fr^s*, but follows thereafter in perfect sequence. The first fifteen tales in *Rv²* correspond to the first fifteen in *Fr^s*. After that the compiler becomes selective, omitting with discrimination and including only one tale (the last in the folios devoted to the *miracoli della Madonna*) not drawn from Group II. Legends 3, 10-18, and 27 in *Fp³* are similar in content but do not always correspond in structure and diction.

The compiler of *Fn^t* draws his nos. 67-87 from this series, then goes back for his nos. 88 to 92, finally rescans the group, and inserts for his nos. 93 to 97 those legends which he had at first rejected. Duccio di Gano of Pisa, compiler of *Rv^s*, uses Group II for his nos. 73-81, 93-100, 107, 125-127. He is not a mere copyist like the compiler of *Fn^t*, but adds details or presents the stories in summarized form.

Group II includes thirteen tales not found in the *Libro del Cavaliere* (Group III), and of those which are in this series, the presence of the legend, 'Eyes Removed,' is indicative of relationship with *Ms Naples, Bib. Naz. xii.F.25⁴* which contains this story. Group II presents the tale, 'Five Joys'; Group III gives the version 'Seven Joys.' The compiler of *Fn^t* uses thirty-one of the thirty-three legends in Group II. Later in his compilation he inserts forty-eight⁵ of the seventy-five of Group III, carefully omitting those which are alike in narrative in both Groups and which he has already told. In view of these facts the presentation of *Fr^s* and *Fr^r* in a separate Group (despite Levi's classifying them in the category of the *Libro del Cavaliere*) seems justified.

III. Manuscripts of Mary Legends in Italian: Group III.

1. LIBRO DEL CAVALIERE IN RELATED MANUSCRIPTS AND INCUNABULA.

The *Libro del Cavaliere* derives its title from the initial words, "Era uno cavaliere molto ricco e potente," of the first legend in its series, 'The Virgin Comes to the Devil instead of His Victim.' Ezio Levi d'Ancona was able to discover only two⁶ manuscripts which properly belong to the longer series of the *Libro del Cavaliere*: Naples, Bib. Naz. xii.F.25 and Padua, Bib. Antoniana 220. These prove to be incomplete when one compares their contents with the legends nos. 104 to 152 in *Ms Florence, Bib. Naz. Magliabechiano XXXVIII.70* in

⁴ Cf. *infra*, Group III, 51A. The legend, 'Eyes Removed,' is also in *Ms Padua, Bib. Antoniana 220* but this manuscript does not contain nos. 12 and 28 of Group II.

⁵ *Fn^t* is incomplete; according to the *tabula* at the beginning of the manuscript it was the original intent of the compiler to include five more, making a total of fifty-

three from Group III.

⁶ Levi really indicates four: *Mss Fr^r, Fr^s, N² and P¹*, cf. *Il libro dei cinquanta miracoli*, p. xcvi, n. 1. In this study we have considered *Mss Fr^r* and *Fr^s* sufficiently different to treat them in a separate group. cf. *supra*, Group II.

which the compiler evidently drew from a longer original manuscript of the *Libro del Cavaliere*, now lost but which gives the series as preserved in incunabula.

Unfortunately, once the legends appeared in printed form, the manuscripts which were copy for the printer were lost. For a thorough study of the *Libro del Cavaliere* series it is necessary to compare the contents of the few available manuscripts with the more complete incunabula.

It is a striking coincidence that of all the collections of Mary legends Italian printers of the Quattrocento and Cinquecento chose to reproduce only the *Libro del Cavaliere*.⁴⁷ Scholars,⁴⁸ who are interested in Mary legends but who have not investigated the manuscripts in Italian, in their reference to Italian variants have been limited to incunabula giving only this series or to nineteenth-century reprints of the same.

Italian incunabula, presenting the series of Marian tales to be considered in Group III, may for the purpose of this study be divided into two types:

A. those which present sixty-one legends,⁴⁹ among which are no. 33 ('Dimas and Getas') and no. 51 ('Eyes Removed');

B. those which contain seventy-five tales,⁵⁰ omitting nos. 33 and 51 of Incunabulum A, and inserting in addition to legends nos. 62-75, three not found in A.

2. ANALYSIS OF GROUP III.

Related to the *Libro del Cavaliere* in Incunabulum A are these manuscripts:

N²—Cod. xii.F.25 in the Biblioteca Nazionale at Naples⁵¹ is of the fifteenth century and Venetian in origin. It contains fifty-nine (fols. 171-206) of the sixty-one tales in Incunabulum A.

P¹—Cod. 220 in the Biblioteca Antoniana at Padua⁵² is a fifteenth-century manuscript and contains only forty-seven legends (fols. 1-69).

F^r—Riccardiano 1277⁵³ is a fifteenth-century manuscript in the Biblioteca Riccardiana at Florence. It contains six Mary legends and the rubrics for a seventh (fols. 136-145^r) drawn from the *Libro del Cavaliere*.

N¹—Cod. vii.F.12 in the Biblioteca Nazionale at Naples,⁵⁴ also of the fifteenth century, contains one Mary legend (fols. 39^v-41) identical in wording

⁴⁷ Levi writes: Tutte le stampe, da quella di Leonardo Achates da Basilea (1475) fino alla milanese nel 1515, riproducono costantemente questa raccolta, la quale nella nostra letteratura constituisce la vera e propria *vulgata* dei *Miracoli*. Cf. *ibid.*, p. xcvi.

⁴⁸ Adolph Mussafia, Alessandro d'Ancona, Louis Villecourt, Alfons Hilka etc. merely refer to the *Miracoli della Madonna*, meaning either the Italian incunabula or one of the many reprints available in Europe.

⁴⁹ *Li miracoli della gloriosa Vergine Maria*, printed by Bernardino Benali and Matthio da Parma (Venice, 1490), is used in this study as A. It is available at the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Florence (E.6.3.120) and corresponds to the reprint of Claudio Conte Sormani Moretti (Parma, 1841). Before 1490 the number of legends in the incunabula varies from fifty-one to sixty-one or sixty-two. Incunabulum A contains sixty-one tales; the actual number given by the printer is sixty-two, but like the compilers of the related manuscripts in Group III he has omitted the sixth tale, 'Infant Speaks,' and then errs in his enumeration.

⁵⁰ Inasmuch as P. Misciattelli's reprint of the *Libro del Cavaliere*, originally printed by Joanne Tacuino da Trino (Venice, 1524), contains only seventy-four legends (omitt-

ing the tale, 'Vision of Mary with Sts. Nicholas and Martin'), we have selected as typical of Incunabulum B, one for which we have found no reprint: *Miracoli della gloriosa Vergine*, printed by Bartholomaeus de Libris (Florence, 1500). This is available at the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Florence. Vatican Library Inc. IV, 106, printed in Florence (1483) is similar.

⁵¹ A. Miola, *Le scritture in volgare dei primi tre secoli della lingua ricercate nei codici della B. N. di Napoli* (Bologna, 1878), p. 335. Cf. Levi, *op. cit.*, p. lxviii.

⁵² L. Minciotti, *Catalogo dei codici manoscritti esistenti nella Biblioteca di Sant'Antonio di Padova* (Padua, 1842), vv. 71-2; A. M. Josa, *I codici manoscritti della Biblioteca Antoniana di Padova* (Padua, 1886), p. 142. Cf. Levi, *op. cit.*, v. lxviii.

⁵³ S. Morpurgo, *I manoscritti della R. Biblioteca Riccardiana di Firenze I*, 337-8; Levi, *op. cit.*, n. lxii. On the protective leaf of parchment at the beginning one reads: A uso di suor Maria Jacobi Iapini in Ripoli. Concerning the activity of the nuns of the convent in Ripoli as convicts, cf. F. Palermo, *I manoscritti Palatini di Firenze I* (Florence, 1853), n. 78.

⁵⁴ A. Miola, *op. cit.*, p. 127; Levi, *op. cit.*, p. lxvii.

with the tale, 'Freed from Prison,' no. 57 in Incunabulum A, and in related manuscripts.

Similar to Incunabulum B is the latter part of the Ms Florence, Bib. Naz. Maglb. XXXVIII.70, already analyzed in part as *Fn⁴* in Group II.⁶⁵ Legends nos. 104-152 (fols. 48-79) are drawn from the *Libro del Cavaliere* and although the compiler gives the rubrics of nos. 153-156 in the index, he does not complete them.

Duccio di Gano da Pisa, compiler of Ms Vatican City, Vat. Barberiniano lat. 4032 (*Rv⁵*),⁶⁶ also selects from a series of tales, corresponding to Incunabulum B, his nos. 41, 55, 57, 59-63, 67-70, and 118-119.

2. The content of each legend in Group III.

1. VIRGIN COMES TO DEVIL INSTEAD OF HIS VICTIM.⁶⁷ For summary cf. Groups I, 29 and II, 1; Inc. A, no. 1; *N²*, fol. 171; *P¹*, fol. 1; Inc. B, no. 1.

2. DEVIL AS SERVANT. Cf. Groups I, 36 and II, 2; Inc. A, no. 2; *N²*, fol. 172; *P¹*, fol. 3; Inc. B, no. 2; *Rv⁵*, no. 63, fol. 38.

3. COULD LEARN ONLY Ave Maria. Cf. Groups I, 55 and II, 3; Inc. A, no. 3; *N²*, fol. 172^v; *P¹*, fol. 4^v; Inc. B, no. 3.

4. MOTHER-IN-LAW AND SON-IN-LAW.⁶⁸ Cf. Groups I, 54 and II, 4; Inc. A, no. 4; *N²*, fol. 173; *P¹*, fol. 5^v; Inc. B, no. 4.

5. UNWILLING TO DENY MARY.⁶⁹ Cf. Group II, 5; Inc. A, no. 5; *N²*, fol. 173^v; *P¹*, fol. 6^v; Inc. B, no. 5.

6. INFANT SPEAKS.⁷⁰ The devil disguised as a pilgrim convinces an over-credulous husband that his wife has committed adultery in his absence. He is about to kill her when the baby, not yet a month old, speaks and clears her of the charge. Inc. B, no. 6; *Fn⁴*, no. 104, fol. 48.

7. 150 AVES DAILY. Cf. Group II, 6; Inc. A, no. 6;⁷¹ *N²*, fol. 174; *P¹*, fol. 8; Inc. B, no. 7; *Rv⁵*, no. 59, fol. 36.

8. SEVEN JOYS.⁷² A pious clerk endeavours to console the Mother of God for her grief at the foot of the Cross by commemorating her seven joys. Upon his death-bed he is filled with happiness at the apparition of Mary who gives him a premonition of his eternal joy. Inc. A, no. 7; *N²*, fol. 174^v; *P¹*, fol. 8; Inc. B, no. 8.

9. PACT WITH THE DEVIL. Cf. Group II, 10; Inc. A, no. 8; *N²*, fol. 175; *P¹*, fol. 9; Inc. B, no. 9.

10. PAINTER. Cf. Group II, 14; Inc. A, no. 9; *N²*, fol. 175^v; *P¹*, fol. 11; Inc. B, no. 10.

11. THE 'MANEKINE'.⁷³ The emperor's second wife, jealous of the beauty of her

⁶⁵ The compiler of *Fn⁴* will omit legends nos. 1-5 and 7-10 at the beginning of Group III. These correspond to tales in Group II from which he has already drawn. Other omissions in his compilation occur for the same reason. *Fn⁴* is studied as a whole in Group IV, *infra*.

⁶⁶ For nos. 128-87 in *Rv⁵*, cf. *supra*, Group I. It will be observed that in the first part of *Rv⁵* (cf. *infra*, Group IV) nos. 8, 12, 23, 29 (47), 34, 40 and 45 are legends in the *Libro del Cavaliere*, but they are so abridged or enlarged upon, that it is doubtful if Duccio di Gano used the *Libro* as his source.

⁶⁷ Group III, 1-5 correspond to Group II, 1-5. All tales in Inc. B may be found in P. Misciattelli's reprint except no. 74, 'Vision of Mary with Sts. Martin and Nicholas.'

⁶⁸ Cf. *infra*, Group V, *F^r⁵*, no. 41, fol. 146^v.

⁶⁹ Cf. *infra*, Group V, *F^r⁵*, no. 42, fols. 146^v-7.

⁷⁰ Cf. P. Misciattelli, *op. cit.*, no. 6, pp. 15-7.

⁷¹ Cf. *supra*, n. 49 for wrong enumeration in Inc. A and related manuscripts.

⁷² Alfonso el Sabio, *Cantigas de Santa Maria* I, 3-4, no. 1; Johannes Herolt merely lists the seven joys which the Virgin revealed to a religious, cf. *Promptuarium Discipuli de miraculis beate Marie Virginis*, no. 13, p. 8. For the legend, 'Five Joys,' cf. *supra*, Group I, 31 and n. 57.

⁷³ Hermann Suchier (ed.), *Les œuvres poétiques de Philippe de Remi, Sire de Beaumanoir* I (Paris, 1884-1885), pp. 3-263 and 'La Fille sans main, I-II,' *Romania*, XXX (1901), 519-38; and XXXIX (1910), 61-76. See also the dissertation of Heinrich Daümling, *Studie über den Typus des 'Mädchen ohne Hände'* (Munich, 1912); Margaret Schlauch, *Chaucer's Constance and Accused Queens* (New York, 1927) pp. 30 and 83 ff.; Levi, *op. cit.*, no. 1, pp. 4-9 with bibliographical references on pp. cviii-cx; Villecourt, *op. cit.*, no. 11, p. 269; *infra*, Group V, *F^r¹⁰*, no. 100. 'The Manekine' in Group III corresponds in all details of narrative to the 'Rappresentazione di Stella' in *Sacre Rappresentazioni*.

stepdaughter, contrives to have her killed. The would-be slayers are moved to compassion and merely cut off her hands, leaving her to be a prey to wild beasts. A duke, passing by, rescues her, brings her to his castle, and later gives her to his son in marriage. The stepmother, in the meantime, plans a tournament to distract the disconsolate emperor, and the duke's son comes to joust in the tourney. A message concerning the birth of twin sons never reaches him for it is intercepted by the stepmother who suspects the identity of his wife and forges an answer to the duke, accusing the young girl of adultery and ordering her death. The duke orders his servants to abandon her in a lonely place and this time she finds refuge with a hermit. The Virgin restores her hands and leads her husband to her place of hiding. At the command of the emperor the stepmother is burned at the stake. Inc. A, no. 10; N^o, fol. 176; omitted in P¹; Inc. B, no. 11; Fⁿ⁴, no. 105, fol. 48; Fr¹, no. 1, fol. 136.

12. MARY ASSISTS AT DEATH-BED.⁶⁴ A priest, bringing the Viaticum to a woman at the point of death, finds the Mother of God comforting her in her last hour—a favor she has merited by her devout recitation of 100 Aves daily. Inc. A, no. 11; N^o, fol. 179^v; P¹, fol. 11^v; Inc. B, no. 12; Fⁿ⁴, no. 106, fol. 51^v; Rv³, no. 60, fol. 36^v.

13. DONKEY SOLD; HARLOTS CONVERTED; EYES REMOVED.⁶⁵ A holy man sells his donkey because thoughts of the animal distract him during his prayers. Afterwards in Rouen he converts harlots in a house of prostitution and founds for them a convent. Richard of England falls in love with one of the nuns whose beautiful eyes have attracted him. When he threatens to devastate the convent if she will not yield to his desire, she removes her eyes and offers them to him. The King repents, and her eyes are miraculously restored. Inc. A, no. 12; N^o, fol. 180; P¹, fol. 12^v; Fr¹, no. 2, fol. 139^v; Inc. B, no. 13; Fⁿ⁴, no. 107, fol. 51.

14. BURIED OUTSIDE THE CHURCHYARD.⁶⁶ A clerk is killed by his enemies and because of his worldliness is not buried in consecrated ground. His daily prayers to the Mother of God merit that she should appear to a friend of his and request proper burial. A beautiful flower is found in his mouth and his tongue is incorrupt. Inc. A, no. 13; N^o, fol. 181^v; P¹, fol. 16^v; Inc. B, no. 14; Fⁿ⁴, no. 108, fol. 52^v.

15. SIN CONCEALED IN CONFESSION.⁶⁷ The niece of an abbess conceals in confession a sin against her vow of chastity. For a year the abbess prays for her and asks Mary to reveal to her the state of her soul. She is shown her niece in hell. Inc. A, no. 14; N^o, fol. 182; P¹, omitted; Inc. B, no. 15; Fⁿ⁴, no. 109, fol. 52^v.

16. NUN WHO RETURNS TO HER CONVENT.⁶⁸ A Sister Sacristan is tempted to leave her convent but is unable to find the exit until she removes her habit and

tazioni dei secoli XIV, XV, e XVI, ed. A. d'Ancona, III, pp. 317-59.

⁶⁴ Cf. *infra*, Group V, Fr¹⁰, no. 4.

⁶⁵ The combination of these three tales is found in Levi, *op. cit.*, no. 5, pp. 15-8, and cxiv-cxix, and Ms British Museum Additional 26770 (fol. 76), cf. Herbert, *op. cit.*, III, 27 (6). The story of the donkey told by Jacques de Vitry is repeated by later writers of *exempla*, cf. Goswin Frenken (ed.), *Die Exempla des Jacob von Vitry*, no. 47, p. 121 with variants listed in note (*loc. cit.*). Levi notes the similarity of the tale of the harlot and the story of the conversion of Thais, *loc. cit.* The legend, 'Eyes Removed,' (cf. Group II, 24) with King Richard (I) of England as protagonist is told by Etienne de Bourbon, *op. cit.*, no. 248, pp. 211-2, and no. 500, p. 431. The oldest version of this legend may be found in the *Vitae patrum* X, 60 (PL 74, 148) and the tale is repeated with William (Rufus) as King in the *De Miraculis II*, 42, of Herbert of Torres, (PL 185, 1352) in the Vendôme collection, cf. *Bulletin de la Société arch. . . du Ven-*

domois, XXVI (1887), no. 66, 306-8, and by Odo of Cheriton, cf. L. Hervieux (ed.), *Les fabulistes latins . . . IV*, no. 120, 311. For variants cf. Crane's edition of the *exempla* of Jacques de Vitry, no. lvii, p. 158; Villecourt, *op. cit.*, no. 12, pp. 269-70. Cf. *infra*. Groups III, 51A and V, Fⁿ³, no. 1, and n. 129.

⁶⁶ The legend is not localized but otherwise corresponds in detail to the 'Clerk of Chartres.' For variants cf. Pez, no. 3, p. 83; RR. II, no. 10, 251; Villecourt, *op. cit.*, no. 5, p. 41; E. F. Wilson, *op. cit.*, no. 22, pp. 178-9. To their indications add R. Becker, *op. cit.* no. 3, p. 61; F. Zambriani (ed.), *Dodici conti morali d'anonimo senese* (Scelta di curiosità letterarie, no. 9, Bologna, 1862), no. 4, pp. 17-9.

⁶⁷ A similar story occurs in Ms British Museum Additional 11579 (fol. 117) and Additional 27336 (fol. 38^v), cf. Herbert, *op. cit.*, III, 530 (34) and 659 (180).

⁶⁸ Levi, *op. cit.*, no. 42, pp. 72-4. Cf. *supra*. Group I, 75.

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leaves her keys at the feet of a statue of the Virgin, recommending herself to her protection. Once outside the convent, she cannot be constrained to give up her vow of virginity which she has made in Mary's honor, and upon returning, finds the habit and keys as she had left them, the Virgin having performed her duties in her absence. Inc. A, no. 15; N^o, fol. 182^v; P¹, omitted; Inc. B, no. 16; Fn⁴, no. 110, fol. 53^v.

17. DROWNED MONKS SING *Salve Regina*.⁶⁹ Two monks drown and while the Office of the Dead is being recited in choir, they revive and sing the antiphon, *Salve Regina*. A youth of marvelous splendor appears and commands St. Bernard and his monks to sing it daily. Inc. A, no. 16; N^o, fol. 183^v; P¹, fol. 17^v; Inc. B, no. 17; Fn⁴, no. 111, fol. 54; Rv³, no. 55, fol. 35.

18. NO DEATH WITHOUT CONFESSION. Cf. Group II, 29;⁷⁰ Inc. A, no. 17; N^o, fol. 184; P¹, fol. 18; Inc. B, no. 18; Fn⁴, no. 112, fol. 54^v.

19. TAPER LEFT BEHIND BY AN ANGEL. Cf. Group I, 35;⁷¹ Inc. A, no. 18; N^o, fol. 184; P¹, fol. 19; Inc. B, no. 19; Fn⁴, no. 113, fol. 54^v.

20. NO DEATH WITHOUT CONFESSION.⁷² In this version a pilgrim on his way to Rome comes upon a beheaded knight, who, because of his custom of fasting on the Vigil of the Feast of the Annunciation for the grace of happy death, is still alive. The pilgrim carries the head to Rome where the knight receives the last Sacraments administered by the Pope and is given proper burial. Inc. A, no. 19; N^o, fol. 184^v; P¹, fol. 20; Inc. B, no. 20; Fn⁴, no. 114, fol. 55.

21. *Salve Regina* DURING TIME OF FAMINE.⁷³ Monks in a monastery dedicated to Mary are just about to abandon their home because of poverty and famine. Before doing so, they chant the *Salve Regina* and then find that their granary and wine-cellars have been replenished. Inc. A, no. 20; N^o, fol. 185; P¹, omitted; Inc. B, no. 21; Fn⁴, no. 115, fol. 55^v.

22. JUDGE SLAIN IN CHURCH.⁷⁴ A judge is slain by enemies when paying his customary visit to a Lady-chapel. A priest sees Mary in vision over the main altar and is told that the judge's soul is in heaven and that the church need not be reconsecrated. She gives him as sign a rose which has never faded. Inc. A, no. 21; N^o, fol. 185; P¹, fol. 21; Inc. B, no. 22; Fn⁴, no. 116, fol. 55^v.

23. ACCUSED UNJUSTLY.⁷⁵ A devotee of Mary is unjustly accused of theft and murder and condemned to be hanged. His wife, who is grossly insulted by her neighbors, goes to the gallows and finds that he has been sustained for four days. The miracle brings about his liberation. Inc. A, no. 22; N^o, fol. 185^v; P¹, fol. 22; Inc. B, no. 23; Fn⁴, no. 117, fol. 56; Rv³, no. 61, fol. 37.

24. GIRL NAMED MARY.⁷⁶ A knight is about to seduce a girl but dies of remorse when he finds that her name is Mary. The bishop and clergy investigate and find the Virgin watching over the body, around which four candles are burning. Upon each candlestick the first words of the *Ave Maria* are inscribed. The apparition disappears and the knight is given honorable burial. Inc. A, no. 23;

⁶⁹ Ms Royal 5 A. viii (fol. 147^v) of the British Museum gives a slightly different version in which the abbot hesitates to bury the two monks in consecrated ground until St. Bernard relates a vision in which he has seen them climbing a hill towards the Virgin and singing the *Salve Regina*. Cf. Ward, *op. cit.*, II, 652 (13). See also Herbert, *op. cit.*, III, 673 (18). For the antiphon cf. H. A. Daniel, *Thesaurus hymnologicus* II (Leipzig, 1844), p. 321.

⁷⁰ Unlike no. 29 in Group II. Saturday is not specifically mentioned as the day upon which the knight fasted.

⁷¹ No mention is made of the Feast of the Purification nor of a struggle with an angel to retain the taper as in no. 35 in Group I.

⁷² Levi, *op. cit.*, no. 32, pp. 57-8, and cxxxviii.

⁷³ Cf. *supra*, Group I, 8, and n. 26.

⁷⁴ Levi, *op. cit.*, no. 35, pp. 59-60; *infra*, Group IV, 12.

⁷⁵ A. Hilka, *op. cit.*, III, 191 and n. 74; A. Meister, *op. cit.*, iii, no. 54, p. 180; *infra*, Group V, Fr¹⁰, no. 36. See also E. Galtier, 'Byzantina,' *Romania*, XXIX, 503-5. Compare the version in Group III with 'Thief Sustained' in Group I, 60.

⁷⁶ A. Hilka, *op. cit.*, III, 180-1, and n. 61; A. Meister, *op. cit.*, iii, no. 41, pp. 169-70; Villegourt, *op. cit.*, no. 12, p. 43. See also J. Morawski in *Romania*, LXIV 468-70. Cf. *infra*, Group V, Fr¹⁰, no. 3.

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N², fol. 186; *P¹*, fol. 23^v; Inc. *B*, no. 24; *Rv³*, no. 57, fol. 35^v; *Fn⁴*, no. 34, fol. 23.⁷⁷

25. PLEGIS' VISION OF THE CHRIST-CHILD.⁷⁸ Plegis, a priest in Germany, has from his youth an ardent desire to behold Christ. He prays to the Mother of God that such a favor be granted to him. One day after the Consecration of the Mass he is permitted to see and embrace the Christ-Child. Inc. *A*, no. 24; *N²*, fol. 186^v; *P¹*, fol. 25^v; Inc. *B*, no. 25; *Fn⁴*, no. 118, fol. 56^v.

26. PRAYERS OFFERED FOR A ROBBER'S SOUL.⁷⁹ A robber is killed while kneeling in a secluded place to pray an *Ave*. That night a pious sacristan, entering the Church of St. Peter's in Rome, has a vision of the soul of the robber being tried by Christ and sentenced only to purgatory. The sacristan is then sent by Mary to the Pope to ask for prayers and that the body be buried with honor. The Pope is incredulous but is finally convinced by the roses and lilies which the Virgin sends as a sign. Inc. *A*, no. 25; *N²*, fol. 187; *P¹*, fol. 26^v; *Fr¹*, no. 3, fol. 141; Inc. *B*, no. 26; *Fn⁴*, no. 119, fol. 57.

27. PRIEST OF ONE MASS. Cf. Group I, 63; Inc. *A*, no. 26; *N²*, fol. 188^v; *P¹*, fol. 30^v; Inc. *B*, no. 27;⁸⁰ *Fn⁴*, no. 120, fol. 58.

28. DELIVERED FROM THE DEVIL.⁸¹ A woman troubled by the evil spirit invokes the protection of Mary and is immediately freed from its visitations. Inc. *A*, no. 27; *N²*, fol. 189; *P¹*, fol. 31; Inc. *B*, no. 28; *Fn⁴*, no. 121, fol. 58^v.

29. MONKS AT THEIR FIELD WORK.⁸² A gentleman of refinement enters the Cistercian order and is spared the fasting and hard manual labor. He sees the monks enter chapel after a day of field work and receive from the Virgin a refreshing syrup. Thereafter he shares their labor. Inc. *A*, no. 28; *N²*, fol. 189; *P¹*, fol. 31^v; Inc. *B*, no. 29; *Rv³*, no. 67, fol. 40; *Fn⁴*, no. 122, fol. 58^v.

30. UNJUST ACCUSATION OF ADULTERY.⁸³ A knight has a Saracen as servant. When his wife gives birth to a child of very dark complexion, both he and his relatives banish her from his home as an adulteress. She begs Mary to work a miracle to prove her innocence, and under the inspiration of grace, throws the child from a high bridge into a river. The child when rescued is unhurt, and very fair and beautiful. Inc. *A*, no. 29; *N²*, fol. 189^v; *P¹*, fol. 33; Inc. *B*, no. 30; *Rv³*, no. 70, fol. 41; *Fn⁴*, no. 123, fol. 59.

31. BOY SAVED FROM DROWNING.⁸⁴ A mother, accompanying her son on a sea voyage, sees him slip off the deck and disappear into the water. Her prayer to the Mother of God is continual, and eight days later when the ship docks, she sees her son standing on the shore. Mary had supported him upon the water and deposited him at the port. Inc. *A*, no. 30; *N²*, fol. 190; *P¹*, fol. 34; Inc. *B*, no. 31; *Rv³*, no. 118, fol. 61^v; *Fn⁴*, no. 124; fol. 59^v.

⁷⁷ Note that the compiler of *Fn⁴* does not use the *Libro del Cavaliere* as a direct source for his no. 34. For the early part of his manuscript he drew from *Rv³*, cf. *infra*, Group IV, 57.

⁷⁸ Cf. Paschasius Radbertus, *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini*, 14 (PL 120, 1319-20); *Vitae patrum* V (PL 73, 991-2); William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum* III, p. 341. There is a similar version in *Ms Milan*, Bib. Ambrosiana C 150 inf. no. 56 (fol. 28). As in the legend in Group I, 56, the priest wishes to see Christ through devotion; in Group IV, 54, he desires a revelation of the Real Presence to remove his doubts. For variants cf. Villecourt, *op. cit.*, no. 42, pp. 279-80.

⁷⁹ Cf. *Ms British Museum Egerton* 1117 (fol. 172^v) described by Ward, *op. cit.*, II, 667 (10). See also Thomas Wright, *A Selection of Latin Stories* (Percy Society, no. 8. London, 1853), no. 145, pp. 130-1, where instead of a rose as a sign, a golden apple is given. Cf.

infra, Group V, *Fr¹⁰*, no. 78.

⁸⁰ At this point the chapters of Inc. *B* are misnumbered.

⁸¹ Cf. *supra*, Group I, 58, with n. 92; *infra*, Group V, *Fr¹⁰*, no. 56. Cf. Johannes Bolte in *Alemannia*, XVII, 5, no. 4.

⁸² Herbert of Torres, *De Miraculis* I, 1, and III, 14 (PL 185, 1273-5, 1365-6); *Exordium magnum ordinis Cisterciensis* III, 11, and III, 19 (*ibid.*, 1062-3, and 1077-8). See also Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale* VII, 107-8; Helinand of Froidmont, *Chronicon XLIX*, (PL 212, 1077); pseudo-Celestine, *Omusculum VI: de miraculis B. M. V.. cap. xxv* (Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum, XXV, Lyons, 1677), p. 817. For variants cf. A. Hilka, *op. cit.*, III, 175-6, n. 56. For the legend of 'Electuary' in which the monk is a physician, cf. *supra*, Group I, *Ma* 80-Rc 74, with n. 122.

⁸³ Villecourt, *op. cit.*, no. 25, pp. 274-5.

⁸⁴ Levi, *op. cit.*, no. 21, p. 43, with variants on pp. cxxxii-cxxxiii.

32. HERMITESS DELIVERED FROM THE DEVIL.⁸⁵ A hermitess, deceived by the devil in the form of a woman, is on the point of leaving her cell to commit sin. She stops to recommend herself to the protection of the Virgin. A mysterious hand prevents her exit, and the devil leaves in noise and confusion. Inc. A, no. 31; N², fol. 190; P¹, fol. 35; Inc. B, no. 32; Rv³, no. 69, fol. 40^v; Fn⁴, no. 125, fol. 59^v.

33. A LEPER TO PRESERVE CHASTITY.⁸⁶ A handsome youth is adopted by a nobleman and in the latter's absence finds himself trapped into committing sin by the nobleman's wife. To preserve his chastity he anoints his body with a poisonous herb which gives him a leprous appearance. Upon the nobleman's return he secures permission to retire into a desert where he is immediately cured. Disgusted by the occasions of sin in the world he remains in his place of solitude. Inc. A, no. 32; N², fol. 190^v; P¹, omitted; Inc. B, no. 33; Fn⁴, no. 126, fol. 60.

33A. DIMAS AND GETAS. Two robbers, Dimas and Getas, capture a group of travelers among whom are Mary, Joseph, and the Child-Jesus. Dimas asks that the three be given to him as his part of the spoils. His request is granted and he immediately releases them. Mary then asks that the thief be rewarded. Jesus replies that one day when he shall hang on the cross, Dimas will recognize him as the Son of God and will be promised Paradise. Inc. A, no. 33; N², fol. 191; P¹, omitted.

34B. KNIGHT AND SQUIRE. Cf. Group I, 16; Inc. B, no. 34; Fn⁴, no. 127, fol. 60^v.

35. CHILD SAVED FROM DROWNING.⁸⁷ In Lombardy a little child is taught to say a prayer to the Mother of God upon passing her picture. One day he falls into the river. He is miraculously saved and attributes his rescue to the Lady of the picture. Inc. A, no. 34; N², fol. 191^v; P¹, fol. 36^v; Inc. B, no. 35; Fn⁴, no. 128, fol. 60^v.

36. THEOPHILUS. Cf. Group I, 43; Inc. A, no. 35; N², fol. 192; P¹, fol. 38^v; Inc. B, no. 36; Fn⁴, no. 129, fol. 61^v.

37B. COULD LEARN ONLY Ave Maria.⁸⁸ Cf. Group III, 3. This tale, found only in Inc. B, is substantially the same as no. 3 except that instead of one lily growing from the mouth of the monk, there is found 'un cesto di bianchissimi gigli.'

38. SEVERED HAND. Cf. Group I, 21; Inc. A, no. 36; N², fol. 192^v; P¹, fol. 40; Inc. B, no. 38; Fn⁴, no. 130, fol. 63^v.

39. JUDGE SAVED FROM DROWNING.⁸⁹ A judge who has been faithful in reciting the Office of the Blessed Virgin is given up for drowned by his friends. Three days later he presents himself before them and relates that he had called upon Mary and a hand appeared over the water and saved him. Inc. A, no. 37; N², fol. 193^v; P¹, fol. 42^v; Inc. B, no. 39; Fn⁴, no. 131, fol. 64.

40. DISCORD BETWEEN HUSBAND AND WIFE.⁹⁰ Cf. Group II, 11; Inc. A, no. 38; N², fol. 194; P¹, fol. 43^v; Inc. B, no. 40.

41. SEVERED HAND OF BISHOP OF 'TOLLETA'.⁹¹ Cf. Group II, 12; Inc. A, no. 39; N², fol. 194^v; P¹, omitted; Inc. B, no. 41.

42. HOSPITALITY. Cf. Group II, 13; Inc. A, no. 40; N², fol. 195; P¹, fol. 45; Fr¹, no. 5, fol. 143^v; Inc. B, no. 42.

43. MERCHANT OF ALEXANDRIA. Cf. Group II, 17; Inc. A, no. 41; N², fol. 195^v; P¹, fol. 47^v; Inc. B, no. 43.

⁸⁵ Villegourt, *op. cit.*, no. 18, p. 271. See also Ms British Museum Additional 9066 (fol. 80^v) as described by Herbert, *op. cit.*, III, 261 (89).

⁸⁶ See Ms British Museum Additional 27336 (fol. 69^v), *ibid.*, p. 669 (297).

⁸⁷ A similar tale is in the pseudo-Celestine, *op. cit.*, p. 817; in the pseudo-Caesarius, cf. A. Meister, *op. cit.*, iii, 52, pp. 178-9, and A. Hilka, *op. cit.*, III, 189, no. 72 where the incident occurs in *partibus Lombardiae*. See also Villegourt, *op. cit.*, no. 29, p. 275.

⁸⁸ Cf. P. Miciattelli, *op. cit.*, no. 37, pp. 104-5.

⁸⁹ Villegourt, *op. cit.*, no. 27, p. 275.

⁹⁰ It is at this point that the series of tales in Group III resembles the same in Group II; nos. 40-6 in Group III correspond in subject matter to nos. 11-3, 17, 19-21 in Group II. The compiler of Fn⁴ omits all legends which he has already drawn from Group II.

⁹¹ Villegourt notes that the doublets, nos. 38 and 41, are also found in the Arabic collections, *op. cit.*, no. 29, p. 50, and no. 54, p. 62.

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44. ROBBER SLAPPED. Cf. Groups I, 6, and II, 19; Inc. A, no. 42; N², fol. 196; P¹, fol. 48^v; Inc. B, no. 44.
45. THE VIRGIN'S RING OF ESPOUSALS. Cf. Group II, 20; Inc. A, no. 43; N², fol. 196; P¹, fol. 49; Inc. B, no. 45.
46. NATIVITY OF THE VIRGIN. Cf. Group II, 21; Inc. A, no. 44; N², fol. 196^v; P¹, fol. 50^v; Inc. B, no. 46.
47. CHRIST-CHILD SEIZED AS PLEDGE. Cf. Group I, 34; Inc. A, no. 45; N², fol. 197; P¹, fol. 51^v; Inc. B, no. 47; Fn⁴, no. 132, fol. 64^v.
48. PAGAN REPAYED A HUNDREDFOLD.⁸² A woman dissuades her pagan husband from lending money on usury, by promising him a hundredfold return if he will give the sum to Christ in the person of the poor at the church door. He becomes indigent but finds a penny in the church and with it buys a fish in which is found a precious stone. He is converted. Inc. A, no. 46; N², fol. 197^v; P¹, fol. 53; Fr¹, no. 7, fol. 145^v (rubrics only); Inc. B, no. 48; Fn⁴, no. 133, fol. 65.
49. CHORISTER.⁸³ A youth is killed by a Jew for singing the anthem *Alma Redemptoris Mater*. His disconsolate mother hears his voice and traces it to the house of the Jew. The boy is found alive and tells how Mary had placed her hand upon the wound in his throat and restored him to life. The Jew is converted. Inc. A, no. 47; N², fol. 198^v; P¹, fol. 56; Inc. B, no. 49; Fn⁴, no. 134, fol. 65^v.
50. INCOMPLETE GARMET.⁸⁴ A religious youth was wont to say the *Ave Maria* fifty times daily. He increases it to a hundred times a day after seeing Mary with a garment incompletely embroidered with the *Ave* in letters of gold. Some time later she shows him the finished garment and foretells his approaching death. Inc. A, no. 48; omitted in N² and P¹; Inc. B, no. 50; Fn⁴, no. 135, fol. 66.
51. CHILD SAVED FROM FIRE.⁸⁵ A woman places her little child under Mary's protection while she takes her husband's dinner to him in the fields. Upon her return she finds the house on fire and is just about to lose trust in the Mother of God when she perceives her son in the midst of the flames unhurt. Inc. A, no. 49; N², fol. 199^v; P¹, fol. 58^v; Inc. B, no. 51; Rv³, no. 119, fol. 62; Fn⁴, no. 136, fol. 66^v.
- 51A. EYES REMOVED.⁸⁷ Cf. Groups II, 24, and III, 13; Inc. A, no. 51; N², fol. 200; P¹, fol. 60^v.
52. DEVIL AS COOK IN A MONASTERY.⁸⁸ The devil offers himself as cook in a monastery where the monks have a great devotion to the Mother of God. During the abbot's absence he sows discord among them. Later he is detected by the abbot and expelled. Inc. A, no. 50; N², fol. 199^v; P¹, fol. 59; Inc. B, no. 52; Fn⁴, no. 137, fol. 66^v.
53. DAINTIES COVERED BY A SOILED CLOTH. Cf. Group II, 28; Inc. A, no. 52; N³, fol. 200^v; P¹, omitted; Inc. B, no. 53.⁸⁹

⁸² Johannes Moschos, *Pratum spirituale*, cap. clxxxv (PL 74, 214-6); Johannes Monachus, *Liber de miraculis*, no. 15, pp. 63-6; C. Stolfi (ed.), *Corona de' monaci*, no. 53, pp. 133-5. Similar to no. 48 is the tale in MSS British Museum Additional 18347 (fol. 11^v) and Additional 27336 (fol. 5^v) described by Heribert, *op. cit.*, III, 600 (17) and 649 (20).

⁸³ Carleton Brown lists in his Group C seven versions in which the boy sings *Alma Redemptoris Mater*; in other respects the details of the Italian version correspond to Group A. See 'The Prioress Tale' in W. F. Bryan and Germaine Dempster, *Sources and Analogues of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales* (Chicago, 1941), pp. 447-85. For variants, cf. E. F. Wilson, *op. cit.*, no. 43, pp. 194-5; Villecourt, *op. cit.*, no. 43, p. 28; J. Morawski in *Romania*, LXI, 185-7. Cf. *infra* the curious

variants in Group IV, 42.

⁸⁴ Cf. *supra*, Group I, Ma 82-Rc 76.

⁸⁵ Johannes Herolt, *op. cit.*, no. 16, p. 9; Villecourt, *op. cit.*, no. 59, p. 285; *infra*, Group V, Fr¹⁰, no. 80. Etienne de Bourbon relates a slightly different version, *op. cit.*, no. 123, pp. 105-6.

⁸⁶ Ms British Museum Additional 27336 (fol. 48), a Latin manuscript of Italian origin, contains this version, cf. Herbert, *op. cit.*, III, 662 (211).

⁸⁷ Cf. Villecourt, *op. cit.*, no. 12, p. 269 where he refers to Inc. no. 52. Cf. *supra*, notes 49 and 61. Inc. A is actually numbered 52 for 'Eyes Removed'; the correct number 51 is given here.

⁸⁸ The printer of Inc. B numbers this legend 54, although he has skipped 'Eyes Removed' and correctly it should be 53. We are giving the correct enumeration.

SISTER MARY VINCENTINE

54. ONE-EYED JUDGE. Cf. Group II, 30, for the 'One-Eyed Knight'; Inc. A, no. 53; N², fol. 201; P¹, fol. 62; Inc. B, no. 54.

55. INCEST. Cf. Group II, 31; Inc. A, no. 54; N², fol. 201^v; P¹, fol. 63; Inc. B, no. 55.

56. HERMIT FREED FROM IMPURE TEMPTATIONS.¹⁰⁰ A hermit is advised by a neighboring recluse to say three *Ave Marias* daily to be delivered from temptations against purity. The devil appears and reveals the power of the prayer in this respect. Inc. A, no. 55; N², omitted; P¹, fol. 64; Inc. B, no. 56; Rv², no. 68, fol. 40^v; Fn⁴, no. 138, fol. 67.

57. FREED FROM PRISON.¹⁰¹ A count, a devotee of Mary, founds a monastery for an abbot and twelve monks and is persuaded by them to make peace with an enemy. While negotiating peace terms, he is captured and put into prison. He is lamenting that he cannot celebrate a Marian feast day as was his wont, when he finds himself suddenly transported to his own castle. A skeptic, going to the prison, finds the cell locked and empty. He happens to look back as he returns from the castle, and beholds it swallowed up into an abyss. Inc. A, no. 56; N², fol. 201^v; P¹, omitted; N¹, fols. 39^v-41; Inc. B, no. 57; Fn⁴, no. 139, fol. 67^v.

58. DEACON MURDERS HIS BISHOP.¹⁰² An ambitious deacon murders his bishop and succeeds him. At the inaugural banquet one of the guests in vision sees the Mother of God demanding justice. The murderer falls dead. Inc. A, no. 57; N², fol. 202^v; P¹, omitted; Inc. B, no. 58; Fn⁴, no. 140, fol. 68.

59. Two DEVILS IN PRISON. Cf. Group I, 5; Inc. A, no. 58; N², fol. 203^v; P¹, fols. 65^v-69,¹⁰² Fr¹, no. 6, fol. 144; Inc. B, no. 59; Fn⁴, no. 141, fol. 69.

60. PESTILENCE IN FRANCE.¹⁰³ In the time of King Louis a pestilence (*ignis sacer* or *mal des ardents*) takes a toll of one fourth of the population of France. A great multitude of the sick pray in the Cathedral of Notre-Dame in Paris to be delivered from the plague. One night the Virgin Mary appears, blessing the sick, who are immediately cured. Inc. A, no. 59; N², fol. 204^v; Inc. B, no. 60; Fn⁴, no. 142, fol. 70.

61. VISION SEEN BY A JEW.¹⁰⁴ A Jew seized and bound by robbers is released by the Virgin who shows him a vision of heaven and hell. He is baptized and later becomes a monk. Inc. A, no. 60; N², fol. 205; Inc. B, no. 61; Fn⁴, no. 143, fol. 70.

62. ABBESS: CONFIDENCE BETRAYED.¹⁰⁵ In this version the abbess is portrayed as a nun of very exemplary life. In a moment of weakness she sins against her vow of chastity. She confides her secret to one of the nuns who betrays her confidence, revealing her condition to an archdeacon. Before episcopal investigation takes

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Ms British Museum Harley 268 (fol. 23^v) described by Herbert, *op. cit.*, III, 565 (86).

¹⁰¹ Cf. *infra*, Group V, Fr¹⁰, no. 76 and the slightly different version in Group IV, 104. Usually the knight finds that his chains drop off easily or Mary conducts him from his prison. Legends on this theme are frequent in *Les miracles de Notre-Dame de Roc-Amadour au xii^e siècle I* (ed. Albe), no. 18, p. 105, no. 50, p. 157, no. 53, p. 162, and III, no. 18, pp. 301-2 and in Alfonso el Sabio, *Cantigas de Santa María I*, 132-3, no. 83 and II, 230-1, no. 158, 316-7, no. 227; see also Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus miraculorum VII*, 28, ii, 37-38, the source for Johannes Herolt, *op. cit.*, no. 41; also Jehan le Marchant, *Le livre des miracles de Notre-Dame de Chartres*, no. 24, pp. 142-9.

¹⁰² Etienne de Bourbon, *op. cit.*, no. 46, pp. 54-6. Cf. 'Miracle de l'Evesque que l'Archidiacre murrit' in *Miracles de Noste Dame par personnages I* (Paris, 1876), pp. 101-46, no. 3. Several manuscripts in the British

Museum contain the tale: *Mss Sloane*, 3102 (fol. 63), *Harley* 268 (fol. 18), and *Additional* 18364 (fol. 11^v), cf. Herbert, *op. cit.*, III, 97 (46), 564 (64), and 607 (16); also *infra*, Group V, Fr¹⁰, no. 109.

¹⁰³ Ms P¹ ends its series of Mary legends at this point.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. E. F. Wilson, *op. cit.*, no. 28, pp. 121-2 and p. 184.

¹⁰⁵ The caption 'Jew of London' is usually given to this legend, but there is no localization in the Italian version. Cf. Vincent of Beauvais, *op. cit.*, VII, 111: Alfonso el Sabio, *op. cit.*, I, 135-8, no. 85; Villecourt, *op. cit.*, no. 30, pp. 275-6; Levi, *op. cit.*, no. 36, pp. 62-4 and p. cxl.

¹⁰⁶ Evelyn Faye Wilson notes that the redaction 'Confidence Betrayed,' seems to have originated in England, *op. cit.*, no. 2, p. 157. See also Levi, *op. cit.*, no. 16, pp. 37-9, and pp. cxxviii-cxxix; F. Zambrini, *op. cit.*, no. 8, pp. 36-51; *infra*, Group V, Fr¹⁰, no. 52 and B¹, no. 2.

place, she is delivered by the Virgin Mary. She gains much in the virtue of humility and thereafter lives a life of great sanctity. Inc. A, no. 61; N², fols. 205^v-206^v; ¹⁰⁸ Fr¹, no. 4, fol. 142^v; Inc. B, no. 62; Fn⁴, no. 144, fol. 70^v.

63. VISION OF JUDGMENT. Cf. Group I, 32; Inc. B, no. 63; Fn⁴, no. 145, fol. 71.

64. THE VIRGIN'S CHOIR. Cf. Group I, 33; Inc. B, no. 64; Fn⁴, no. 146, fol. 72.

65. ST. JOHN DAMASCENE. Cf. Group I, 44; Inc. B, no. 65; Fn⁴, no. 147, fol. 72^v.

66. MONK REVIVED FOR CONFESSION. Cf. Group I, 67; Inc. B, no. 66; Fn⁴, no. 148, fol. 74^v.

67. *Aves SEEN AS ROSES*.¹⁰⁷ A youth is accustomed to make a garland of twelve flowers for the Virgin Mary. He is persuaded by the abbot, his uncle, to make a spiritual crown of twelve *Aves*. He becomes a monk and is sent to another monastery through a woods infested by robbers. While he halts to say his prayers, the thieves see an angel taking roses from his lips and weaving a crown for the Virgin. He becomes abbot of the monastery and the converted robbers, his subjects. Inc. B, no. 67; omitted at this point in Fn⁴.¹⁰⁸

68. O *Intermerata*: BURIED OUTSIDE THE CHURCHYARD.¹⁰⁹ An abbot prevails upon his erring nephew to say daily the prayer, *O intemerata*. Shortly after abandoning the monastery, the nephew dies. A saintly religious reveals to the abbot that the youth's soul is saved and that he should be buried in consecrated ground. As a sign he will find upon his grave a rose on which are the words, *O intemerata*. Inc. B, no. 68; Rv³, no. 62, fol. 37^v; Fn⁴, no. 149, fol. 76.

69. THE VIRGIN BARES HER BREAST.¹¹⁰ A Cistercian monk, because of the strictness of the rule, leaves the Order, becomes a Benedictine, and later the abbot. He is quite lax as a religious but devout to the Virgin Mary. Dying, he is about to be condemned at the judgment by Christ who allows Himself to be influenced when the Mother of God bares her breast and pleads for the salvation of this soul which is allowed to return to the body to do penance. The abbot lives three days, exhorting all to greater devotion to Mary. Inc. B, no. 69; Fn⁴, no. 150, fol. 77.

70. THE VIRGIN'S WEIGHT ADDED TO THE SCALE.¹¹¹ A sinner has a vision of his judgment in which a book of his evil deeds outweighs that of his good actions until Mary to whom he has recourse places herself in the scale. Returning to consciousness, he lives a penitent, devout life thereafter. Inc. B, no. 70.¹¹² Fn⁴, no. 151, fol. 78.

71. PIRATE GRANTED THE LAST SACRAMENTS. A pirate, who has never neglected to salute Mary with an *Ave Maria* day and night, is the only one of his band who survives shipwreck. Adrift five days and nights he is about to despair when Mary appears to him and tells him to accept his sufferings in penance for his

¹⁰⁶ The Mary legends in both Inc. A and N² end here.

¹⁰⁷ For variants cf. J. Morawski in *Romania*, LXI, 171-2; Villecourt, *op. cit.* no. 19, p. 46. In Ms British Museum Additional 33956 (fol. 70^v) as in no. 67 an angel takes the roses from the monk's lips, cf. Ward, *op. cit.*, II, 672 (2). Cf. *infra*, Group IV, 41. Infrequently it is the Virgin Mary who collects the roses from his lips. Cf. *infra*, Group V, Fr¹⁰, No. 118. In the version of Bonavesinda Riva, Mary spreads out her mantle before the monk on horseback, gathering his fervent ejaculations of praise as roses falling from his lips, cf. *Laudes de Virgine Maria*, ed. I. Bekker in *Bericht über die zur Bekanntmachung geeigneten Verhandlungen der Königl. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Berlin, 1850), pp. 489-90, II, 417-72.

¹⁰⁸ Fn⁴, no. 42, fols. 27-8 is taken verbatim from Rv³, no. 41 and agrees substantially with no. 67. Hence the compiler of Fn⁴ does not repeat.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. E. F. Wilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 19, 36. Compare no. 68 with the version of Gautier de Coincy, *Les Miracles de la sainte Vierge*, ed. A. E. Poquet (Paris, 1857), pp. 351-70. The prayer *O intemerata*, which appeared in the twelfth century, has been falsely attributed to St. Anselm (*Oratio*, liii; PL 158, 959). See A. Wilmart, *Auteurs spirituels et tertiaires dévotes du moyen âge latin* (Paris, 1932), pp. 481 ff.

¹¹⁰ The monk does not die but has a vision of his judgment and repents in the Vendôme collection (Isnard, *op. cit.*, no. 29, pp. 122-4) and in the *Cincuenta miracoli* (cf. Levi, no. 29, pp. 81-3). Cf. Ms British Museum Harley 495 (fol. 59) in Herbert, *op. cit.*, III, 535 (5).

¹¹¹ See Ms British Museum Royal 5 A. viii (fol. 146) described by Ward, *op. cit.* II, 651 (5); *supra*, Group I, 32; *infra*, Group V, Fr¹⁰, no. 82.

¹¹² The printer of Inc. B misnumbers: 69, 71, 73, 74, 75. Correct enumeration is given here.

sins, and that he will have an opportunity to confess. Two days later she orders a monk to go to the seashore, administer the last Sacraments and give the pirate honorable burial. Inc. B, no. 71; *Fn⁴*, no. 152, fol. 78^v (incomplete).¹¹³

72. WIDOW'S VISION OF THE CHRIST-CHILD.¹¹⁴ A young widow, while contemplating the joy of the Mother of God with the Infant in her arms, is granted the favor of holding and embracing the Christ-Child. Inc. B, no. 72; indexed in *Fn⁴* as no. 153.

73. MILK. Cf. Group I, 11; Inc. B, no. 73; indexed in *Fn⁴* as no. 154.

74. VISION OF MARY WITH STS. MARTIN AND NICHOLAS. Cf. Group I, 12; Inc. B, no. 74; indexed in *Fn⁴* as no. 155.

75. UNWILLING TO DENY MARY.¹¹⁵ Cf. Group I, 73; Inc. B, no. 75; indexed in *Fn⁴* as no. 156.

3. TABLE OF CORRESPONDENCE.

The following table illustrates the slight difference between the manuscripts related to Incunabulum A and the series found in *Fn⁴* in which the compiler used a manuscript related to Incunabulum B.

Inc.	Inc.					Gp.			
	A	N ²	P ¹	F ^r ¹	B	F ^r ²	R ^v ³	II	N ¹
Virgin Comes to Devil.....	1	1	1	..	1	..	..	1	..
Devil as Servant.....	2	2	2	..	2	..	63	2	..
Could Learn Only <i>Ave Maria</i>	3	3	3	..	3	..	..	3	..
Mother-in-law and Son-in-law.....	4	4	4	..	4	..	..	4	..
Unwilling to Deny Mary.....	5	5	5	..	5	..	..	5	..
Infant Speaks.....	..	..	..	..	6	104	..	..	..
150 Aves Daily.....	6	6	6	..	7	..	59	6	..
Seven Joys.....	7	7	7	..	8	..	..	..	..
Pact with the Devil.....	8	8	8	..	9	..	..	10	..
Painter.....	9	9	9	..	10	..	..	14	..
The 'Manekine'.....	10	10	..	1	11	105	..	..	..
Mary Assists at Death-bed.....	11	11	10	..	12	106	60	..	..
Donkey Sold; Harlots Converted; Eyes Removed.....	12	12	11	2	13	107	..	..	..
Buried outside the Churchyard.....	13	13	12	..	14	108	..	..	..
Sin Concealed in Confession.....	14	14	..	..	15	109	..	..	..
Nun Who Returns to Her Convent.....	15	15	..	..	16	110	..	..	..
Drowned Monks Sing <i>Salve Regina</i>	16	16	13	..	17	111	55	..	..
No Death without Confession.....	17	17	14	..	18	112	..	29	..
Taper Left Behind by an Angel.....	18	18	15	..	19	113	..	..	..
No Death without Confession.....	19	19	16	..	20	114	..	..	..
<i>Salve Regina</i> during Time of Famine.....	20	20	..	..	21	115	..	..	..
Judge Slain in Church.....	21	21	17	..	22	116	..	..	..
Accused Unjustly.....	22	22	18	..	23	117	61	..	..
Girl Named Mary.....	23	23	19	..	24	..	57	..	..
Plegis' Vision of the Christ-Child.....	24	24	20	..	25	118	..	..	..
Prayers Offered for a Robber's Soul.....	25	25	21	3	26	119	..	..	..

¹¹³ The compiler of *Fn⁴* begins his no. 152. It is possible that he perceived his repetition, having already inserted the tale as no. 46 in his collection. Cf. *infra*, Group IV, 45. Fols. 79-88 are blank. A similar version, except that the pirate is picked up by a ship in which there are Franciscans, is contained in the *Laudes de Virgine Maria of Bonavesin da Riva*, loc. cit., pp. 483-5, ll. 193-280.

¹¹⁴ Villecourt, *op. cit.*, no. 48, p. 281. Cf. *supra*, Group II, 15; *infra*, Group IV (*Rv³*), 72.

¹¹⁵ The source is acknowledged: Legesi che è scritto de Cesario . . . Cf. Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus miraculorum* II, 12, i, 78 ff.; A. Hilka, *op. cit.*, III, no. 103, 217-8, or A. Meister, *op. cit.*, iii, no. 83, pp. 206-7. For further bibliographical references, cf. Group I, n. 109.

MEDIAEVAL STUDIES

	Inc.		Inc.	Gp.
	A	N ²	B	
	P ¹	F _r ¹	Fn ⁴	Rv ³
Priest of One Mass.....	26	26	22	..
Delivered from the Devil.....	27	27	23	..
Monks at Their Field Work.....	28	28	24	..
Unjust Accusation of Adultery.....	29	29	25	..
Boy Saved from Drowning.....	30	30	26	..
Hermitess Delivered from the Devil.....	31	31	27	..
A Leper to Preserve Chastity.....	32	32	..	..
Dimas and Geta.....	33	33	..	..
Knight and Squire.....	..	..	..	34 127
Child Saved from Drowning.....	34	34	28	..
Theophilus.....	35	35	29	..
Could Learn Only <i>Ave Maria</i>.....	..	..	..	37
Severed Hand.....	36	36	30	..
Judge Saved from Drowning.....	37	37	31	..
Discord between Husband and Wife.....	38	38	32	..
Severed Hand of the Bishop of 'Tolleta'.....	39	39	..	40
Hospitality.....	40	40	33	5
Merchant of Alexandria.....	41	41	34	..
Robber Slapped.....	42	42	35	..
The Virgin's Ring of Espousals.....	43	43	36	..
Nativity of the Virgin.....	44	44	37	..
Christ-Child Seized as Pledge.....	45	45	38	..
Pagan Repaid a Hundredfold.....	46	46	39	7* 48
Chorister.....	47	47	40	..
Incomplete Garment.....	48	..	..	49 134
Child Saved from Fire.....	49	48	41	..
Devil as Cook in a Monastery.....	50	49	42	..
Eyes Removed.....	51	50	43	..
Dainties Covered by a Soiled Cloth.....	52	51	..	53
One-eyed Judge.....	53	52	44	..
Incest.....	54	53	45	..
Hermit Freed from Impure Temptation.....	55	..	46	..
Freed from Prison.....	56	54	47	..
Deacon Murders His Bishop.....	57	55	..	58 140
Two Devils in Prison.....	58	56	48	6
Pestilence in France.....	59	57	..	60 142
Vision Seen by a Jew.....	60	58	..	61 143
Abbess: Confidence Betrayed.....	61	59	..	62 144
Vision of Judgment.....	..	..	..	63 145
The Virgin's Choir.....	..	..	..	64 146
St. John Damascene.....	..	..	..	65 147
Monk Revived for Confession.....	..	..	..	66 148
<i>Aves</i> Seen as Roses.....	..	..	..	67
<i>O Intemerata</i> : Buried outside the Church-yard.....	..	..	..	68 149 62
The Virgin Bares Her Breast.....	..	..	..	69 150
The Virgin's Weight Added to the Scale.....	..	..	..	70 151
Pirate Granted the Last Sacraments.....	..	..	..	71 152†
Widow's Vision of the Christ-Child.....	..	..	..	72 153‡
Milk.....	..	..	..	73 154‡
Vision of Mary with Sts. Martin and Nicholas.....	..	..	..	74 155‡
Unwilling to Deny Mary.....	..	..	..	75 156‡

* Rubrics only.

† incomplete.

‡ indexed only.

It is evident from the analysis of *N²* and *P¹* as well as from the chart that the compilers of both collections used a manuscript very similar to the printer's copy for Incunabulum A. *P¹* omits ten of the legends in *N²* but it is unlikely that its compiler used the Naples manuscript which omits no. 56 contained in *P¹*.

The compiler of *Fn⁴* draws forty-eight legends from the longer *Libro del Cavaliere* represented in this study by Incunabulum B, and from his index one notes that he intended to use the *Libro* as a source for five more tales. He consistently omits all that he has already drawn from Group II.

Thirteen of the legends in *Rv³* have been included in the study of Group III. Ten more¹¹⁶ in this collection are on subjects found in the *Libro del Cavaliere* but are so different in wording, although not in content, that it is quite probable that Duccio di Gano used other sources. Many of the legends in *Fr¹⁰* correspond to the same in Group III, but inasmuch as they agree merely in narrative, this agreement is indicated in the footnotes, and *Fr¹⁰* will be considered as a whole in Group V with other miscellaneous manuscripts.¹¹⁷ Twenty-one of the legends in Incunabulum B may be found in the Greek collection of Agapios according to the analysis of Louis Villecourt.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶ Cf. *infra*, Group IV, nos. 8, 12, 23, 29 (47), 34, 40, 41, 45, and 113.

46, 48, 49, 55, and 59 in 'La collection grecque d'Agapios,' *Analecta Bollandiana*, XLII (1924), 266-87.

¹¹⁷ See also *infra*, Group V, *Fr⁵*.

¹¹⁸ Cf. nos. 9, 11, 12, 18, 23-30, 38, 42, 43, 45,

Siger of Brabant's *De Necessitate et Contingentia Causarum* and Ms Peterhouse 152

ARMAND MAURER C.S.B.

THE present article continues the study of the commentary on the *Metaphysics* contained in Ms 152 of Peterhouse College, Cambridge, begun in *Mediaeval Studies*, 1950.¹ There it was pointed out that this anonymous commentary has the same *Incipit* as Siger of Brabant's. Moreover, like the Paris manuscript of the *Metaphysics* attributed to Siger, it extends from Books II to VII. Preceding Book II are the same eight Questions which form a sort of introduction to the work.² The Questions in the commentary, with some exceptions, run parallel to the known Questions of Siger and show a great similarity of treatment and sometimes even literal identity.

In view of this evidence it seems quite probable that the Peterhouse commentary is another redaction of Siger's *Metaphysics*. The question remains whether its contents are throughout in accord with the known thought of Siger. Here it is proposed to edit and study the Question on the necessity and contingency of causes and the related issues of liberty and divine providence. Since it occurs in Book VI, it is not contained in the Munich manuscript of Siger's *Metaphysics*, which extends only to Book V. It appears in a few sentences in the Paris manuscript, but these are too brief to offer much basis of comparison.³ However, we are fortunate to be able to compare it with the treatise of Siger: *De Necessitate et contingentia causarum*, which deals with the same issues as the Question in the Peterhouse manuscript.

Although a study based on internal criticism such as this is not decisive in settling the question of authenticity, it is at least helpful, and indeed necessary, in the absence of external evidence. We are well aware, however, of the limitations of this method, and we would make our own the warning that *une grande prudence s'impose dans le recours à la critique interne*.⁴

The contents of the Question we are to study fall conveniently into three parts. The first concerns the general notion of the necessity and contingency of causes, the second its application to human liberty, and the third its application to divine providence. We shall consider each of these in turn, comparing it with the doctrine of Siger's *De Necessitate*. Finally, in an appendix, we shall present the text of our Question.

I.

In spite of its obscurity on certain points, the *De Necessitate* presents a coherent view of the causal relationship of God to the universe and of created causes to their effects. It tells us that the First Cause has for its first effect an intelligence which it produces immediately and necessarily. It is the necessary cause of the other intelligences and of the spheres and their movements, not immediately, but through the first created intelligence. The First Cause is also the necessary, although mediate, cause of the determinate positions of the heavenly bodies. Since these bodies move in time, some events in this order are

¹ A. Maurer, "Siger of Brabant and an Averroistic Commentary on the *Metaphysics* in Cambridge, Peterhouse Ms 152", *Mediaeval Studies* XII (1950), 233-235. The Commentary occupies fol. 51v-103v.

² The above article mentions that Questions 2 and 5 are missing. Actually they are present, although not designated as dis-

tinct Questions in the margin.

³ *Siger of Brabant, Questions sur la Méta-physique*, ed. C. Graiff (*Philosophes Médiévaux I*, Louvain, 1948), p. 366, l. (51)—p. 367, l. (69).

⁴ F. Van Steenberghen, *Siger de Brabant d'après ses œuvres inédites II* (*Les Philosophes Belges XIII*, Louvain, 1942), p. 499.

past and some future; but the future events are necessary, not contingent, for their causes cannot be prevented from acting and producing their effects. Future contingent effects are to be found among terrestrial things. The heavenly bodies produce some effects in the lower world as necessary causes, but others as contingent causes, since their action can be impeded. The reign of contingency is even wider in the last order of causes, namely, particular terrestrial causes, which produce their effects sometimes *per se* and necessarily, sometimes *per se* and in the majority of cases, and sometimes *per accidens*.⁵

There are several features in this conception of the universe of causes of special interest to us. It will be noticed, first of all, that Siger adopts the Avicennian view that God creates immediately only one being, the first of the celestial intelligences. He creates everything else through the intermediary of this intelligence. This follows Avicenna's principle: *ex uno secundum quod est unum non est nisi unum*,⁶ or as Siger puts it: *ab uno simplici non procedat nisi unum immediate*.⁷ It should be noted further that God does not create the first intelligence freely, but necessarily. It was this notion of creation, with its delimitation of God's creative power and its accompanying necessitarianism, that philosophers like William of Auvergne and St. Thomas Aquinas so strongly combatted.⁸

The second point of interest to us here is that Siger, like Avicenna, admits contingent causes, which are defined as those which can be prevented from producing their effects.⁹ But he insists that in a sense every effect is necessary with respect to its cause. Siger again quotes Avicenna with approval: *omnis effectus, respectu suae causae, est necessarius*.¹⁰ This statement, however, must be correctly understood. It does not mean, Siger assures us, that some causes are not really contingent, but that if in fact these causes are not prevented from producing their effects they necessarily produce them. Such necessity is not absolute; it is simply the sort of determination which is found in all actually existing being. As Aristotle says, every being must needs be when it is, even though, absolutely speaking, it need not be.¹¹ So, too, every effect must be when in fact it is produced by a cause which is not impeded.

The Peterhouse manuscript presents us with substantially the same conception of causal necessity and contingency. We find there the same Avicennian hierarchy of causes, arranged according to their grade of necessity. At the peak there are the separate substances, which are absolutely immobile and eternal and hence entirely necessary: *ipsa omnia et secundum quamlibet dispositionem immobilia sunt et aeterna, ideo omnino sunt necessaria*.¹² There is a primary being among them, but its only difference from the others with respect to its necessity is that it has no cause of its necessity whereas they have.

It will be noted that the Peterhouse Question, unlike the *De Necessitate*, does

⁵ *De Nec. et cont. causarum*, ed. P. Mandronnet, *Siger de Brabant et l'Averroïsme Latin au XIII^e Siècle II* (Louvain, 1908), pp. 11-4.

⁶ Avicenna, *Metaph. IX*, 4 (Venice, 1508), fol. 104^{vb}.

⁷ *De Nec. et cont. causarum*, ed. cit. p. 112.

⁸ Cf. William of Auvergne, *De Universo IaIae*, 24-26 (Orleans, 1674), pp. 618-624; *IaIIae*, 9, pp. 816-817; St. Thomas, *De Potentia III*, 4.

⁹ For Siger there is only physical contingency in the universe, in the sense that there are chance occurrences because the causality of some agents can be thwarted. There is no true metaphysical contingency since God does not create freely. Cf. F. Van Steenberghen, *op. cit.* p. 609. The same is true in the universe of Avicenna. Cf. A.

M. Goichon, *La Distinction de l'Essence et de l'Existence d'après Ibn Sina* (Paris, 1937), pp. 204-205. An enlightening discussion of necessity in the world of Avicenna will be found in Emil L. Fackenheim, "The Possibility of the Universe in Al-Farabi, Ibn Sina and Maimonides", *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research XVI* (1947), 39-70.

¹⁰ *De Nec. et cont. causarum*, ed. cit. pp. 117, 120. Cf. Avicenna, *Metaph. I*, 7, fol. 73^{rb}: *Igitur manifestum est quod quidquid possibile est esse non habet esse nisi cum necessarium est respectu suae causae*.

¹¹ Cf. Aristotle, *De Interpretatione* 9, 19a22. Quoted in *De Nec. et cont. causarum*, ed. cit. p. 117.

¹² *Infra*, p. 55.

not say that the First Cause, or God, has only one immediate effect. However, the author of that manuscript has already shown this in Book V.¹³ Its doctrine on this point exactly parallels that of the Munich and Paris manuscripts of Siger's *Metaphysics*.¹⁴

Next in order of necessity come the heavenly bodies, which are immobile and eternal and hence necessary. Even in their movement they have a certain immobility and necessity inasmuch as they always move in the same way.

Among terrestrial things we find some causes which produce their effects always and in the same way. Once these causes are posited, their effect is posited necessarily, for they cannot be prevented from acting. For instance, the composition of contraries in a living thing necessarily is the cause of death. There are other causes, however, which do not necessarily produce their effects for they can be prevented from doing so. For example, the drinking of poison does not necessarily lead to death, for medicine can prevent it. However, death necessarily results from the drinking of poison in the absence of medicine.

From this it is evident that there is always some bond of necessity between cause and effect. The author of our manuscript says that in all cases the proposition of Avicenna is true, namely, that every cause which is disposed to produce its effect, necessarily produces it:

... universaliter vera est propositio Avicennae, scilicet quod omnis causa existens in dispositione in qua nata est producere effectum, de necessitate producit effectum.¹⁵

However, this does not mean that some causes do not produce their effects contingently. The author of our manuscript rejects this interpretation of Avicenna.¹⁶ It is not true that every effect comes from some cause necessarily, in relation to which its being is necessary.¹⁷ And the reason is that in some cases the cause may be prevented from producing its effect. If the cause can be prevented from producing its effect, it produces it contingently and not necessarily. However, if in fact it is not prevented, it produces it necessarily, for at that moment it cannot be prevented from producing it. This is the kind of necessity with which it is true to say that Socrates must run when he is running, although it is not necessary that he run, or that everything that is must be when it is, although it need not be. The author of the Peterhouse manuscript calls this "conditional necessity", in contrast to the absolute necessity with which non-impedible causes act.¹⁸

From this we see that the Peterhouse Question and Siger's *De Necessitate* present substantially the same solution of the problem of causal necessity and contingency.

II.

The two works agree not only in their general view on the necessity and contingency of causes, but also in their application of it to the problem of human liberty. They both deny, in almost identical terms, that the will has complete autonomy in its acts. It is not the first cause of its willing; rather it is

¹³ Item non potest materia secundum essentiam suam esse effectus immediatus causae primae, quoniam ille effectus est unus utrum (leg. tantum), sicut probat Avicenna. Fol. 74^{va}. Fol. 74^{vb} contains the Question: Quod a Primo non procedat nisi unum immediate which has been censured in part with heavy strokes of ink in the Munich manuscript. Cf. *Questions sur la Métaphysique*, ed. cit. pp. 302-5.

¹⁴ Siger de Brabant, *Questions sur la Métaphysique*, ed. cit. p. 301, ll. 70-72. (37)-(38).

¹⁵ Cf. *infra*, p. 56. I have not found this proposition literally in Avicenna. It seems to be based on his *Metaphysics* I, 7, fol. 73^{rb}.

¹⁶ Cf. *infra*, p. 56. This is also St. Thomas' interpretation. Cf. his *In VI Metaph.* lect. 3, ed. Cathala-Spiazzi (Rome, 1950), nn. 1192, 1193. It is also Siger's in the Paris manuscript of the *Metaphysics*. Cf. *Siger de Brabant, Questions sur la Métaphysique*, ed. cit. pp. 366, 1. (51)-367, 1. (69).

¹⁷ Cf. *infra*, p. 60.

¹⁸ Cf. *infra*, p. 57.

moved by the judgment of the intellect. And since this judgment, unlike that of the senses, is not determined, neither is the act of the will.

Accordingly, the freedom of the will consists in the fact that, although it is moved by other causes, the nature of the will is such that they can always be prevented from moving it. However, the will is under the same bond of necessity as other contingent causes. We have seen that when these causes are in fact not prevented from acting, they necessarily produce their effects. So, too, in the case of the will. When it is disposed to act and the causes which move it are disposed to do so, the will cannot not will. It was this doctrine, with its suggestion of determinism, that was censured by Stephen Tempier in his condemnation of 1277.¹⁹

There is such a remarkable similarity in the statement of the freedom of the will in the two works that it will be well to place them side by side for comparison.

*De Necessitate*²⁰

Circa quod considerandum quod libertas voluntatis in suis operibus non sic est intelligenda, quod voluntas ipsa sit prima causa sui velle et sui operari, potens se movere ad opposita ab aliquo priori non mota. Voluntas enim non movetur ad volendum nisi ex aliqua apprehensione. Non est hoc etiam libertas voluntatis quod ipsa voluntate existente in dispositione illa in qua nata est moveri ad volendum, et movente etiam existente in dispositione[m] in qua natum est movere, possit aliquando non moveri voluntas, vel hanc potentiam ut non moveatur sic disposita, et agente sic disposito. Hoc enim est impossibile. Sed in hoc consistit libertas voluntatis quod etsi ab aliquibus inveniatur aliquando moveri, cum huiusmodi moventia non sint impedita, tamen talis est natura voluntatis quod quodlibet eorum quae nata sunt movere voluntatem potest a suo motu impediri, quia voluntas vult ex iudicio rationis, quae se habet ad opposita. Sed appetitus sensitivus ex iudicio sensus.

We find the same explanation of the freedom of the will in Siger's *Impossibilita*.²¹ There he says that in a sense human actions are necessitated, not in that they are forced or that the will is moved by a cause that cannot be

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Non enim voluntas sic libera est quod sit causa prima sui velle; immo necesse est eam moveri ex aliqua apprehensione. Nec est sic libera pro praesente volito ipsi voluntati, et ipsis existentibus in dispositione in qua hoc quidem natum sit movere, illud autem moveri, possit voluntas velle vel non velle indifferenter; immo necesse est eam velle ut sic existentem. Sed est voluntas libera quantum ad hoc quod ipsa a nullo potest moveri quod non sit impedibile et etiam quandoque actu impeditum. Sic tamen non est de iudicio sensibilium. Visus enim apprehendens album non potest judicare non album, et hoc si fuerit sensatio albi, ut in quarto habitum est.

¹⁹ The condemned proposition 131 reads: Quod voluntate existente in tali dispositione in qua nata est moveri, et (movente) manente sic disposito quod natum est movere, impossibile est voluntate non velle. *Charterarium Universitatis Parisiensis I*, ed. H. Denifle and A. Chatelain (Paris, 1889), p. 551. Cf. Dom O. Lottin, *Psychologie et Morale aux XII^e et XIII^e Siècles I* (Louvain, 1942),

pp. 278-80. For Siger's doctrine of the freedom of the will, cf. pp. 262-71. Unfortunately the author does not distinguish between the authentic and doubtful works of Siger.

²⁰ *De Nec. et cont. causarum*, ed. cit. p. 118.

²¹ Cf. *infra*, p. 59.

²² *Impossibilita*, ed. P. Mandonnet, op. cit. pp. 89-90.

impeded, but in the sense that every effect with respect to its cause is necessary *ex conditione*, that is, if that cause is not impeded.

In the Peterhouse manuscript one of the arguments to prove that every effect does not occur necessarily is that this would destroy freedom of choice and the duty of punishing bad acts, and it would likewise turn men away from good deeds. All these, the author continues, are contrary to the Catholic Faith and also to Aristotle's intention:

Omnis effectus de necessitate evenire tollit arbitrii libertatem, tollet punitiones actuum malorum debere fieri, retrahit etiam ab actibus bonis. Quod si haec omnia Catholicae Fidei contradicunt, et cum hoc intentioni Aristotelis, non est ponendum omnia de necessitate evenire.²²

The *De Necessitate* also argues that to say all things happen of necessity destroys freedom of choice.²³ The treatise, however, shows no concern with the agreement of philosophy with the Faith. It maintains the strict separation of religion and philosophy associated with the name of Siger of Brabant. But it is not unknown for him, especially in his later works, to show an interest in the reconciliation of philosophy and the Faith. For example, in his Questions on the *Metaphysics* he says that Avicenna, Aristotle, the Faith and Proclus all maintain that there is one efficient cause of all things: *intelligendum quod Avicenna, Aristoteles, fides et Proclus volunt quod una sit causa effectiva omnium.*²⁴ Thus the linking of the Faith and the philosophers on the question of free will does not argue against the authenticity of the Peterhouse manuscript.

III.

The only serious difference between the two works is in their views on divine providence.²⁵ They agree that God exercises a providence over the universe in virtue of His primary and universal causality.²⁶ They are likewise in agreement that providence, even though infallible, does not impose necessity on all things. And their explanation of this is substantially the same. Providence is carried out through secondary causes, some of which can be prevented from acting. Providence, then, does not impose necessity on all future effects any more than does the whole order of causes through which it is carried out.²⁷ The *De Necessitate* defines providence as the practical understanding of the connection or relation of causes to their effects.²⁸ Now this relation or connection does not impose necessity on all future effects, but only on those resulting from causes that cannot be impeded. Consequently, neither does the understanding of the order of causes impose necessity on things.

It might seem that we can speak of the contingency of future events only in relation to secondary causes and not in relation to providence and the whole connection of causes. With regard to the latter, all things would seem to be absolutely necessary. Both works, however, reject this view.²⁹ The only kind of necessity binding all future effects to their causes and to the whole order of causes is conditional necessity. In other words, in the whole order of causes there is always a determinate cause for every effect which in fact is not impeded and actually occurs. In this sense, the Peterhouse Question says, every future effect can be said to be determined through divine providence, since it can be traced back to the First Cause, either immediately or mediately, through a series

²² *Infra*, p. 55. Cf. pp. 57, 59.

²³ *De Nec. et cont. causarum*, ed. cit. p. 118.

²⁴ *Questions sur la Métaphysique* III, 7, ed. cit. p. 95, ll. 52-3. Cf. F. Van Steenberghen, *op. cit.* p. 682. The parallel passage in the Peterhouse Questions omits the Faith from this curious line-up: *Item verum est quod Aristoteles et Avicenna et Proclus et omnes fere Peripatetici dicunt quod tantum est*

una causa effectiva omnium. Fol. 58^{ab}.

²⁵ For Siger's notion of providence, cf. F. Van Steenberghen, *op. cit.* pp. 606-7.

²⁶ *Cf. De Nec. et cont. causarum*, ed. cit. p. 122; *infra*, p. 58.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Cf. De Nec. et cont. causarum*, ed. cit. pp. 121-2; *infra*, p. 58.

of causes which determine it. It is this kind of determination or necessity in things that corresponds to the infallibility of divine providence.³¹

So far our two works are in essential agreement. They differ, however, in treating the question of God's providence and foreknowledge of future contingents. In the *De Necessitate* Siger reminds us that God does not know His effects in themselves but in His own substance. It follows that His knowledge of these effects is identical with His knowledge of Himself, which is always infallible and true. It cannot, then, extend to future contingents, since, according to Aristotle, a future contingent is neither true nor false. For example, it is neither true that a naval battle will take place nor that it will not take place, although it is true that it will either take place or not take place. It follows that God's knowledge, which is always true, does not include future contingents.³²

Siger realizes, however, that this will sound offensive to some ears, and so he proposes another explanation. God can have infallible providence and knowledge of all things, even future contingents, because He does not know them in themselves but in His own immutable self. Just as He knows mutable things with an immutable knowledge, so also does He have infallible providence and foreknowledge of fallible future events.³³

Unfortunately, Siger's thought is not very clear at this point. The text of the *De Necessitate* is somewhat obscure in its present edition, and Siger himself does not explain his views as fully as one would wish. However, he undoubtedly thought that God's foreknowledge of contingent effects could be denied, and this denial implies of course the denial of divine providence over them. Having assured us of it once, he returns to the same point a little later on: *Posset negari antecedens quo dicitur quod propositum est quod a fiet, sicut dictum est prius.*³⁴ It is significant, in this regard, that he does not attempt to answer the argument, based on the notion of the truth of future contingents, which led to this denial.

In his second explanation, however, Siger admits God's foreknowledge of future contingents and by implication divine providence over them, but it is difficult to know in what sense this is to be understood. Is he simply stating the same position in different words so that it will sound less offensive to pious ears? Or does he mean, like St. Thomas, that in knowing Himself, God knows future contingents not only *in causa* but also as they are in themselves as eternally present to Him?³⁵ It is hard to say from Siger's brief account.

Turning now to the Peterhouse Question, we see that there is no suggestion that God lacks foreknowledge of future contingents. It states without reserve that He foreknows both the contingent and necessary future: *Praescientia autem Dei est et futurorum contingentium et necessariorum.*³⁶ It warns us against the anthropomorphism of conceiving God's foreknowledge on the model of our own. We can foresee only what will necessarily happen, whereas God, who sees all things as present, has foreknowledge of future contingent effects as well as of those that occur necessarily.³⁷

In the light of this comparison what can be said about the authorship of the Peterhouse manuscript? On the whole it treats the question of the necessity and contingency of causes in much the same way as the *De Necessitate*. Even the examples used and the authorities quoted are generally identical. The difference in handling the problem of divine foreknowledge is a serious one; but we must remember that in the *De Necessitate* Siger offers two possible solutions, the second of which is easily reconcilable with that of the Peterhouse manuscript. Moreover, he shows dissatisfaction with the first solution, or at least with the

³¹ Cf. *infra*, p. 60; *De Nec. et cont. causarum*, ed. cit. p. 117.

³² *De Nec. et cont. causarum*, ed. cit. p. 123.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ *Op. cit. p. 124.*

³⁵ Cf. St. Thomas, *Summa Theologiae I*, 14,

13.

³⁶ *Infra*, p. 60.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

formula in which it is expressed. He is clearly looking for one that will sound less offensive. This may explain why he omitted it in his Questions on the *Metaphysics*, which seem to postdate the *De Necessitate*.³⁸ What is more we cannot rule out the possibility that Siger modified his views in the course of his career. Although most of the evidence that he did so is based on works which are of doubtful authenticity, some is found in those that definitely are authentic.³⁹ For instance, the Lisbon *Quaestiones naturales* throw doubt on the Avicennian principle that the First Cause has only one immediate effect—a doctrine accepted in the Questions on the *Metaphysics*.⁴⁰ If the Peterhouse Questions are Siger's, they are another witness to his critical examination of his earlier doctrines. However, it remains only probable that the Questions in their entirety are his. This is as much as can be said until a complete study of them is made.

APPENDIX¹

<UTRUM OMNIA DE NECESSITATE EVENIANT>

Et ideo hic quaeritur utrum omnia de necessitate eveniant, sic quod quaecumque sunt vel fuerunt necessario futura essent, et quaecumque futura sunt necessario evenient.

[1] Et quod sic videtur, quia omnis effectus necessario evenit ab aliqua causa respectu cuius esse suum est necessarium, secundum Avicennam.² Et visum est superius quod quamvis aliqua causa possit impediri a productione effectus, a causa tamen existente sub tali dispositione, scilicet quod non sit impedita, de necessitate provenit effectus. Et causa illa, ut sub tali dispositione existens, est effectus alicujus causae respectu cuius est necessarium suum esse, et illa adhuc alterius, et sic usque ad causam primam. Quod sit causa prima de necessitate, sic ex connexione causarum sequitur quod omnia de necessitate eveniunt.

Et declaratur ratio, quia si non omnia de necessitate eveniunt, hoc est quia aliquorum sunt causae ut in pluribus quae nata sunt impediri. Sed adhuc causae illae, existentes sub tali dispositione quod non impeditae, de necessitate producunt effectum. Et illae causae, existentes sub tali dispositione, effectus sunt alicujus alterius causae quae, existens sub tali dispositione quod non (92vb) impedita, de necessitate producit effectum. Et illius causae est accipere aliam causam, et sic semper quoisque deveniatur ad causam primam quae, cum de necessitate sit, et omnes effectus de necessitate evenient.

[2] Item. Sit B aliquis effectus futurus. B igitur in praesentibus habet causam. Aut igitur habet cum impedimento aut sine. Si cum impedimento, tunc non erit: positum autem est ipsum fore. Si sine impedimento, tunc arguitur: Omnis effectus qui fiet in praesentibus habens causam non impeditam, de necessitate fiet. B autem effectus est talis. Ergo B de necessitate fiet. Et sic arguetur de quocumque effectu futuro.

[3] Item per Aristotelem hic.³ Quando alicujus effectus futuri praesens est aliqua causa quae non est nata recipere impedimentum, effectus ille de necessitate eveniet, ut quia istud vivum compositum est ex contrariis de necessitate morietur. Nunc autem omnis effectus futurus in praesentibus habet causam quae non nata est recipere impedimentum, scilicet providentiam divinam. Omnes enim effectus a Deo provisi sunt, et non potest a sua providentia frustrari, tum quia

³⁸ Cf. F. Van Steenberghen, *op. cit.* pp. 560, 564.

³⁹ On the question of the authenticity of the works of Siger, cf. F. Van Steenberghen, *op. cit.* pp. 499-536; E. Gilson, *Compte Rendu* of the preceding work, *Bulletin Thomiste* VI (1940-42), 5-22.

⁴⁰ Cf. F. Stegmüller, "Neugefundene Quaes-

tionen des Siger von Brabant". *Recherches de Théologie Anc. et Méd.* (1931), 182. Cf. also F. Van Steenberghen, *op. cit.* pp. 611-2.

¹ *Quaestiones in libros Metaphysicae*, Peterhouse Ms 152, fol. 92^{va}.

² *Metaph.* I, 7 (Venice, 1508), fol. 73^{rb}

³ *Metaph.* VI, 3, 1027b7-10.

nihil ei accidit, tum quia causa quae subjacet impedimentis non est totum ordinans; ipse autem est totum ordinans. Quare, etc.

[4] Item. Hic appetat auctoritate Boethii libro *De Consolatione*.⁴ Dicit enim quod fatum "ab immobilis providentiae proficiscens exordiis, actus fortunasque hominum indissolubili causarum connexione constringit". Unde secundum ipsum ipsa connexionio causarum in entibus explet providentiam divinam. Et cum providentia divina falli non possit, nec ipsa connexionio causarum falli poterit.

[5] Item. Hoc idem arguitur ex providentia divina. Sequitur enim, supposito quod *A* sit aliquis effectus futurus et praescitus sit a Deo, si *A* est praescitum de necessitate eveniet. Quandocumque enim in aliquo conditionali antecedens necessarium est et consequentia necessaria, consequens erit necessaria. Sic autem est in proposito. Quare, etc.

Oppositorum vult hic Commentator.⁵ Dicit enim quod omnia esse talia quod necessarium esset ea fore antequam fierent contra sensum est et intellectum. Nec est sicut in exemplis legalibus dictum est, quod omnia scripta sunt in tabula, et quaecumque scripta sunt ibi necesse est venire ad actum.⁶

Item. Hoc idem vult Aristoteles hic.⁷ Dicit enim quod quamvis iste necessario moriturus sit quia compositus est ex contrariis, non tamen est aliquid factum praesentialiter quo moriturus sit necessario violentia vel infirmitate,⁸ ut si iste nunc comedat mordicantia quae sint causa sitis. Sitis autem sit causa exitus a domo, et exitus a domo sit causa quod occurrat⁹ latronibus et ab eis interficiatur. Vel si exitus a domo sit causa quod intret aestum et febricitet et modo moriatur. Est intentio Aristotelis hic quod quamvis ita contingat, non tamen ex hoc quod nunc comedat mordicantia de necessitate sit vel sic morietur. Tunc enim quandocumque contingeret haec causa, de necessitate eveniret effectus; quod non est verum.

Item. Hoc idem intendit Aristoteles in fine primi *Perihermenias*.¹⁰ Vult enim quod in contingentibus in altera parte contradictionis de futuro non est veritas: ut non est verum dicere quod navale bellum erit cras, vel quod navale bellum non erit (93ra) cras. Sed navale bellum fore cras vel non fore cras est verum. Qualitercumque autem necessarium esset navale bellum fore cras, sive ex causa sua particulari non impedita, sive ex connexione omnium causarum in entibus, dum tamen necessarium esset veritas in ista parte determinata: navale bellum erit cras. Quia si Aristoteles hoc non concludat, certum est de intentione sua esse quod effectus contingentes futuri, nec per comparationem ad suas causas particulares, nec per comparationem ad totam connexionem causarum in entibus, necessario eveniant.

Item. Omnes effectus de necessitate evenire tollit arbitrii libertatem, tollet punitiones actuum malorum debere fieri, retrahit etiam ab actibus bonis. Quod si haec omnia Catholicae Fidei contradicunt, et cum hoc intentioni Aristotelis, non est ponendum omnia de necessitate evenire.

Ad hoc primo intelligendum est quod necessitas est impossibilitas quaedam aliter se habendi. Hoc autem est immobilitas quaedam; immobilitas autem est aeternitas quaedam. Et ideo sicut aliquid est immobile et aeternum, ita est necessarium, et e converso.

Necessitas autem diversimode reperitur in diversis. Primo enim invenitur in separatis. Unde quia ipsa omnia et secundum quamlibet dispositionem immobilia sunt et aeterna, ideo omnino sunt necessaria; tamen in eis est aliquid primo necessarium, non habens causam suae necessitatis, cuiusmodi est ens primum. Aliae autem substantiae separatae ab ipso habent causam suae necessitatis.

⁴ IV, Prosa 6, n. 19; CSEL 67, 98. ll. 11-14.

⁵ Averroes, In VI Metaph. t. c. 7 (Venice, 1574), fol. 151BC.

⁶ Cf. Averroes, op. cit. fol. 151C; also Siger of Brabant, *De Nec. et cont. causarum*, ed. cit. pp. 122-3.

⁷ Metaph. VI, 3, 1027b1-11.

⁸ Ms utilitate.

⁹ Occurrat in margin, partially illegible on microfilm. Cf. St. Thomas, In VI Metaph. lect. 3, ed. Cathala-Spiazzi (Rome, 1950), n. 1197, 9, 19a22-19b4.

Consequenter autem caelestia corpora, quia quantum ad substantias suas immobilia sunt et aeterna, ideo ut sic sunt necessaria. In motu tamen earum invenitur immobilitas quaedam et impossibilitas aliter se habendi, inquantum semper eodem modo moventur.

Consequenter autem in istis inferioribus inveniuntur quaedam causae quae semper effectum suum producunt et semper eodem modo operantur; et haec immobilitas in eis est inquantum ipsis positis necessario ponitur effectus, ut natae sunt <non> impediri ab effectu, ut viventem fore moritum necessario. In vivente enim est causa, scilicet compositio ex contrariis, quae immobilis est et impossibilis aliter se habere, ad hoc quod producat effectum, scilicet mortem.

Consequenter in his inferioribus inveniuntur aliae causae quae secundum acceptae mobiles sunt ad hoc quod producant effectum, et possiles aliter se habere. Ipsae tamen acceptae ut sub defectu impedimenti immobiliter effectum producunt, ut quamvis ex comedione veneni non de necessitate sequitur mors, tamen ex comedione veneni ut accepta cum absentia medicamenti de necessitate sequitur mors. Et ita causa ista quamdam immobilitatem et etiam quamdam necessitatem habet ad effectum; propter quod universaliter vera est propositione Avicennae,¹¹ scilicet quod omnis causa existens in dispositione in qua nata est producere effectum, de necessitate producit effectum.

Hoc autem intendit Aristoteles,¹² scilicet per hoc quod quando movens est in dispositione in qua nata est movere, et mobile in dispositione in qua natum est moveri, oportet hoc movere, illud autem moveri; immo nisi ita esset, agentia ut in pluribus numquam producerent suos effectus.

His sumptis, dico ad quaestionem quod referendo aliquem effectum futurum ad causam ut in pluribus, sive secundum se et abstracte acceptum, sive sub privatione impedimenti acceptum, non est necessarium (93rb) fore effectum ejus. Ostensum enim est quod necessarium esse est immobile esse et impossibile aliter se habere.

Item. Aliquid quod non movetur quia non est praesens movens non ideo immobile est; quoniam si solum [im]mobile esset quando esset praesens movens, cum tunc actu moveatur, tunc solum mobile esset cum actu moveretur; et ita non esset ponere aliquam potentiam nisi actui conjunctam, sicut Megarici posuerunt, quos reprobat Aristoteles in nono hujus.¹³

Ex quo arguo sic: Effectus non provenit necessario ex causa sua nisi cum causa immobilis est ad effectum. Sed causa ut in pluribus accepta ut sub defectu impedimenti, quamvis non impediatur, non tamen est immobilis illo motu. Quod enim aliquid non moveatur propter absentiam moventis, hoc non dat ei rationem immobilis. Quod igitur evenit a causa ut in pluribus accepta ut sub defectu impedimenti non provenit ab eo necessario.

Sed istud videtur repugnare praedictis. Nam dictum est quod causa ut in pluribus accepta ut sub absentia impedimenti semper producit effectum. Sempiternitas autem quaedam immobilitas est et necessitas. Est igitur quaedam immobilitas hujusmodi causae non impeditae ad effectum.

Dico ad hoc quod ex ista immobilitate hujusmodi causae ad effectum non dicimus absolute quod effectus ejus necessario futurus est, sed quod necessario futurum est contingenter; nec est oppositio in adiecto, quia contingentia hic accepta non opponitur necessitatibus hic acceptae. Necessitas enim quae consistit in hoc quod causa non impedita semper producit effectum, ex hoc est quod semper effectus sic provenit ex causa sic se habente. Contingentia autem in hoc consistit, quod causa ista sic se habens semper impedibilis est. Ex hoc enim quod non impedita propter privationem impeditientis non habet rationem non

¹¹ I have not found this proposition in Avicenna. It is found *ad sensum* in his *Metaphysics* I, 7, fol. 73^{rb}. Cf. Algazel, *Metaphysics* I, 7, ed. J. Muckle (Toronto,

1933), p. 45, l. 26- p. 46, l. 5.

¹² *Metaph.* VI, 3, 1027^a-29-1027b16.

¹³ *Metaph.* IX, 3, 1046b28-31.

impedibilis, sicut mobile propter privationem moventis non habet rationem immobilis.

Item. Quamvis ex causa non impedita proveniet effectus, ex causa tamen non impedita non de necessitate provenit effectus, sicut dicit Aristoteles fine primi *Perihermenias*,¹⁴ quod omne quod est, quando est, necesse est esse; non tamen omne quod est necesse est esse.

Ex his igitur patet quod valde refert dicere effectum aliquem evenire a causa non impedibili et a causa non impedita. Si etiam utrobique sit immobilitas et necessitas quaedam causae ad effectum, multum refert haec et illa. Nam una est necessitas absoluta, alia autem conditionata. Unde si omnes effectus provenirent a causis non impedibilibus, tolleretur libertas arbitrii et puniones malorum actuum, et nihil valerer auxiliari neque negotiari effectus; tamen [non] evenerit a causis non impeditis non tollit aliquid istorum. Quamvis enim aliquotiens ex comeditione veneni non impedita inducta sit mors, non propter hoc dimittit medicus consiliari, ut apponat medicamentum contra comeditionem veneni. Quamvis enim ipsa quando non impedita est necessario inducat mortem, est tamen impedibilis; et ideo alia est necessitas causae non impeditilis ad suum effectum et causae non impeditae ad suum effectum.

Unde propter indistinctionem hujus necessitatibus ad illam diversos incidere in diversos errores. Quidam¹⁵ enim credentes omnium causarum ad suos effectus esse consimilem necessitatem, ne viderentur tollere libertatem arbitrii et alia superius enumerata, negaverunt hanc (93va) propositionem: causa existens in dispositione in qua nata est effectum producere, de necessitate producit; quae tamen manifestissime vera est.

Alii¹⁶ autem propositionem istam credentes, cum hoc quod non distinguebant inter necessitates causarum ad effectus, in hanc haeresim incederunt, quod negabant libertatem arbitrii et puniones malorum actuum, penitus retrahentes se ab actibus bonis, quia dicebant in praesentibus determinatum esse si deberent damnari vel non.

Ad ampliorem autem veritatis manifestationem circa praedictum axioma difficile, sex distincte consideranda sunt.

Primum est quod si attendamus ad causas effectuum futurorum, invenimus quaedam a causis suis procedere tripliciter. Quaedam enim procedunt a causa necessaria simpliciter, in cuius natura non est reperire impedimentum, ut viventem fore moriturum. Alia autem procedunt a causis ut in pluribus, quibus positis, non semper ponitur effectus, quia causae in natura sua natae sunt recipere impedimentum, sicut comedatio veneni est causa mortis. Alia autem sunt quae nec procedunt ab hac causa nec ab illa, sed solum a causa per accidens, ut quod agens contrarium potentius existens faciat deficere agens ut in pluribus ab effectu intento. Hoc quidem facit non per se sed per accidens, in quantum accidit in dispositionem materiae quam causat occurrere agenti ut in pluribus. Isto triplici modo quicunque effectus futuri a causa tali vel tali procedunt.

Secundo considerandum est unum commune omnibus istis causis, scilicet quod quaelibet istarum causarum existens in dispositione in qua nata est effectum producere, alias quandcumque ponitur in illa dispositione, necessario producit effectum, ut causa ut in pluribus cum non est impedita quamvis in potentia sit ad hoc quod non producat effectum eo quod impedibilis est, ipsa tamen non impedita non est in potentia ad hoc quod non producat effectum cum non impedita est. Sic dicit Aristoteles primo *Caeli et Mundi*,¹⁷ quod sedens, cum sedet, habet potentiam ad ambulandum; non tamen habet potentiam ad

¹⁴ 9, 19a23.

¹⁵ Cf. the proposition condemned by Stephen Tempier in 1277, n. 131, quoted *supra*, note 19.

¹⁶ Probably Gottschalk and the predesti-

nationists. Cf. Hincmar, *De Predestinatione dei et libero arbitrio*, especially ch. 15, PL 125, 126 ff; ch. 21, 182 ff; Rabanus Maurus, *Epistola V*, PL 112, 1531B; VI, 1554BC.

¹⁷ I, 12, 281b16-17.

ambulandum cum sedet. Est autem praedicta propositio intantum vera quod qui eam negaret necessario concedet aliquem effectum procedere a non sua causa vel causam propriam in actu existere sine suo effectu. Procedat enim aliquis effectus a causa ut in pluribus existente sub defectu impedimenti, aut ipsa sub ista dispositione existens est causa in actu propria hujus effectus aut non. Si non, tunc iste procedit a non causa sua. Si sic, tunc nisi alias posita causa ista sub eadem dispositione ponatur, idem effectus erit causa in actu propria et sufficiens sine suo effectu.

Tertio considerandum est quod tria sunt quae eadem via artant effectus futuros ad eventum; quorum duo sunt providentia divina et connexio causarum seu habitudo omnium praesentium. Et quod ista duo eodem modo artent appareat, quia causa prima ex providentia sua causa universalis est et prima. Ergo effectus suos non producit nisi per causas secundas. Si igitur connexio causarum suarum non artet effectus futuros ad eventum necessarium, nec providentia divina ad hoc artabit. Tertium autem quod consimiliter istis artat effectus futuros (93vb) ad eventum quod omnis effectus qui fiet aut in praesentibus habet causam non impedibilem, aut causam ut in pluribus impedibilem non impedita tamen, aut causam per accidens sub dispositione illa in qua habet causare effectum, et hoc vel immediate vel per media plura vel pauciora.

Quarto considerandum est quod causa quae est recipere impedimentum secundum se accepta non habet unde actu producat effectum, quoniam si sic, alias quandocumque poneretur necessario produceret effectum, et non esset causa impedibilis. Sed causa ista, ex hoc quod non impedita, habet unde actu causet effectum suum; non quia remotio impedimenti det ei naturam per quam actu sit causa, sed quia est remotio alicujus quod prohiberet naturam secundum quam ipsa est causa sui ipsius. Idem intelligendum est de causa per accidens.

Quinto considerandum est quod in praesentibus est causa in actu cuiuslibet futuri quod eveniet, vel immediate vel per media plura vel pauciora, ita quod in connexione causarum determinate est causa in actu alterius partis cuiuslibet partis contradictionis de futuro a te imaginatae. Cujus probatio est primo ex providentia divina, quia ex ipsa determinatum est quae pars cuiuslibet contradictionis de futuro eveniet. Ipsa autem non est causa aliquorum effectuum nisi per connexionem causarum mediarum. Ergo in habitudine praesentium determinata est causa in actu cuiuslibet effectus qui eveniret. Item nisi ita esset, si effectus futuri in praesentibus tantum haberent causam in potentia, et tunc si futura possunt esse, nihil causam futurorum de cetero fieret secundum actum. Ex causa enim in potentia tantum habet effectus quod possit esse; non autem quod sit secundum actum. Sed tamen non omnia futura habent causam in actu eodem modo, sed quaedam non impedibilem, quaedam autem impedibilem sed non impeditam.

Sexto considerandum est quod etsi in connexione praesentium omnia quae fient habeant causam in actu, non tamen omnia quae futura sunt necessario fient, sive referantur in causas particulares, sive in connexionem causarum, sive in providentiam divinam. Ex hoc enim quod aliquid est causa in actu non est causa necessaria; nam cum actus determinet et distinguat ex hoc quod aliquid est causa determinatae partis contradictionis, statim habet rationem causae in actu. Unde materia, quia aequaliter est in potentia utrumque contradictorum, solum habet rationem causae in potentia; aliquid autem est causa necessaria effectus ex impossibilitate aliter se habendi ad effectum. Nunc autem simul stant quod aliquid sit actu causa alicujus effectus et quod possit esse non causa alicujus effectus, sicut simul stant quod aliquid sit ens unum in actu et non ens illud in potentia, et quod aliquid sit album in actu et non album in potentia. Simul igitur stabunt quod aliquid sit causa in actu alicujus effectus et quod ipsum non sit causa necessaria illius.

Ex hoc apparent quod etsi omnis effectus futurus in praesentibus habeat causam

in actu, non (94ra) tamen omnis effectus futurus necessario eveniet, sed tantum necessario evenient quae tantum in praesentibus habent causam necessariam non impedibilem. Quae autem in praesentibus habent causam non impeditam actu, quia cum hoc stat quod possibilis sit impediri, ideo quae ex causa non impedita eveniunt non necessario eveniunt; quamvis quae ex causa non impedita eveniunt necessario eveniant quando non impedita est, sicut non necessarium¹⁵ est Sortem currere, quamvis Sortem currere quando currit necessarium sit.

Eodem autem modo dicendum est effectus futuros evenire ex causis suis particularibus non impeditis, et ex connexione omnium causarum, et ex providentia divina. Et ideo si referendo ad unum istorum non omnes effectus necessario eveniant, nec referendo ad alterum.

Advertendum autem est quod omnes effectus futuros procedere a causis non impeditilibus tollit arbitrii libertatem, quia voluntas, si ex causa aliqua moveatur ad volendum aliquid et causa illa non impeditibilis sit, alias quandoque movebitur, et ex causa illa idem necessario volet et resistere non poterit. Non habebit igitur arbitrium liberum.

Item frustra fieret consilium contra quaecumque ventura. Ex quo enim causae omnium futurorum non impeditibiles essent, nihil valeret consilium ad impediendum causas quin effectus suos producerent. Et ex hoc patet quod istud tolleret puniones fieri debere, et retraheret ab actibus bonis; quae omnia sunt contra Fidei veritatem et contra Aristotelis intentionem.

Sed quosdam effectus futuros fieri a causis non impeditis, impeditilibus tamen, non tollit arbitrii libertatem si recta intelligatur. Non enim voluntas sic libera est quod sit causa prima sui velle; immo necesse est eam moveri ex aliqua apprehensione. Nec est sic libera pro praesente volito ipsi voluntati, et ipsis existentibus in dispositione in qua hoc quidem natum sit movere, illud autem moveri, possit voluntas velle vel non velle indifferenter; immo necesse est eam velle ut sic existentem. Sed est voluntas libera quantum ad hoc quod ipsa a nullo potest moveri quod non sit impeditibile et etiam quandoque actu impeditum. Sic tamen non est de judicio sensibilium. Visus enim apprehendens album non potest judicare non album, et hoc si fuerit sensatio albi, ut in quarto habitum est.

Item effectum procedere a talibus causis non tollit consilium. Cum enim aliqui effectus motivi futuri sint¹⁶ a causis a quibus, quando non fuerint impeditae, necessario proveniunt, tamen cum impeditibiles fuerint, quaerendum est consilium ad eos impediendum. Sed cum omnes effectus futuri ordinati fuerint a providentia divina, est non quaerendum consilium ad impediendum¹⁷ providentiam divinam.

Item superius dictum est quod ex connexione causarum in entibus cuiuslibet contradictionis de futuro, altera pars determinate in praesentibus habet causam in actu. In praesentibus igitur determinatum est vel quod ego bonus approbandus vel malus reprobandus. Frustra igitur studebo bene aut male (94rb) facere.

Ad primum¹⁸ dico quod non est studendum ad impediendum providentiam divinam, sed magis ad eam explendum. Unde cum magis artet providentia divina effectus futuros ad eventum quam connexus causarum vel causae particulares non impeditae, sicut non est quaerendum consilium ad impediendum causam non impeditam quando non impedita est, ita nec ad impediendum providentiam divinam; quamvis cum causa ista necessario producat effectum quando non impedita, ipsa tamen impeditibilis est, ideo ad eum impediendum quaerendum est consilium.

Ad aliud¹⁹ dictum est superius quod, etsi cuiuslibet futuri in praesentibus sit

¹⁵ Ms necessarium.

¹⁶ Ms fit or sit.

¹⁷ Ms impedimentum; impediendum in margin.

¹⁸ Reply to objection *supra*, paragraph Item effectum procedere . . .

¹⁹ Reply to objection *supra*, paragraph Item superius . . .

causa in actu, non tamen quaelibet causa in actu est causa necessaria; sunt enim multae impedibiles. Et ideo studere debet unusquisque ad hoc ut fiat bonus, ut suo diligenti studio impeditat aliquas causas particulares impedibiles quae facerent ipsum malum nisi impeditarentur. Si omnes causae non essent impedibiles, nostrum studium non valeret.

Ad rationes respondentum est.

[Ad 1,2] Ad illas de connexione causarum apparet solutio ex praedictis. Quamvis enim a causa necessario eveniat effectus quando non impedita est, a causa tamen non impedita non necessario provenit effectus, eo quod ipsa impeditibilis est, quamvis non impeditibilis quando non est impedita.

[Ad 3,4] Ad aliud quod arguitur de providentia divina, apparet ex dictis quod providentia divina non in alio modo artat effectus futuros ad eventus et connexionem causarum; et ideo si ex connexione causarum non eveniant omnia necessario, nec ex providentia divina. Sed cum providentia divina sit infallibilis, quid in entibus respondet infallibilitati ejus? Dico quod non eventus necessarius omnium effectuum futurorum, sed huic infallibilitati respondent alia duo impossibilia aliter se habere. Quorum unum est causae in actu in praesentibus determinatae omnium eorum quae evenient, et ceterum quod causa non impedita, quamvis habet potentiam ut impediatur, non tamen habet potentiam ut impediatur quando non impedita est.

[Ad 5] Ad aliud de praescientia divina, dicendum quod infallibilitati praescientiae divinae correspondent duo praedicta; et ceterum adjici potest et quod futurum, quando est, necesse est esse futura, aut cernit Deus tamquam praesentia. Est autem notandum quod praescientia hominis de aliquo futuro artaret ipsum ad eventum necessarium; praescientia autem Dei nequaquam. Cujus ratio est quia praescientia hominis non potest esse nisi alicujus futuri necessarii; tale autem necessario eveniet. Praescientia autem Dei est et futurorum contingentium et necessariorum.

The Lateran Missal and Some Allied Documents

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BY the Lateran Missal, we mean that mass book contained in Codex 65 of the Archives of the Basilica of St. John Lateran at Rome. A partial edition was made of this manuscript in 1754 by Emmanuel Azevedo S.J. under the title: *Vetus Missale Romanum Monasticum Lateranense*.¹ Dr. A. Ebner gave a brief description of this missal in his catalogue of the sacramentaries and missals in the libraries of Italy basing his information on the edition of Azevedo;² he states in a footnote that he was unable to discover whether this manuscript was still in existence or not.³ Thanks to the courtesy of Mgr. Pierre Pfister, Canon of St. John Lateran, the present writer was able to examine this manuscript during a recent visit to Rome. As a result, we are now in a position to judge the value of Azevedo's edition.

Codex 65 of the Lateran Archives is a manuscript in parchment of 327 numbered folios, 302 mm. x 214 mm., with one column of 25 or 26 lines to the page. In addition, there are at the beginning four unnumbered folios containing the remnants of a calendar and two flyleaves in paper. On the first of these is written in a modern hand: *Liber missalis Basilicae Lateranensis editum Romae MDCCLII* (sic) *cura Emmanuelis de Azevedo Soc. Jes. typis Jos. Collini in 4°. Invenitur in bibliotheca S. Aloysii Francorum B. 32.* On the second flyleaf in a similar hand is the notation: *Liber Missalis Archivii Basilicae S. Joannis in Laterano.* The manuscript is badly stained and damaged from much handling and as a consequence it is difficult at times to read the folio numbers and even some parts of the text. We will leave the dating of the manuscript until we have described its contents.

In the introduction to his edition, Azevedo gave a description of its content. "Our codex", he says, "is divided into two parts. The first part seems somewhat earlier both by reason of the handwriting and also from the content; it contains the orations, the gospels, the prefaces and the Canon. The second part, which is sewn to, and joined to, the first, seems a little more recent both from the handwriting and the contents; it contains the epistles, the antiphons for the introit, the gradual responses, and the antiphons for the offertory and the communion. Thus in this one volume are contained all those things which in earlier times were found in four separate books."⁴ This description is quite accurate save for the fact that he neglected to say, or did not notice, that the second part is abundantly supplied with rubrics and these rubrics reveal very clearly, as we shall show, just when the missal was composed. In spite of the fact that Azevedo realized clearly that this one volume contains all the parts of the mass and is therefore a complete missal, he confined his edition to part one only. The result is that, ever since his day, scholars have been taking the part for the whole and giving the name *Vetus missale Lateranense* to what is only part one of the Lateran Missal.

The edition of Azevedo comprises then: (a) the fragment of the calendar on the first four unnumbered folios;⁵ (b) the text of the Lateran Missal from fol. 1' to

¹ The title page reads as follows: *Vetus Missale Romanum Monasticum Lateranense. Cum praefatione, notis, et nonnullis opusculis quae omnia nunc primum in lucem eduntur a P. Emmanuele de Azevedo, Societatis Jesu. Romae, DCCLIV. Typis Josephi Collini.*

² Adalbert Ebner, *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte und Kunstgeschichte des Mis-*

sale Romanum im Mittelalter. Iter Italicum. (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1896), pp. 168-9.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 168, n. 1.

⁴ *Vetus Missale*, p. viii.

⁵ *Vetus Missale* pp. xlxi-lvi. Azevedo gives a second calendar made up of the feasts that are actually found in the missal (pp. lvii-lxviii).

fol. 208^r of the manuscript.⁶ Unedited, and apparently quite unknown, are the contents of the manuscript from fol. 208^r to fol. 327^r. As far as Azevedo's edition goes, it is quite well done. We notice, however, that he gives only the first line or two of the gospels which are found in their entirety in the manuscript.⁷ In view of the fact that the edition of Azevedo is extremely rare today, we will give here a summary of the contents of the whole missal.

The fragment of calendar at the beginning contains the months of May to December inclusive. Only the upper half of the first two folios remains, so that part of the months of May, June, July and August are missing. The list of feasts is not extensive and entries have been made by various hands, some as late as the end of the thirteenth century. The calendar contains feasts that are not found in the missal,⁸ which is quite usual; but what is rather unusual, it does not contain a considerable number of saints for whom there is a mass in the missal.⁹ Since there is a possibility that these four unnumbered folios, on which the calendar is found, were bound up with the rest of the manuscript at a later date and may not belong to it, we will not rely on it in judging the provenance of our missal.

The missal proper begins on fol 1^r with the mass for the first Sunday of Advent. Under this heading come the collect, the gospel, the secret and the postcommunion. This fixes the style for the masses in the first part; normally the full text is given for each day's prayers and gospel but occasionally the scribe will merely give a reference for the gospel with the rubric: *Require in*. After the first Sunday of Advent, the proper of the time continues without interruption until Easter Sunday. Following the mass for Easter, and not before as is usual, are given the texts for the prefaces for the various seasons of the year and for the feasts of Our Lady. The last preface is the common one with the full text from *Per omnia secula seculorum*; the initial *P* and the *VD* of the preface are ornamental capitals. The Canon of the mass follows, having a large initial *T* with a serpent wound around the shaft of the *T*. The Canon has no rubrics and no saint-names are added to the lists in the *Communicantes*, *Nobis quoque* or the *Libera*, although the scribe has left space for additional names in the first two of these. At the end of the Canon, there are a few rubrics and a number of communion prayers; these are reprinted by Ebner¹⁰ from the edition of Azevedo. After the *Ite missa est*, there is the *Placeat* and a series of prayers after mass.¹¹

The proper of the time then resumes with the mass for Monday of Easter week and continues to the twenty-fifth¹² Sunday after Pentecost; then a mass for *Dominica de trinitate*. We note that this proper of the time excludes all saint days even those that come between Christmas and New Years. The sanctoral begins without title on fol. 138^r with the feast of St. Nicholas (Dec. 7) and closes with the feast of St. Andrew (Nov. 30). The saints of the Christmas octave (Stephen, John the Evangelist, Innocents,¹³ Sylvester) come in the sanctoral after the feast of Gregory Martyr (Dec. 24).

Immediately after the feast of St. Andrew, the common of saints begins. We

⁶ *Vetus Missale*, pp. 1-326.

⁷ One instance of bad editing is found on p. 107 for the preface of the Blessed Virgin. The original text in the manuscript reads: *gloria permanente huic mundo lumen eternum effudit*; this is corrected by a later hand into: *lumen eternum mundo effudit*. Azevedo has given only the correction. On the importance of this text, see: Abbot B. Capelle, 'La préface romaine de la vierge,' *Rev. Hist. Eccl.*, XXXVIII (1942), 55-6.

⁸ For example: Nov. 9: *Dedicatio Salvatoris*; Dec. 8: *Conception B.M.V.*; Aug. 12: *S. Clare*; Oct. 4: *S. Francisci Conf.*

⁹ For example: Oct. 7: *Sergius and Bac-*

chus; Oct. 14: *Calixtus*; Nov. 24: *Columbanus*.

¹⁰ Ebner, *Iter Italicum*, p. 169.

¹¹ The text of these will be found in Ebner, *ibid.* p. 169.

¹² Azevedo only gives 24 Sundays after Pentecost. On fol. 125^r of the manuscript, the rubric is quite clear: *Dominica XXV post pent.*

¹³ In the margin (fol. 121^r) for this feast we read in a slightly later hand: *Non dicitur Gloria in excelsis, Credo nec Alleluia nec Ite missa est. Dicitur Benedictanus Domino. Deo Gratias secundum Cur. Rom.*

note a change of style here; the epistle is given as well as the gospel and the orations, and in some cases, we find a choice of two or more epistles and gospels. The votive masses follow; they are numerous and have as a rule only the orations. The first section of the missal ends with three complete masses, i.e., they have all the parts including the "sung" parts. These are: *Pro peccatis*, *De Trinitate* and *In dedicatione*; Azevedo's edition ends with the second of these.

We come now to the unpublished part of the manuscript, the second section of the Lateran Missal. It begins on fol. 210^r with the title: *Incipit Liber Epistolarii Totius Anni*. This title, undoubtedly copied by the scribe from one of the books at his disposal, is misleading for we see at once that is not an epistolary but a combination of the antiphonary and the epistolary. The first mass for *Dominica prima de adventu* has the introit, the epistle, the gradual, the offertory and the communion. This sets the style for the second part of the missal. Then comes the proper of the time to the twenty-fifth sunday after Pentecost, followed by the mass for the Trinity. The proper of saints follows beginning with the Vigil of St. Andrew (Nov. 29) and continuing to the month of April where the manuscript ends abruptly.¹⁴ We note again in this part that the feasts of the saints during the octave of Christmas are given in the sanctoral. For Palm Sunday and last three days of Holy Week, there are complete rubrics for the ceremonies.

It is apparent then that the second section of the Lateran Missal complements and completes the first, so that the priest has in one volume a complete mass book. This was one of the ways in which the old service books were combined to form a missal and it denotes a rather advanced stage in the process.¹⁵ Our present system, of having all the variable parts of each mass conveniently combined, is the definitive solution to the problem, and it is first found, it seems, in the thirteenth-century Franciscan Missal whose arrangement is due to the genius of Haymo of Faversham, minister general of the Friars Minor from 1240 to 1244. The plan of the Lateran Missal, in which the orations and the gospels are placed in the first part and the epistle and the choir parts in the second, is but one step away from the final stage in the evolution of the missal.

The two parts of the Lateran Missal were written by two different, though probably contemporary, scribes, but the concordance between the two parts for the order of the feasts indicates that the missal was a planned project from the beginning. Further evidence of this fact is found in the manner of numbering the folios. The manuscript is supplied with folio numbers throughout in the usual place on the upper right hand corner of the *recto*; these are in Roman numerals and run continuously from *i* to *cccxxvii* and appear to be in the same hand as that of the first scribe. In the second part, we find a second system of numbering on the upper left corner of the *verso* of each folio beginning with *i* on the back of folio *ccx*; when the second scribe gives a reference—which is quite frequently—he uses this numeration, e.g., *Require retro in folio xxx*. The reason for this would appear to be as follows: the second scribe, knowing that his section is to be added to the first part, leaves the upper right hand corner of his folios free for the final numbering, but to avoid copying texts that recur again and again, he needs his own system of numbering so as to be able to make a reference to the folio on which the epistle or the choir parts have already appeared. It would then seem quite certain that the two parts of the manuscript were intended to form a single volume—a missal.

The name *Vetus Missale Lateranense* given to this missal is justified on the

¹⁴ At least two gatherings have been lost from the missal. We note a few discrepancies in the sanctoral of this part. It begins with the Vigil of St. Andrew instead of the feast of St. Nicholas. It also has one additional feast, that of St. Valentine (Feb. 14).

¹⁵ On this development, see J. A. Jungmann S.J., *The Mass of the Roman Rite (Missarum Sollemnia)*, Tr. F. A. Brunner C.S.S.R. I (New York, 1950), pp. 104-7. Also A. Ebner, *Iter Italicum*, pp. 359-63.

grounds that the manuscript has been at the Lateran for at least two hundred years. It was there when Azevedo made his copy of the first part of it in 1754 but no information was then available about its previous history, nor is there any now. We must then rely on internal evidence to determine whether or not the Lateran Missal, as the name implies, was intended for use at the Basilica of St. John Lateran in Rome.

Normally when a sacramentary or a missal is intended for use at Rome, it has an indication of the station for the services on the principal feasts. Frequently even mass books written far from Rome contain such rubrics in the ninth and tenth centuries but the names of the stations disappear, as a rule, in non-Roman books in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. If such a model were used by a scribe at Rome, he too might omit the stations, particularly if his missal were intended for monastic use. The complete absence of the indication of the stations in the Lateran Missal is not then a certain proof of non-Roman origin.

A mass book written for use at the Basilica of St. John Lateran—the pope's cathedral—should, if it contains directions for ceremonies, take into account the possibility of the pope being the celebrant. The Lateran Missal has copious rubrics for Holy Week; in these the celebrant is always the priest (*sacerdos*), never the pope or a cardinal or a bishop.¹⁶

Furthermore we know exactly what feasts were celebrated at the Basilica of St. John Lateran about the year 1150 from the *ordo* of that church composed by Cardinal Bernard, prior of the Lateran.¹⁷ This *ordo* shows that the feast of the Dedication of St. John Lateran was celebrated at that period with particular solemnity.¹⁸ There is no mass for this feast (Nov. 9) in the Lateran Missal which, as we shall see, must be dated later than the *ordo*. Moreover the same *ordo* shows the effect of a liturgical decree of Pope Gregory VII (1073-1085). In this decree, as reported by Bernold of Constance (d. 1100), the pope ordered that "the feasts of the Roman pontiffs who were martyrs be celebrated everywhere with a complete office."¹⁹ This papal instruction seems to have been largely disregarded, but it was carried out at the Lateran. Bernard's *ordo* lists the feasts of some twelve pope-martyrs whose names do not appear in the old Roman sacramentaries, e.g., Melchiades (Dec. 10), Hyginus (Jan. 11), etc.²⁰ Not one of these feasts appears in the Lateran Missal.

The sanctoral of our missal is basically that of the Gregorian Sacramentary at the end of the eighth century with that admixture of Gelasian elements which becomes part and parcel of the sanctoral of Roman mass books in the Frankish kingdom during the ninth and tenth centuries.²¹ To this basic list, there are added: (a) a few feasts which betray the long sojourn of the Roman sacramentaries in the north,²² and (b) a considerable number of feasts proper to Italy which were inserted into these Franco-Roman, or Germano-Roman, mass books when they were brought down from the north by German ecclesiastics in the first half of the eleventh century.²³ It is these latter feasts which enable us, as a rule, to localize a missal and to say that it was written for a certain city, church or monastery.

The sanctoral of the Lateran Missal has a considerable number of saints whose feast was commonly celebrated in the north-central part of Italy. We note: Sabinus (Dec. 7), Gregory Martyr (Dec. 24), Laurentius and Peregrinus (June

¹⁶ See the text in the Appendix to this article.

¹⁷ L. Fischer, *Ordo Officiorum Ecclesiae Lateranensis*, (Historische Forschungen und Quellen, Heft 2 u. 3, München u. Freising, 1916).

¹⁸ Fischer, *Ordo*, pp. 157-9.

¹⁹ *Micrologus de ecclesiasticis observationibus*, c. 43; PL 151, 1010.

²⁰ Fischer, *Ordo*, pp. 123, 124, et passim.

²¹ V. Leroquais, *Les Sacramentaires et les Missels manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France I* (Paris, 1924), p. xlvi.

²² For example: St. Dionysius and companions (Oct. 9).

²³ On this point, see: M. Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani du haut moyen-âge I* (Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, 11, Louvain, 1931), pp. 511-6.

3), Donatus and Hilarian (Aug. 7), Christina (May 7), Prosper (Nov. 24). Of these, Laurentius and Peregrinus, Donatus and Hilarion point to Arezzo.²⁴ On June 1, there are added to the name of Nichomedes, whose name stands alone on this date in most missals of the time, the following: Justinus, Crescentianus, Gricinianus, Verianus, Orphytus, Exsuperantius, Benedictus and Fortunatus. This group is associated with Tifernum (Città del Castello) and Urbino in Umbria.²⁵ On June 22 which is the feast of Paulinus of Nola, we find in the prayers the commemoration of Albinus and Paulinus, martyrs 'et Niceti episcopi cum nongentis octoginta novem aliis'. The feast has a mass for the vigil and for the day itself: *in die ad missam*. This combination of saints is rather unusual but exactly the same group is found in an eleventh-century missal from the cathedral of St. Donatus in Arezzo (Vatican Cod. lat. 4772).²⁶ Frequently on this day, missals of Italian origin have a feast for 1,480 martyrs with, or without, St. Paulinus;^{27a} we note in one case (Bibl. Barberini Cod. XII, 3) that the feast is to be celebrated with a vigil.²⁷ In any case, the exact listing of Albinus (Albanus), Paulinus, Nicetas and 989 martyrs is common only to the Lateran Missal and that of Arezzo.

On July 29, the usual entry in missals of this period is: Felix, Simplicius, Faustinus and Beatrix, i.e., Pope Felix II, and the three martyrs of the Cemetery of Generosa on the *Via Portuensis* near Rome. The Lateran Missal adds to these the names of Flora and Lucilla. These names are associated with Ostia but their bodies were transferred by a Bishop John to Arezzo where they become the titular patrons of a famous Benedictine Monastery, *Monasterium SS. Florae et Lucillae*.²⁸ A number of papal letters dated between 1134 and 1196 testify to its importance at this period.²⁹ The addition of the names of Flora and Lucilla to the list of this day points again to Arezzo, but the fact that they are given so little prominence makes it unlikely that our missal or its immediate ancestor came from the monastery of which they were the patrons.

A number of other points should be noted about the sanctoral of the Lateran Missal. On Sept. 29, it has two masses in honor of St. Michael the archangel: the first is entitled *Inventio Basilicae*, the second *Dedicatio*.³⁰ The name of Michael is added in the *Libera nos quaesumus* prayer on Good Friday.³¹ The cult of the archangel is extremely widespread in the eleventh and twelfth centuries especially in the north of Italy. We note that the Lateran *ordo* of ca. 1150, has the second feast of St. Michael on May 8 under the present title: *apparitio*;³² here again the Lateran Missal is not following the *ordo*. The presence in our missal of feasts for St. Benedict (Mar. 21), St. Scholastica (Feb. 10) and a commemoration of St. Columban (Nov. 23) give it a monastic tinge, but since none of these are celebrated with any particular solemnity, it would not be prudent to press the point. On Oct. 7, the feast of SS. Sergius and Bacchus is combined with that of St. Mark, the pope.³³ It is rather unusual to find a mass

²⁴ The four names are found in the *Communicantes* of the Canon in an eleventh-century sacramentary from the cathedral of Arezzo, Vat. Cod. Lat. 4772. Ebner, *Iter Ital.* p. 225.

²⁵ *Acta Sanct. Jun. I*, pp. 56 ff. F. Lanzoni, *Le Origini delle Diocesi antiche d'Italia* (Studi e Testi, 35, Rome, 1923), p. 296.

²⁶ Ebner, *Iter Italicum*, p. 225.

^{27a} Ebner, *Iter Italicum*, pp. 143, 204, 220.

²⁷ Ebner, *Iter Italicum*, p. 143.

²⁸ *Acta Sanct. Jul. VII*, pp. 38-40. Lanzoni, *Le Origini delle Diocesi*, p. 73, P. Kehr, *Italia Pontificia III*, p. 161.

²⁹ Kehr, *Italia Pont. III*, pp. 162-163.

³⁰ The original feast is that of the dedication of the Basilica on the *Via Salaria* at Rome. Non-Roman scribes confuse this with

the apparition on Monte Gargano. As a result we find such odd combinations as here. A third event, a victory of the Lombards on May 8, 663, gives rise to another title: *Victoria*. So we find such terms as: *revelatio*, *inventio*, *apparitio*, *victoria*, and *dedicatio* attached to these feasts. See Ebner, *Iter Italicum*, pp. 220, 221, 259, etc.

³¹ See text in the Appendix to this article. For the very common practice of adding the name of Michael to the *Libera* in Italian mass books, see Ebner, *Iter Italicum*, p. 427.

³² Fischer, *Ordo Off. Lateran.* p. 136.

³³ Azevedo in his introduction uses this feast as his reason for attributing the Lateran Missal to the Monastery of SS. Sergius and Bacchus. We have two lists of the monasteries of Rome in the twelfth century,

in their honour in a missal before the middle of the thirteenth century especially outside of Rome.³⁴ At Rome, their feast is indicated in the *ordo* of the Lateran,³⁵ they are the patrons of the one of the *diaconiae*³⁶ and of a monastery attached to the Lateran which was founded by Paschal I (817-824)³⁷ but which seems to have disappeared by the twelfth century.³⁸ We note, too, the feasts of St. Augustine (Aug. 28) and St. Jerome (Oct. 30); both are found in the Lateran *ordo* where the former is called "our holy father Augustine the patron of the order of canons."³⁹

We have outlined the sanctoral as found in the first part of the Lateran Missal; the sanctoral in the second part adds nothing to our information since the greater portion of it is missing as a number of gatherings have been lost at the end of the manuscript.

Judging from the sanctoral alone, one would be inclined to say that the missal was intended for a church or monastery in or near Arezzo. We prefer to say that the scribe who wrote the first part of the Lateran Missal used as his model a sacramentary that originated at Arezzo or its environs. The reason for this caution is the fact that the Lateran *ordo*, if judged merely on the basis of the saint-names listed therein, might give the impression that it, too, was intended for north-central Italy and for Lucca in particular.⁴⁰ The presence of such saints as St. Fridian in this thoroughly Roman *ordo* has a very natural explanation. We know that, in the first half of the twelfth century, the canons of St. John Lateran were largely recruited from the church of St. Fridian of Lucca.⁴¹ That they brought with them the service books of that church is clearly apparent in the *ordo* of the Lateran. It may well be that a sacramentary from Arezzo was brought to Rome through the same, or a similar, channel and there served as a model for the scribe who wrote part one of the Lateran Missal. We have stated our reasons for believing that this missal was not intended for use at the Lateran Basilica, but we shall now see that it was written in a *milieu* in which the liturgy of the Roman Curia was well known.

Azevedo dates the Lateran Missal "at the end of the eleventh century."⁴² He based his judgment on the handwriting and on the fact that the manuscript contains no feast later than the end of the eleventh century. That this dating is at least one hundred years too early is apparent from the internal evidence of the rubrics for Palm Sunday and the last three days of Holy Week found in the second section of the missal. These rubrics, as we shall show, are dependent on the *Ordinarium* of the Roman Curia. The handwriting in this second part is somewhat different from that of the first, but in the opinion of experts, the differences are so slight that the two hands must be considered contemporaneous. Both hands show evidence of a transitional stage in the evolution of the round Italian style of writing which develops at the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century.⁴³ The conclusions arrived at from the

one by Peter Mallius and the other by John the Deacon. Neither mention this monastery. The lists will be found in: Mabillon, *Musei Italici II* (Paris, 1724), pp. 160-1, 574.

³⁴ Ebner has no mention of their feast in his catalogue for Italy. Leroquais, in his catalogue for France, has one instance before the thirteenth century, a tenth-century sacramentary of Angers; *Les Missels I*, p. 87. Their feast is found in the ninth-century Marble Calendar of Naples. D. Mallardo, "Il Calendario marmoreo di Napoli," *Eph. Lit.*, LX (1946), 247.

³⁵ Fischer, *Ordo Off. Lateran.*, p. 155.

³⁶ In the twelfth list of *Diaconiae*, cf. Mabillon, *Musei Ital. II*, 574.

³⁷ *Liber Pontificalis II*, ed. Duchesne, p. 56.

³⁸ See *supra*, note 33.

³⁹ Fischer, *Ordo Off. Lateran.*, pp. 151-2.

"We note the following names in the Lateran *ordo*: Fridian (Lucca), Sabinus (Spoleto) Cassius (Imola), Prosper (Reggio), Donninus (Parma), Cerbonius (Populonia) etc.

⁴⁰ The history of this recruiting is given by Fischer, *Ordo Off. Lateran.*, pp. xi-xiii. For the texts of the papal letters, cf. Kehr, *Italia Pont.*, III, pp. 420-2.

⁴¹ *Vetus Missale*, p. xxxviii: *saeculo XI exirent vel non multo ante scriptum fuissc.*

⁴² Some further details on the handwriting. For the lettrines: the manuscript has both uncial and capital forms; some of these are closed. This indicates a period of transition occurring in the last years of the twelfth and the early years of the thirteenth. For the individual letters: some i's are stroked; double ii often; complete absence of ee; long

internal evidence of the second part of the manuscript must then apply equally to the first part insofar as the date of the manuscript is concerned.

As far as the internal evidence is concerned, the rubrics for the Good Friday services give us the key to the approximate date of the Lateran missal, for in these rubrics we find a complete rejection of the Amalarian theory of consecration by contact.⁴⁴ In the mass of the Pre-sanctified on Good Friday, the ancient Roman rite prescribed the use of Bread that had been consecrated the previous day and the use of ordinary wine which was placed in the chalice in the course of the Good Friday service. Early in the ninth century, Amalar of Metz propounded the theory that this wine was consecrated by the particle of the Bread which was dropped into the chalice at the *fractio*: *Sanctificatur enim vinum non consecratum per sanctificatum panem*.⁴⁵ This Amalarian phrase finds its way into the service books of the Latin world in the tenth century, and in particular, into the Roman-German Pontifical composed at Mainz shortly after 950.⁴⁶ When this work found its way to Rome under German influences in the first half of the eleventh century,⁴⁷ the Amalarian theory was undisputed. From the Roman-German Pontifical, the Amalarian phrase passes into such thoroughly Roman books as: The twelfth-century Roman Pontifical,⁴⁸ the Lateran *Ordo* of Prior Bernard,⁴⁹ and the *Ordinarium* of the Roman Curia.⁵⁰ This latter document was a composition of approximately the year 1220 and gave detailed rubrics of the manner of carrying on the services in the papal chapel at the time of Innocent III (1198-1216) and of his predecessors. It has come down to us only in a late and interpolated form found in a fourteenth-century manuscript (Paris, Bibl. Nat. Lat. 4162A), but fortunately copious extracts of its rubrics had been used in an early Franciscan service book, called the Breviary of St. Clare, composed about 1230.⁵¹ In the Breviary of St. Clare, and consequently in the original form of the *Ordinarium*, the Amalarian phrase reads: *Sanctificatur enim vinum non consecratum per corpus domini immissum*. And, in this form, it is still found in the Missal of the Papal Chapel at the end of the thirteenth century.⁵² This last case, however, is more or less an exception to the trend of the times, for a new factor has entered the situation, the teaching of theologians and canonists on the consecration or the conversion of the bread and wine into the Body and the Blood of Christ.

We have traced the development of this teaching in an earlier number of this review.⁵³ It is sufficient to say here that as early as the last two decades of the twelfth century, Peter Cantor (d. 1197), in his lectures at Paris, was formally denying the Amalarian theory of consecration by contact,⁵⁴ and certainly no theologian at the beginning of the thirteenth century would agree with Amalar's statement. However, it seems to have taken some time for the teaching of theologians to penetrate the realm of rubrics. Up to the present, there were known to be three liturgical documents of the early thirteenth century, of

stroke below line on *h.* etc. These characteristics are present in both parts of the manuscript.

⁴⁴ On the history of this theory, see M. Andrieu, *Immixtio et Consecratio. La Consécration par contact dans les documents liturgiques du moyen-âge* (Paris, 1924).

⁴⁵ J. M. Hanssens, *Amalarii Episcopi Opera Liturgica Omnia II* (Studi e Testi, 139, Città del Vaticano, 1948). *Liber Officialis I*, 15, p. 546.

⁴⁶ Andrieu, *Immixtio*, pp. 64-5.

⁴⁷ Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani I*, pp. 511-6.

⁴⁸ M. Andrieu, *Le Pontifical Romain au Moyen-Age*, I. *Le Pontifical Romain du XII^e Siècle* (Studi e Testi, 86, Città del Vaticano, 1938), p. 237.

⁴⁹ Fischer, *Ordo Off. Lateran.*, p. 58.

⁵⁰ Andrieu, *Le Pontifical Romain II*, Appen-

dix II, p. 562.

⁵¹ A. Cholat, *Le Breviaire de sainte Clare conservé au Couvent de Saint-Damien à Assise et son importance liturgique* (Opuscules de critique historique, fasc. VIII, Paris, 1904), pp. 34-49. M. Andrieu, 'L'Ordinaire de la Chapelle papale et le Cardinal Jacques Gaetani Stefaneschi,' *Eph. Lit.*, XXXIX (1935) 230-60.

⁵² M. Andrieu, 'Le Missel de la Chapelle papale à la fin du XIII^e siècle', *Miscellanea Francesco Ehrle II* (Rome, 1924), pp. 348-76. For the text, see M. Andrieu, *Pontifical Romain II*, Appendix II, p. 562, col. 2.

⁵³ V. L. Kennedy, 'The Moment of Consecration and the Elevation of the Host,' *Mediaeval Studies*, VI (1944), 21-50.

⁵⁴ Kennedy, *ibid.* p. 143.

Roman origin, in which the Amalarian theory is rejected: (a) the thirteenth-century Roman Pontifical of the Curia;⁵⁵ (b) the Missal of the Friars Minor according to the custom of the Roman Curia;⁵⁶ (c) the revised or corrected text of the *Ordinarium* of the Roman Curia. To these, we must now add a fourth, the old Lateran Missal.⁵⁷

Two of these documents have been assigned to definite dates by competent scholars. The thirteenth-century Roman Pontifical of the Curia, in its longer form, belongs to the time of Pope Innocent IV (1243-1254).⁵⁸ The Franciscan Missal (*Ordo missalis Fratrum Minorum secundum consuetudinem Curiae Romanae*) is a composition of Haymo of Faversham, Minister General of the Franciscans from 1240 to 1244.⁵⁹ The correction of the Good Friday rubric in the *Ordinarium* of the Roman Curia cannot be dated with complete accuracy but in the opinion of Professor Andrieu, the *Ordinarium* was revised on this point shortly after its composition, and in this form, it is the source of the rubric in the Pontifical of 1243-1254.⁶⁰ The date of the Lateran Missal is left in abeyance for the moment.

For the sake of comparison, we give the rubrics for the mass of the Pre-sanctified from the end of the *Pater Noster* as they appear in these documents.

(a) ORDINARIUM CURIAE ROMANAEE (with the correction in brackets):

... frangat hostiam secundum consuetudinem, ponens de ea in calice nichil dicens. Sanctificatur enim vinum non consecratum per corpus domini inmissum. *Pax domini* non dicatur, *Agnus Dei* non cantatur, neque pacis osculum datur. Communicat autem solus pontifex sine ministris, non ad sedem sollempniter, sed ibi tantum eo die ante altare, ob humilitatem reverentie diei et passionis Christi <cum omnibus orationibus consuetis preter illam *Domine Iesu Christ qui ex voluntate et cet.* quia facit de sanguine mentionem et postquam communicaverit et manus seu digitos laverit ut moris est revertitur ad medium altaris et coram ipso inclinatus dicit *Quod ore sumpsimus et non Corpus tuum nec Placeat.*>⁶¹

(b) PONTIFICALE ROMANAEE CURIAE:

... frangat hostiam more solito et ponat particulam in calice nichil dicens. *Pax domini* non dicitur. *Agnus Dei* non cantatur, neque pacis osculum datur, neque postcommunio cantatur. Communicat autem solus pontifex sine ministris non ad sedem solemniter sed ibi tantum eo die ante altare ob reverentiam passionis Christi, cum omnibus orationibus dici consuetis in perceptione dominici corporis, preter illam *Domine Iesu Christe qui ex voluntate,* quia facit de sanguine Christi mentionem, pretermisis illis que dici solent in sumptione calicis. Postquam vero communicaverit et digitos laverit, ut est moris, revertitur ad medium altaris et coram ipso inclinatus dicit *Quod ore sumpsimus.* Et non dicat *Corpus tuum* nec *Placeat.*⁶²

(c) THE FRANCISCAN MISSAL 1240-1244:

... frangit hostiam more solito in tres partes. *Pax domini* non dicitur, *Agnus Dei* non cantatur, neque pacis osculum datur, sed immediate post fractionem unam partem de hostia mittit in calicem nichil dicens. Postmodum vero antequam duas partes recipiat, dicit omnia que dicere diebus aliis consuevit, pretermissa

⁵⁵ M. Andrieu, *Le Pontifical Romain II*, p. 469; cf. also pp. 304-6.

⁵⁶ The text of the Good Friday rubric is in Appendix I to the article: A. van Dijk, 'Il Carractere della Correzione liturgica di Fr. Aimone da Faversham,' *Eph. Lit.*, LX (1946), 336.

⁵⁷ See the text in the Appendix to this article, p. 75.

⁵⁸ Andrieu, *Le Pontifical Romain II*, p. 310.

⁵⁹ van Dijk, *art. cit.* p. 333; also *Eph. Lit.* LIX (1945), 220-3; cf. V. L. Kennedy, 'The Franciscan Ordo Missae in the Thirteenth Century,' *Med. Studies*, II (1940), 204-22.

⁶⁰ Andrieu, *Le Pontifical Romain II*, pp. 301-5.

⁶¹ Andrieu, *Le Pont. Rom. II, Appendix II*, pp. 562-3, col. 1.

⁶² Andrieu, *Le Pont. Rom. II*, pp. 468-9, col. 2.

oratione Domine Iesu Christe fili Dei vivi qui ex voluntate patris, quia fecit de sanguine mentionem. Quibus receptis et omissis omnibus que dicit solent ante sumptionem calicis, immediate particulam hostie cum vino et aqua de calice recipit reverenter. Facta communione ut dictum est, postcommunio non dicitur, sed sacerdos, more solito ablutis manibus, revertitur ad medium altaris et coram ipso inclinatus dicit *Quod ore sumpsimus* et cetera, omissis *Corpus tuum domine et Placeat.*⁶⁵

(d) LATERAN MISSAL, FOL. 274^r:

... frangit hostiam more solito in tres partes. *Pax domini* non dicitur, *Agnus Dei* non cantatur neque pacis osculum datur. Sed immediate post fractionem unam partem de hostia mittit in calicem nichil dicens. Postmodum vero antequam duas reliquas partes recipiat, dicit omnia que dicere diebus aliis consuevit pretermissa oratione Domine Iesu Christe fili Dei vivi qui ex voluntate patris quia facit de sanguine mentionem. Quibus receptis et obmissis omnibus que dici solent ante sumptionem calicis immediate particulam hostie cum vino et aqua de calice recipit reverenter. Facta communione ut dictum est postcommunio non dicitur sed sacerdos more solito ablutis manibus revertitur ad medium altaris et coram ipso inclinatus dicit *Quod ore sumpsimus*, pretermissis *Corpus tuum quod sumpsi et sanguis et Placeat tibi* . . .

There is obviously a very close relationship between these four texts. The *Ordinariu*m of the Curia has the Amalarian phrase; this is still retained when the correction is made. The correction is added awkwardly and after the rubric for communion. In the Pontifical of the Curia, the Amalarian phrase is dropped, but the correction is made in the same way after the rubric for the communion. We note that the Pontifical has two phrases which are not found in the *Ordinariu*m or its correction: (a) *neque postcommunio cantatur*; (b) *pretermissis illis que dici solent in sumptione calicis*. We shall return to these in a minute.

In the Lateran Missal and the Franciscan Missal, the basic text of the original *Ordinariu*m has been completely revised by a careful and painstaking workman who has in mind the priest as the celebrant and who corrects the Amalarian "theology" at the proper place—before the communion. These two documents are identical here save for two unimportant variants: *omissis* for *obmissis*, *omissis* for *pretermissis*. This verbal agreement in the rubrics of Holy Week as found in the two missals will be seen again and again; we will also find differences. It will be noted that the text of the Good Friday rubric, common to the two missals, has the two phrases found in the Pontifical but not in the correction of the *Ordinariu*m, in slightly different words: (a) *postcommunio non dicitur*; (b) *omissis omnibus que dici solent ante sumptionem calicis*.

It is apparent that the *Ordinariu*m of the Curia is the basic source of these documents. It is also clear that the Pontifical of the Curia is based on the corrected text of the *Ordinariu*m. But where did the correction, i.e., the section in brackets in our text (a) and the two extra phrases in the Pontifical come from? They are too close in wording to the text found in both the Lateran and Franciscan Missals to be a mere coincidence. We suggest that the rubrics found in the Lateran Missal will provide the key to the puzzle.

To make certain of the fact that the rubrics of the Lateran Missal are based on the *Ordinariu*m of the Curia, and that these rubrics are verbally the same as those of the Franciscan Missal, we will give the text for the ceremony of the adoration of the cross on Good Friday. In the first column, will be found the text of the *Ordinariu*m; in the second the text of the Lateran Missal and the Franciscan Missal.

⁶⁵ van Dijk, *Il Carattere della Correzione*, Appendix I, p. 336.

ORDINARIUM CURIAE ROMANAЕ

FRANCISCAN MISSAL AND THE
LATERAN MISSAL fol. 271^r-271^v

Finitis orationibus procedit pontifex ad altare et, stans a dextro cornu altaris, accipit crucem a ministris sibi preparatam, sindone munda cooperatam et, discoperiens eam a summitate, elevatis paululum manibus, solus incipit ant. *Ecce lignum crucis*, adiuvantibus eum in cantu qui assistunt ei. Cum autem *Venite adoremus* cantaverint, omnes prostrati reverenter adorent et usque ad terram se inclinent. Et repetitur antiphona *Ecce lignum* a cantoribus in choro. Iterum pontifex paululum procedens et crucem ad medietatem discooperiens, amplius elevatis manibus, exaltando vocem, eandem antiphonam solus incipit, similiter in cantando iuvantibus eum qui circa ipsum sunt. Et secundo a cantoribus antiphona reincipitur. Et tertio procedit pontifex ante altare discooperiens crucem totam erectis sursum manibus, altius incipit *Ecce lignum crucis*. Et tertio a cantoribus repetitur antiphona. Et tertio dum cantatur *Venite adoremus* adoretur ab omnibus.⁶⁴

We note at once the complete verbal agreement of the Lateran and the Franciscan Missal. The text in these two mass books is again the result of a careful revision of that of the *Ordinarium*. The composer has taken the rather involved and repetitious text of the *Ordinarium* and turned it into a simple straightforward description of the ceremony when it is to be performed by a priest. His dependence on the *Ordinarium* is obvious from the verbal coincidences. We do not suppose that anyone would claim that the *Ordinarium* is taking its text from the Lateran Missal. That is quite improbable in this instance; it is quite impossible in the case of the rubric for the mass of the Pre-sanctified, for the Amalarian theory did not come from our missal.

We are now able to fix definitively the *terminus post quem* for the Lateran Missal. Since the rubrics contained therein are a revision of those of the *Ordinarium*, we must date the Lateran Missal later than the *Ordinarium*. This latter document was composed certainly after the death of Innocent III (d. 1216) as its title implies: *Ordo curiae Romanae quem consuevimus observare tempore Innocenti tertii et aliorum pontificum*. It was used by the composer of the Missal-Breviary of St. Clare between 1227 and 1232. We are then sure that the *Ordinarium* was composed between 1216 and 1232. It follows that the Lateran Missal as it exists today in Codex 65 of the Lateran Archives must be later than 1216.

To determine how much later than 1216 this mass book was composed, we must settle the question of its relation with the Franciscan Missal. Is the Lateran Missal dependent on the Franciscan Missal for its rubrics? We have already seen

⁶⁴ Andrieu, *Pont. Rom. II*, Appendix II, p. 559, col. 2.

⁶⁵ van Dijk, *Il Carattere della Correzione Appendix I*, p. 335.

two texts from these missals in which the rubrics are *verbatim* the same. There are three possible explanations of this fact: (a) the Lateran Missal copies from the Franciscan Missal; (b) the direct opposite; (c) a common source.

In support of the first premise is the fact that in Haymo of Faversham, Franciscan Minister General 1240-1244, we have a trained theologian and a capable scholar.⁶⁶ The theological training is illustrated by the elimination of the Amalarian rubric and the rewriting of the Good Friday service to conform to the "modern" theories on the conversion of the elements. The precise, clear and straightforward statement of the rubrics is indicative of a trained mind. We know that Haymo's work was essentially one of correction. John of Parma, Minister General (1247-1257), warns the Friars to observe exactly "the *ordinarium* of the breviary and missal as corrected by the pious zeal of my predecessor, Friar Haymo of blessed memory."⁶⁷ Haymo's work of correction is assumed to have been a revision of the rubrics of the *Ordinarium* of the Curia and a complete separation of the Breviary and the Missal, with each having its own rubrics.⁶⁸ That, we believe, is essentially true. However, it does not rule out the possibility of an intermediate document in which Haymo found his rubrics ready made for certain days.

If we assume that the Lateran Missal is dependent on the Franciscan Missal for its rubrics, we have a few difficult questions to answer. We have seen that the obvious purpose back of the Lateran Missal was to place between the covers of one book all the parts of the mass; this was done by placing in the first part of it the prayers and the gospel for each day, and in the second part, the introit, epistle, gradual, offertory and communion, plus the essential rubrics for certain days. Now if we assume that the Franciscan Missal was available, with each day's service complete—as we must assume if we say that the Lateran is dependent on the Franciscan for the rubrics—then why should anyone compose such a missal as that of the Lateran? The aim or purpose of the "composer" of the Lateran Missal would already be accomplished and in a better way. Let us not forget that the purpose of the two missals is exactly the same: to provide a *complete* mass book for the ordinary priest, not the pope or a bishop. The solution of the problem arrived at in the Lateran Missal is an intermediate step in the development of the sacramentary into a missal; the Franciscan Missal is the definitive solution of the problem. The arrangement, then, of the Lateran Missal, not to mention the complete absence from it of "Franciscan saints,"⁶⁹ is an almost certain indication that it is prior in time to the composition of the Franciscan Missal of Haymo of Faversham.

A comparison of texts will show that this is so. We take a case where these rubrics are somewhat divergent in their wording in the two missals, the opening ceremonies of Good Friday. Here we give in parallel columns the text from each missal, italicizing the phrases which have been retained from the *Ordinariū*.

LATERAN MISSAL fol. 268^v

Cum nona cantatur, induantur sacerdos et ministri casulis nigris, si habent, et *sine luminaribus et incenso cum silentio ad altare procedunt et omnes*

FRANCISCAN MISSAL

Hora sexta fratres convenientes ad ecclesiam dicunt nonam, et interim sacerdos et ministri induti missalibus indumentis, completa nona, *sine lumin-*

⁶⁶ He taught theology at Paris before becoming a Friar in 1225. For his career, see the article: *Aimon de Faversham* in *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie* I, 1192-94.

⁶⁷ The Letter has been preserved in Wadding's *Annales Minorum*; it begins: *Quia sicut indubitanter; Annales Minorum* III (Quarracchi, 3ed., 1931), pp. 238-9.

⁶⁸ van Dijk, *Il Carattere della Correzione*, p.

185, (*Eph. Lit.* LIX, 1945).

⁶⁹ The names of Saints Francis and Clare are found in the fragment of calendar at the beginning; there are no masses in the missal in their honor. We have stated the reasons why we do not consider the calendar as belonging to the original missal, cf. *supra* p. 62.

prostrati ante altare diutius orent. Interim autem ministri unam toaleam mundissimam extendunt super altare nudatum. Completa vero oratione, sacerdos deosculato altari ascendit sedem, et subdiaconus statim procedat ad legendum et sine titulo sic incipiat Hec dicit dominus. In tono lectionis legantur lectiones, et in sabbato sancto similiter. Hec dicit dominus, etc. (Text)

It is quite apparent here that the rubrics of the Lateran Missal retain more of the wording of the *Ordinarium* than do those of the Franciscan Missal. In the text of the latter, we note the precise simple style of the writer; he eliminates all unnecessary words and repetitions, and at the same time he improves the wording. On the other hand, the text of the Lateran Missal at this point resembles the "sacristy" Latin of the *Ordinarium*. It is quite clear in this instance that the rubricist of the Lateran Missal is not using the Franciscan Missal. We must then abandon our first premise that the Lateran Missal copied its rubrics from the Missal of Haymo of Faversham.

We come now to the second possibility, *viz.*, that the Franciscan Missal depends for its rubrics upon the Lateran Missal. The answer is certainly in the negative if we mean *all* the rubrics, for the Franciscan Missal has many rubrics that are not to be found in our missal, e.g., for the Ordinary and the Canon of the mass, for Ash Wednesday, etc. Moreover for the days provided with rubrics in both missals, those in the Franciscan Missal are sometimes more extensive and show a further development in the ceremony. We take the ceremony of placing the elements on the altar for the mass of the Pre-sanctified on Good Friday, after the singing of the *improperia*.

LATERAN MISSAL fol. 273^r

Dum supradicta cantantur, palla super toaleam extenditur et corporale super pallam. Sacerdos vero corpus domini quod pridie fuerat reservatum in loco convenienti reverenter ponit in patenam, et corporali parvo plicato cooperit. Finita autem crucis adoratio, reponit crucem in loco suo super altare et accenduntur luminaria circa altare. Postea, obmissa confessione consueta, sacerdos cum ministris ad altare accedit, et ibi preparat calicem cum vino puro cui totaliter preparato patenam cum corpore domini cooperto diligenter superponit nichil dicendo.

FRANCISCAN MISSAL:

Dum supradicta cantantur, palla super toalam extenditur et corporale a diacono super pallam. Sacerdos vero corpus domini quod pridie fuerat reservatum in loco convenienti, reverenter ponit super patenam et corporali parvo plicato cooperit. Finita vero crucis adoratio, sacrista vel alias ad hoc assignatus reponit crucem in loco suo et accendit luminaria circa altare. Postea, omissa confessione consueta, sacerdos cum ministris ad altare accedit. Deinde diaconus cum ministris abiens in locum dominici corporis ibidem preparat calicem cum vino puro, cui taliter preparato patenam cum corpore domini cooperto diligenter superponit. Tunc ad altare hoc ordine procedunt. Primo procedit unus cum turibulo fumigante, quem sequuntur duo portantes luminaria, deinde subdiaconus portans ampullam aquae; post hoc venit

⁷⁰ van Dijk, *Il Carattere della Correzione*,

Appendix I, p. 334.

<p>Quo completo more solito fit incensatio . . .</p>	<p>diaconus deferens calicem cum corpore domini. Cum autem ad altare ventum est . . . neutro eorum aliquid dicente.</p>
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We note here that the two texts are in close agreement on details until the priest arrives at the altar. Then the Franciscan Missal adds an entirely new ceremony in which the deacon prepares the chalice away from the altar and then goes in procession to the altar with the reserved sacrament and the chalice; he is accompanied by the subdeacon and servers who carry lights and the censer. The rubrics go on to tell how the priest receives the Host and chalice from the deacon and places them on the altar; then the water is placed in the chalice. At this point, the two mass books resume their common text with the incensing of the elements. It goes without saying that the composer of the Franciscan Missal did not use the Lateran Missal for these ceremonies which are not found therein. The procession is an entirely new feature; it is not found in the *Ordinarium*. This latter document describes the mixing of the water with the wine but goes on to state that the practice in certain churches is to offer only pure wine on this day.⁷² The Franciscan Missal follows the former practice; the Lateran Missal the latter.

Another instance in which these two mass books diverge in their rubrics can be seen in the first series of ceremonies for Holy Saturday. We know from the *Ordinarium* of the Curia that the sequence of ceremonies on Holy Saturday at Rome about the year 1220 was as follows: (1) the blessing the new fire; (2) the blessing of the grains of incense for the paschal candle; (3) the *Lumen Christi* ceremony; (4) the blessing of the paschal candle; (5) the prophecies.⁷³ In the Lateran Missal, we find (1) and (5) with merely a mention of (4): *completa benedictione ignis et cerei*.⁷⁴ In the Franciscan Missal, we have (1), (2), (4) and (5).⁷⁵ It is obvious then that the composer of the latter did not find his rubrics for (2) and (4) in the Lateran Missal. And yet when the ceremonies are common to both, we find the same verbal agreement that we have noted elsewhere. For example, we note that the *Ordinarium* states that the *Ite missa est* at the end of the mass on this day is to be said *sine alleluia*; the two missals are in agreement in prescribing the double *Alleluia* at this point.

In view of the two cases just given, we do not see how we can escape the conclusion: Haymo of Faversham did not use our Lateran Missal. It would appear that the similarity in the text of the two books is due to a common source.

Lest anyone might be tempted to suggest that this common source is merely the *Ordinarium* of the Curia, or that the rubrics in these two missals are the result of two men working independently of each other, we will give one more comparison of texts in which the rubric of the *Ordinarium* is completely rewritten and the resulting text is found word for word in both missals. We give in the first column the rubric of the *Ordinarium* for the communion and the reservation of the Host on Holy Thursday; in the second column, the corresponding rubric found in both the Lateran and the Franciscan Missals, noting the one single variant (*fratres* for *clericci*).

⁷¹ van Dijk, *Il Carattere della Correzione*, Appendix I, p. 335-6.

⁷² Andrieu, *Pont. Rom.* II, Appendix II, p. 561, col. 1.

⁷³ Andrieu, *Pont. Rom.* II, Appendix II,

pp. 564-6, col. 2.

⁷⁴ See the text in the Appendix to this article, *infra* p. 75.

⁷⁵ van Dijk, *Il Carattere della Correzione*, Appendix I, p. 336-7.

ORDINARIUM OF THE CURIA:

Pontifex vero in sede sua communicat illos qui communicare volunt. Reserventur tamen oblate integre de corpore domini in diem parvasceven, sanguis vero domini penitus assumatur. Pacis osculum non datur. *Agnus Dei* dicatur et communio *Dominus Iesus Christus postquam cenavit.*⁷⁶

LATERAN AND FRANCISCAN MISSALS:

. . . *Agnus Dei* dicitur sed pax non datur. Hodie reservat sacerdos in loco honesto et convenienti unam hostiam consecratam pro die sequenti in quo non conficitur, vel etiam plures si necesse fuerit pro infirmis. Sanquinem vero totum sumit. Deinde clerici (*Fr. Miss. fratres*) immediate communicant, et postea compleetur missa. Communio *Dominus Iesus Christus postquam cena-vit.*⁷⁷

The complete verbal agreement here, and elsewhere, in the rubrics of these two missals, taken in conjunction with the evidence that the Lateran Missal does not depend for its rubrics on the Franciscan Missal, and the evidence that Haymo of Faversham was not using the Lateran Missal, leads inevitably to the conclusion that these rubrics come from a common source. That source is not immediately the *Ordinarium* of the Curia, but a revision of its text to provide the ordinary priest and his assistants with a practical guide so that they might perform the services of the church according to the custom of the Roman Curia. This revision, to which we may give the rather arbitrary title: *Ordo curiae Romanae ad usum sacerdotis accommodatum*, was used copiously by the rubricist of the Lateran Missal and by Haymo of Faversham for his *Ordo missalis* of the Franciscan Missal. We further suggest that this revised *Ordinarium* is the basis for the correction of the Good Friday rubric for the mass of the Pre-sanctified in both the *Ordinarium* and the Pontifical of the Curia. The text of this "priest's" *ordo* has not come down to us in its entirety, but it could be largely reconstructed, so far as the rubrics of the missal are concerned, from the Lateran and the Franciscan Missals. Whether or not its composer did the same sort of work for the rubrics of the breviary, we do not know as we have no evidence one way or the other. But it now appears quite certain that the work of Haymo of Faversham in "correcting the *ordinarium of the missal*," as John of Parma calls it, was not quite so original as is generally supposed. Without in any way belittling the overall importance of his work in giving the Friars—and eventually the church—an excellent missal, we must give due credit to the unknown cleric who adapted the Curial *Ordinarium* to the needs of a simple priest and whose revision of the ceremonies of Holy Week has been preserved for us in the old Lateran Missal.

We may now state with some certainty the origin and the date of the Lateran Missal. It is the result of a joint effort of two scribes working probably under the direction of a cleric. The aim is to produce a complete mass book for a priest. The first scribe has at his disposal a sacramentary of rather archaic type which apparently came from a church or monastery at, or near, Arezzo. He is content to copy his model without "modernizing" the sanctoral; he inserts the gospel for each day after the collect; in the common of saints, he adds the epistle also. It may well be, of course, that his model was already provided with these features. To the second scribe was entrusted the task of putting together the remaining portions of each mass. He combines an epistolary with an antiphonary; he copies for each day the introit, epistle, gradual (tract), offertory and communion, or gives a reference where these may be found. For the order of the

⁷⁶ Andrieu, *Pont. Rom. II*, Appendix II, p. 550. the Franciscan Missal, see: van Dijk, *Il Carattere della Correzione*, Appendix I, p. 333-4.

⁷⁷ For the Lateran Missal, see text in Appendix to this article, *infra* p. 76. For

feasts, he follows with reasonable fidelity the arrangement of the first part of the book. Moreover, he had at his disposal a booklet of ceremonies from which he makes copious extracts for Palm Sunday and the last three days of Holy Week. This booklet was a revision of the *Ordinarium* of the Curia in which the papal ceremonies were accommodated to the use of a priest.

We must then date the Lateran Missal, as it now exists in Codex 65 of the Lateran Archives, later than 1216—the earliest possible year in which the *Ordinarium* of the Curia could have been written. We must further add some period of time to allow for the adaption of this *Ordinarium* to the needs of a priest. On the other hand we may date our missal before 1240 since it does not depend on the *Ordo missalis Fratrum Minorum secundum consuetudinem curiae Romanae* composed by Haymo of Faversham 1240-1244. Were we to say that the Lateran Missal was written about the year 1230, we should not be very wide of the mark. It was apparently not intended for use at the Basilica of St. John the Lateran, but rather for some church or chapel where the “custom” of the Roman Curia was in use.

APPENDIX

THE RUBRICS OF THE LATERAN MISSAL.

Fol. 258^r IN DIE PALMARUM

completa tertia et aspersione aqua more solito in tono orationis, sacerdos procedit indutus sine casula cum ministris indutis. Et ramis in medio ante altare positis, a choro cantatur ant. *Osanna filio David.* . . . Deinde dicit sacerdos in tono orationis *Dominus vobiscum. Oremus, Deus quem diligere.*

Subscripta lectio legitur in tono epistole. *In diebus illis venerunt filii.* . . . Deinde cantatur pro graduali R. *Collegerunt pontifices.* . . . V. *Unus autem* . . . vel alius R. *In monte oliveti.* . . . V. *Vigilate et orate.* . . .

Postea legitur evangelium secundum Mattheum: *In illo tempore cum appropinquasset.* . . . Post hec benedicuntur rami. Tunc dicit sacerdos *Dominus vobiscum. Oremus. Auge fidem* . . . *per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.* (Preface with musical notation.)

Hic cantatur in tono feriali a choro *Sanctus, sanctus.* . . .

Sequitur: *Dominus vobiscum. Oremus. Petimus domine.* . . . *Oremus. Deus qui dispersa.* . . . *Oremus. Deus qui mira dispositione.* . . . *Oremus. Deus qui per olive ramum.* . . . *Benedic quesumus hos palmarum.* . . .

Hic rami asperguntur aqua benedicta cum ant. *Asperges me sine cantu et sine psalmis,* et incensantur. Deinde dicit sacerdos *Dominus vobiscum. Oremus. Deus qui filium.* . . . Postea ramos palmarum distribuunt et interim a choro cantantur antiphone: *Pueri hebreorum portantes.* . . . Alia ant. *Pueri hebreorum vestimenta.* . . . Que si non sufficient, repetantur usque ramorum distributio finiatur. Deinde dicit sacerdos *Dominus vobiscum. Oremus. Omnipotens semper inter deus qui dominum.* . . .

Postea fit processio et cantantur antiphone subscripte vel omnes vel aliqui pro dispositione cantorum: *Dum appropinquaret.* . . . *Cum audisset populus.* . . . *Ante sex dies.* . . . *Occurerunt turbe.* . . . *Cum angelis et pueris.* . . . *Turba multa.* . . .

In reversione processionis ad ecclesiam, aliqui intrant, duo ad minus, quatuor ad plus, et clauso hostio stantes versa facie ad processionem incipiunt versa: *Gloria laus* et totum decantant usque *Israel.* Sacerdos vero cum reliquis stantibus extra repetit illud idem. Deinde stantes intus cantant versus sequentes vel omnes vel partem pro dispositione cantoris. Et stantes extra respondent post quoslibet duos versus scilicet *Gloria laus* sicut a principio. *Gloria laus et honor* . . . (with musical notes) V. *Israel.* . . . Postea intrat processio ecclesiam cantando R.

Ingredientie domino. . . . Ant. Cumque audissent. . . . Non dicitur Gloria patri.

AD MISSAM. Introit. Epistle. Gradual. Tract.

Passio domini absque benedictione et *Dominus vobiscum*, luminaribus et incenso, absolute incipitur, nec respondetur *Gloria tibi Domine*. Pervento autem ad partem illam que in tono evangelii legitur, benedictio petitur, incensum portatur sicut consuetum est fieri ad evangelium. Similiter fit aliis diebus quando legitur passio.

Off. *Improperium expectavit. . . . Prephatio Eterne deus qui salutem humani generis et dicitur cotidie usque ad sextam feriam nisi in missa de festo occurerit.*

Fol. 267^r IN CENA DOMINI

Int. *Nos autem gloriari. . . . Et dicitur Gloria in excelsis Deo. Lectio ad Corinthios Convenientibus vobis. . . . Gr. Christus factus est. . . . Et dicitur Credo in unum Deum. Off. Dextera domini. . . . Et Agnus Dei dicitur sed pax non datur.*

Hodie reservat sacerdos in loco honesto et convenienti unam hostiam consecratam pro die sequenti in quo non conficitur, vel etiam plures si necesse fuerit pro infirmis. Sanguinem vero totum sumit. Deinde clerici immediate communicant et postea completerunt missa.

Comm. *Dominus Iesus postquam cenavit. . . . Et dicitur Ite missa est.*

Post refectionem sacerdos cum acolito denudat altare legendō ant. *Diviserunt vestimenta mea cum toto psalmo Deus Deus meus respice.*

Post hec convenient clericū ad faciendum mandatum, maiores abluunt pedes, tergunt et osculantur minores sicut ordinatum est cum antiphonis et psalmis.

Fol. 269^r FERIA SEXTA IN PARASCEVEN

cum nona cantatur, induantur sacerdos et ministri casulis nigris, si habent, et sine luminaribus et incenso cum silentio ad altare procedant et omnes prostrati ante altare diutius orient. Interim autem ministri unam toaleam mundissimam extendunt super altare nudatum. Completa vero oratione sacerdos deosculato altari ascendit sedem¹ et subdiaconus statim procedat ad legendū et sine titulo sic incipiat *Hec dicit dominus.* In tono lectionis legantur lectiones et in sabbato sancto similiter. *Hec dicit dominus. . . . Tract. Domine adiuva. . . . V. In medio. . . . Oremus. Flectamus genua. Deus a quo et Iudas.* Qua finita subdiaconus sine titulo similiter legit *In diebus illis. . . . Tract. Eripe me. . . .*

Postea dicitur passio; completo passio, sacerdos dicat orationes sollempnes. Completis vero orationibus sacerdos, deposita tantum casula, procedit ad posterius cornu altaris dextrum et ibi accipit crucem a ministris sibi preparatam quam versa facie ad chorū a summitate parum discooperit, incipiens solus ant. *Ecce lignum crucis in quo salus mundi pependit* (with musical notation) et ab illo loco² in ant. iuvatur in cantu a ministris usque Venite. Choro vero cantante *Venite adoremus* (with musical notation) omnes se prosternunt. Postea procedit sacerdos ad reliquum dextrum cornu altaris et discooperiens amplius crucem, elevans eam paulisper altius quam primo incipit *Ecce lignum crucis,* aliis cantantibus et adorantibus ut supra. Deinde sacerdos procedit ad medium altaris discooperiens crucem totaliter ac elevando eam tertio altius incipit *Ecce lignum crucis in quo salus mundi pependit.* *Venite adoremus,* cantantibus aliis et adorantibus ut supra. Postea sacerdos deponit crucem in loco ad hoc preparato ante altare.

Deinde deponit calciamenta et accedit ad adorandum ter genua flectens ante

¹ Manuscript: *altare; sedem* is demanded by the sense and this is the reading in the Franciscan Missal.

² The rubric is written alongside the

musical notation containing the words: *Ecce lignum crucis* so that the *illo loco* refers to this phrase only.

deosculationem crucis. Hoc facto revertitur ad sedem suam et ibi recipit deposita calciamenta et casulam. Postmodum ministri altaris, deinde alii, ter flexis genibus ut dictum est, crucem adorant.

Et interim cantantur improperia et alia que sequuntur totaliter vel in parte prout multitudo adorantium vel paucitas requirit hoc modo: Duo clerici cantant in medio choro versus *Popule meus . . . salutari meo*. Alii cantant *Agios otheos*. Alii respondent *Sanctus deus*. Item primi *Agios yskiros*, alii respondent *Sanctus fortis*. Item primi *Agios athanatos elyson ymas*. Et respondent *Sanctus immortalis miserere nobis. . . . Crux fidelis. . . . Pange lingua. . . .*³

Dum supradicta cantantur, palla super toaleam extenditur et corporale super pallam. Sacerdos vero corpus domini quod pridie fuerit reservatum in loco convenienti reverenter ponit in patenam, et corporali parvo plicato cooperit. Finita autem crucis adoratione, reponit crucem in loco suo super altare et accenduntur luminaria circa altare.

Postea, obmissa confessione consueta, sacerdos, cum ministris ad altare accedit et ibi preparat calicem cum vino puro cui totaliter preparato patenam cum corpore domini cooperto diligenter superponit nichil dicendo. Quo completo, more solito fit incensatio a sacerdote dicente *Incensum istud. . . .* Postea lotis manibus, inclinat se ante altare dicens *In spiritu humilitatis. . . .* Deinde erectus vertit se ad populum dicendo *Orate fratres*.

Consequenter dicit in nota consueta absolute *Oremus*. *Preceptis salutaribus moniti. . . . Pater noster totum*. Respondent *Sed libera nos a malo*, Sacerdos vero, sub silentio dicto *Amen*, in eadem voce qua dixit *Pater noster*, absolute sine *Oremus* in tono orationis misse dicit *Libera nos quesumus domine . . . et intercedente. . . . Maria et beato Michaele archangelo tuo et beatis apostolis . . . per eundem. . . . R. Amen*.

Frangit hostiam more solito in tres partes. *Pax domini* non dicitur. *Agnus Dei* non cantatur neque pacis osculum datur. Sed immediate post fractionem unam partem de hostia mittit in calicem nichil dicens. Postmodum vero antequam duas reliquias partes recipiat, dicit omnia que dicere diebus aliis consuevit, pretermissa oratione *Domine Iesu Christie fili Dei vivi qui ex voluntate patris quia facit de sanguine mentionem*. Quibus receptis et obmissis omnibus que dici solent ante sumptionem calicis, immediate particulam hostie cum vino et aqua de calice recipit reverenter. Facta communione ut dictum est, postcommunio non dicitur sed sacerdos more solito ablutis manibus, revertitur ad medium altaris et coram ipso inclinatus dicit *Quod ore sumpsimus . . . pretermissis Corpus tuum quod sumpsi et sanguis et Placeat tibi*. Postea dicuntur vespere sine cantu et crux deponitur et denudatur altare.

Fol. 274^v SABBATO SANCTO

hora competenti coperiuntur altaria. Dicta vero sexta ignis excutitur de lapide et accenditur. Dicta nona, sacerdos indutus preter casulam stat ante altare cum ministris et cum cruce, aqua benedicta et incenso, carbonibusque accensis igne excusso de lapide in aliquo vase, benedicit novum ignem et dicit *Dominus vobiscum. Oremus. Domine deus pater omnipotens lumen indeficiens. . . .*

Completa benedictione ignis et cerei, sacerdos et ministri more solito ad altare procedunt et facta reverentia in locis suis sedent. Postea leguntur propheticie sine titulo. Prohetia I *In principio creavit deus. . . . (Then follows the text of the twelve prophecies with prayers.)*

fol. 286^v. His finitis, descendendo ad fontes cantatur *Sicut cervus et dicitur usque in captivis*. Deinde ad fontes dicitur oratio *Omnipotens sempiterne deus*. Postea proceditur ad benedictionem fontium. Ubi vero non sunt fontes, Tract.

³The complete text of the *Pange lingua* is given; after each verse is the rubric: Repe-

Sicut cervus et oratio sequens et fontium benedictio pretermittuntur, sed finita oratione Omnipotens sempiterne deus spes unica, sacerdos, deposita casula, cum ministris ante altare procumbit et alii clerici stant ante altare erecti et cantatur letania in medio chori a duobus clericis, utroque choro idem similiter respondente. Pervento autem ad Peccatores te rogamus audi nos, sacerdos et ministri sollempniter induuntur et accenduntur luminaria circa altare de igne benedicto, et pervento ad Kyrieleison, letania premissa, a cantoribus sollempniter incipitur Kyrieleison.

Quo incepto, sacerdos facit confessionem debitam in loco consueto et ascendens postmodum ad altare, finito *Kyrieleison*, incipit sollempniter *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, et campana pulsantur. Finito *Gloria*, sacerdos dicit *Dominus vobiscum*. *Oratio. Deus qui hanc sacratissimam*.

Lectio b. Pauli apostoli ad Col. *Fratres si consurrexistis cum...* Finita epistola, sacerdos qui cantat missam incipit *Alleluia* et totum decantat. (*Alleluia, Confitemini*, etc., with musical notation.) Alii clerici post quemlibet vicem in eadem voce repetunt *Alleluia*, et sacerdos gradatim exaltat vocem. Post tres vices dicitur postea versus *Confitemini* ut supra. Deinde Tract. *Laudate...*

Ad evangelium portatur incensum tantum. Finito evangelio, dicit sacerdos *Dominus vobiscum et Oremus* et non dicitur *Credo in unum Deum* nec offertorium. Sec. *Suscipe quesumus domine*. Prephatio *Te quidem domine omni tempore sed in hac potissimum nocte*. Et dicitur cotidie usque ad ascensionem nisi alia assignatur. In hac tamen missa tantum dicitur *potissimum nocte*, et post octavam non dicitur *die*, immo dicitur *sed in hoc potissimum gloriosus predicare*. Infra actionem *Communicantes...* Alia infra actionem *Hanc igitur oblationem...* Et dicuntur tantum usque ad sequens sabbatum inclusive. *Pax domini* dicitur. *Agnus Dei* non dicitur, pacis osculum non datur nec postcommunio cantatur.

Sumpto sacramento a sacerdote, statim pro vesperis incipitur in choro Ant. *Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia*. Ps. *Laudate*. Capitulum ymnus et versus non dicuntur. Ad *Magnificat, Vespe autem...* Ps. *Magnificat* totum cum *Gloria et Sicut*, et repetitur ant. *Vespere*. Post hec sacerdos dicit postcommunionem. *Oratio Spiritum*. Deinde *Dominus vobiscum*. Postea diaconus dicit *Ite missa est* cum duplice *Alleluia*, et sic dicitur usque in sabbatum in albis, sed nullo alio tempore iungitur *Alleluia* sed tantum *Ite missa est*.

St. Augustine's Use of the Word *Character*

NICHOLAS M. HARING S.A.C.

ST. AUGUSTINE is rightly credited with the doctrine that, if validly conferred, certain sacraments produce in the recipient a lasting, indelible effect which makes their reiteration both unlawful and invalid. It is generally held today that he chose the word *character* to signify this permanent imprint; it is also widely believed that the Augustinian doctrine on *character* was lost for some seven centuries, since ecclesiastical writers failed to discuss or even mention it until the twelfth century. About a century after its alleged rediscovery,¹ the doctrine was still felt to be a novelty, a fact which prompted St. Thomas to the remark: *Characterem in quibusdam imprimi omnes MODERNI confitentur.*² St. Albert echoed a similar view when he observed that "in the sayings of the Saints little is found concerning *character* in the sense discussed by the *magistri*."³ In addition, St. Albert rejected the definition of *character* currently attributed to Ps-Dionysius and when Duns Scotus opposed the common view that St. John Damascene had defined Baptism as *sigillum* in the sense of *character*, the main patristic foundation of the doctrine seemed to be endangered.⁴ For, at the time, surprisingly little was said about St. Augustine's position on this question and if it was at all hoped to claim his authority, Duns Scotus put an end to such hope by stating that St. Augustine distinguished only between *sacramentum* and *res*, but never based the *initerabilitas* of Baptism on an imprinted *character*.⁵

When the Council of Trent prepared a definition of the doctrine against certain errors, an uncertainty regarding its antiquity made itself felt⁶ and, when the conciliar decision became known, some Protestant theologians raised violent objections.⁷ However, as time went on, Catholic historians succeeded so well in proving that the doctrine and its terminology was ancient and patristic that, in our day, even A. Harnack and R. Seeberg⁸ agree that St. Augustine used the word *character* to designate a lasting, indelible, spiritual mark on the soul.

¹Cf. F. Brommer, *Die Lehre vom sakramentalen Charakter in der Scholastik bis Thomas von Aquin inklusive* (Paderborn, 1908). F. Gillmann, 'Der sakramentale Charakter bei den Glossatoren Rufinus, J. Faventinus, Sikard von Cremona, Huguccio und in der Glosa Ordinaria des Dekrets', *Der Katholik* XC (1910) I, 300-313 and II, 215-218. G. Pierse, 'The Origin of the Doctrine of the Sacramental Character', *Irish Theol. Quart.* VI (1911), 196-211. Numerous references and quotations can be found in various articles by A. M. Landgraf in *Coll. Franciscana* I (1931), 297 ff., *Rech. de théol. anc. et méd.* X (1938), 40 ff., *Gregorianum* XXVII (1946), 354 ff.

² *Scriptum super Sent. IV*, d. 4, qu. 1, a. 1, *solutio*; ed. M. F. Moos (Paris, 1947), p. 149. St. Thomas discusses the definition of *character* (falsely) ascribed to Ps-Dionysius and the then current *definitio magistralis* of unknown origin. He does not cite St. Augustine in this work. However, in *Summa Theol.* III, qu. 63, a. 5, he makes use of an Augustinian comparison: Augustinus dicit in *II. Contra Parmen.*: Non minus haerent sacramenta christiana quam corporalis nota militiae. Sed character militaris non repetitur . . . Ergo nec character sacramentalis deleri potest. In the same manner he treats this text in III, qu. 66, a. 9, stating that

Baptism cannot be repeated because it imprints a *character* which is indelible and given with a certain consecration. Therefore, just as other consecrations are not repeated in the Church, so also is Baptism not repeated. Then he adds: *Et hoc est quod Augustinus dicit in II Contra epist. Parmen.*, quod character militaris non repetitur et quod non minus haeret sacramentum Christi quam corporalis haec nota. The quotation is not literal but an accurate summary of St. Augustine's line of thought.

³ *In Sent. IV*, d. 6, a. 4, *solutio*; ed. Vivès XXIX, 126.

⁴ Albert, *In Sent. IV*, d. 6, a. 4; ed. Vivès XXIX, 123. Scotus, *In Sent. IV*, d. 6, qu. 9, *scholium*; ed. Vivès XVI, 599.

⁵ Scotus, *loc. cit.* Nec umquam initerabilitatem baptissimi ostendit ipse (Augustinus) propter tallem characterem impressum.

⁶ P. Sarpi (Soave), *Historia del Concilio Tridentino* (Geneva, 1629), p. 246. S. Pallavicino, *Dell'Istoria del Concilio di Trento IX*, 5; ed. Rome II (1664), p. 24.

⁷ Cf. Calvin, *Antidote to the Council of Trent* (Edinburgh, 1851), p. 177.

⁸ A. Harnack, *Lehrb. der Dogmengeschichte* III (Freiburg, 1890), p. 142. R. Seeberg, *Lehrb. der Dogmengeschichte I* (Leipzig, 1895), p. 292.

I.

St. Augustine undoubtedly taught that such sacraments as Baptism and Holy Orders produce a permanent effect in the recipient, but a closer examination of his terminology reveals that he did not use the word *character* to designate this lasting effect. By misinterpreting Augustinian terminology, P. Pourrat, among many others, concluded not only that the Augustinian doctrine itself was lost for more than seven centuries, but also that St. Augustine was neither precise nor consistent in its elaboration, since he was supposedly unable to decide whether to call *character* the internal spiritual mark or the external sacramental rite.⁹ Ignoring the historical sequence of the pertinent texts and depriving them of their context, Pourrat arrived at this conclusion by an entirely unhistorical method and, as a result, his exposition creates the impression that St. Augustine became more uncertain, obscure and confused towards the end of his life. Nothing is gained by Pourrat's statement that St. Augustine "did not indulge in speculation properly so-called about the nature of the baptismal *character*."¹⁰ The very fact that the Saint spent the best years of his life refuting Donatism should be sufficient to cast suspicion on such an evasion of a problem.

In approaching the question, the reader must, first of all, be cautioned not to identify the term *sacramentum* with sacrament the latter of which we are prone to restrict to the outward visible sign of the sacramental rites. In patristic and post-patristic literature it includes a great variety of sacred things, words or actions to which the word sacrament, as we define it, can no longer be applied.¹¹ In addition, we must remain conscious of the fact that St. Augustine's language is often highly figurative, reflecting a mass of associations and connotations in a mind which passes rapidly from a thing to its symbol, from an object to its illustration.

For instance, on one occasion, immediately after mentioning the *forma* of Baptism, he exclaims: *Non exsufflo vexillum Regis mei.*¹² We may wonder what could have caused him to associate the baptismal *forma* with the *vexillum* of his King. While he was thinking of the baptismal rite, the image of the Donatist practice of re-Baptism rose before his eyes. He saw them performing the detestable ritual of exorcism (*exsufflatio*) to cast the devil out of Christians already sanctified by Christ in their previous Baptism. The image faded away and in its place there arose the vision of Christ's army, organized like the armies of Rome, divided into legions, cohorts and maniples all of whom followed the *signum*, usually the Roman Eagle, to which a *vexillum* was attached. Originally a separate four-cornered flag, the *vexillum* consisted of various ornaments, representations of gods, emperors or generals and was usually carried in the first line. Somehow, in St. Augustine's mind, Baptism was suddenly linked with the idea of such a *vexillum* representing Christ, his King.

From the time of Trajan, the *signum* was often a large dragon, fixed upon a lance, with gaping jaws of silver and with the rest of its body formed of coloured silk. When the wind blew down (*insufflare*) the open jaws, the body was inflated. In this state, the purpose of the dragon was to terrify the enemy and arouse the confidence of victory in its followers.¹³ The phrase *exsufflare vexillum* means, therefore, to deflate or collapse the army leader's symbol and thus to deprive it of its effect on both the enemy and its followers.

This brief analysis proves how difficult it is to follow the rapid progression of

⁹ P. Pourrat, *Theology of the Sacraments* (St. Louis, 1930), pp. 231 ff.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*; p. 229.

¹¹ Cf. A. Kolping, *Sacramentum Tertullianum* (Münster, 1948); N. M. Haring, 'Beren gar's Definitions of *sacramentum* and Their Influence on Mediaeval Sacramentology', *Med. Studies* X (1948), 109-146; F. van der Meer, 'Sacramentum chez S. Augustin', *Maison Dieu* XIII (1948), 50-65.

¹² Ep. XXIII, 4; CSEL 34, 1, 67.

¹³ Cf. O. Seyffert, *A Dictionary of Classical Antiquities*, transl. by H. Nettleship and J. E. Sandys (London, 1899), pp. 638 and 585.

Augustine's thoughts. But his terminology associated with the Roman army did not end there. It is well known that it demanded of its recruits a military oath, called *sacramentum militiae*, and that when the oath of allegiance was given, a *signum*, *signaculum*, *nota* or *character* was frequently branded on the skin of the newly enlisted men.¹⁴ Though little is known about the antiquity of the military custom of branding, there is no doubt that it existed in St. Augustine's time. The same words may also designate a mark branded on the head or the forehead of unruly slaves and prisoners of war.¹⁵ The expression *frontes litterati*¹⁶ suggests that the mark consisted of one or more letters indicating the slave owner. In a similar manner, sheep owners branded their sheep.

The principal purpose of such marks was the identification of the branded person or animal. In the case of slaves, criminals or prisoners of war, the mark would naturally involve a certain opprobrium, while in soldiers it was a sign of pride and honour unless they deserted. Desertion changed it into a mark of shame. Legally speaking, it was the official enrolment that made the recruit a soldier. The mark was then impressed for the purpose of identification to make it possible to distinguish friend from foe in battle, or soldiers from civilians, since uniforms in the modern sense did not exist.

Supposing that the military mark was a sign of honour, it is quite possible that unscrupulous individuals had themselves branded by stealth without formal enlistment or army service. On several occasions, St. Augustine implies that this was actually done and severely punished. He also observes that, after the fraud was discovered, the mark was not erased or changed.¹⁷ Once the crime had been atoned for or mercy had been granted, the mark was acknowledged as legitimate and the soldier was taken over by the army or the commander-in-chief indicated by the mark.

St. Augustine refers to a certain *signum in fronte* so often that it has led to the conjecture that African Christians actually branded their foreheads with a physical mark, the sign of the Cross.¹⁸ This *signum* is not of military but of Scriptural origin and its tradition can be traced back to the earliest Christian writers in both East and West. It is based on the *mark Tau upon the foreheads of the men that sigh*, as we read in *Ezech. ix*, 4, and on the narrative in *Exod. xii*, 7 ff., where we learn that the Israelites were ordered to put the blood of the lamb upon both the side posts and on the upper door posts of their houses as sign of protection. The sign *Tau* was conceived as a foreshadowing of the Cross upon the foreheads, while the blood of the lamb foreshadowed the Precious Blood without which no one can escape the angel of eternal death. This *signum in fronte* thus connotes the idea of redemption and predestination and it is, therefore, understandable that St. Augustine does not refer to it when he speaks of heretics. It has nothing to do with either the sacramental or the military *signum* or *character*.

In his controversies with the Donatists, St. Augustine often adopts the word *character*¹⁹ in his writings in the sense of (1) military *character* or *nota*, (2)

¹⁴ Cf. E. de Backer, *Sacramentum* (Louvain, 1911), p. 268; F. J. Doelger, 'Sacramentum militiae,' *Antike und Christentum II* (Müns-ter, 1930), p. 275.

¹⁵ Petronius, *Sat.*, 105: *Stigmata . . . captivorum frontibus impressa; Sat.*, 103: *Frontes signans inscriptione.* Cf. F. J. Doelger, *Sphragis, eine altkirchliche Taufbezeichnung* (Paderborn, 1911), p. 26.

¹⁶ Apuleius, *Met.* IX, 12; E. De Backer, *Sacramentum*, p. 267.

¹⁷ Doelger, *Sphragis*, p. 33 observes that devices to erase such marks had been developed.

¹⁸ M. Pontet, *L'exégèse de S. Augustin prédicateur* (Aubier, 1944), p. 366 notes: Ce détail d'archéologie chrétienne me paraît sûre. G. Morin, *Miscell. Agost.* I (Rome, 1930), p. 89 interprets it as a mere figure of speech but admits that his travel experiences in Africa often made him wonder if it is only figurative language.

¹⁹ Occasionally, he uses *character* or *charactères* designating magic signs or charms. See *Sermones VIII*, 2; and *XVIII*, 2; G. Morin, *op. cit.*, pp. 500 and 615; *De Doctrina christiana II*, 29, 45; *PL*, 34, 57.

mark of identification or ownership branded on sheep, (3) and less frequently, designation of the Cross. Since this last meaning is to be classed with *signum in fronte*, we may now consider the first two meanings found in his works. Occasionally, the word *character* is found in Latin Christian literature before St. Augustine,²⁰ though it had apparently never been used by African writers. As employed by St. Augustine, it is not of Scriptural origin,²¹ but derived from a custom of branding soldiers and sheep.²² Nowhere does he allude to other kinds of branding, such as were practised in certain mystery cults²³ or by slave owners.²⁴ While branding the face of criminals had been abolished under Constantine,²⁵ the branding of soldiers was, in St. Augustine's time, extended even further to manufacturers of arms to control the production of war material.²⁶

The military mark was impressed on a conspicuous part of the body, i.e., the forehead, face, arm or hand. Although St. Augustine is not very specific on this point,²⁷ we know that a law of Arcadius and Honorius prescribed the branding of manufacturers of weapons on their arms *ad imitationem tironum*. There is also historical evidence that in certain armies the mark was impressed on the soldiers' forehead.²⁸

Of greater interest to us is the question whether the mark consisted in a symbolical representation or in one or several letters. On one occasion, St. Augustine exclaims: *Characterem legit*, which suggests strongly that he associated *character* with letters. This assumption is confirmed by St. Ambrose's remark: *Nomine imperatoris signantur milites*. It is obvious that this name was not written in full but in abbreviated form, and it would seem that the word *character* appeared preferable to *signum* and *signaculum* precisely because the mark consisted in a letter or an abbreviation of a name.²⁹

In reading Augustinian texts, we must consequently keep in mind that military *character*, *nota*, *signum*, *signaculum* designate a mark branded on a conspicuous part of the soldier's body. It appears certain that it was an abbrevi-

²⁰ St. Ambrose uses the word frequently. Of special interest is a sentence in *De Obitu Valent.*, 58; PL 16, 1437: *Charactere domini inscribuntur servi et nomine imperatoris signantur milites*.

²¹ St. Augustine never contrasts it with the *character bestiae* of the *Apocalypse*. One reason for this is the fact that, where the Vulgate reads *character*, the pre-Vulgate versions read *inscriptio nominis* or *nomen scriptum* or the simple transliteration *charagma*. See, for instance, Primasius, *In Apocal.* IV, 16, 2; IV, 17, 5; V, 19, 20; V, 20, 4; PL 68, 893 ff.

²² The custom was known in both East and West according to W. Dennison (*American Journal of Archeology* IX [1905], 12 ff.).

²³ W. Dennison, 34 ff.

²⁴ An allusion to the branding of criminals may be seen in the *nota criminis* mentioned by Primasius, *In Apocal.* IV, 16, 2; PL 68, 893D. Ps-Augustine, *In Apocal. homil.* XI; PL 35, 2444, remarks of the followers of antichrist: *Accipiunt inscriptionem, notam scilicet criminis, in fronte*. Bede, *Explan. Apocal.* II, 14; PL 93, 175C, presumably had this text in mind when he stated: (Augustinus) *characterem notam criminis interpretatur*.

²⁵ Cod. *Theodos.* IX, 40, 2; ed. Th. Mommsen (Berlin, 1905), p. 501. Cf. C. N. Cochrane, *Christianity and Classical Culture* (Oxford, 1944), p. 203. The law, issued on March 21, 315 or 316, permitted a mark to be branded on the hand or the calf of the leg.

²⁶ Cod. *Theodos.* X, 22, 4. The enactment,

issued on December 15, 398, reads: *Stigmata, hoc est nota publica, fabricensium bracchis ad imitationem tironum infligatur, ut hoc modo saltem possint latitantes agnoscendi*.

²⁷ In *Sermo CCCXXVII*, 4, 5; PL 38, 1434. St. Augustine (?) says of St. Stephen: *Dominus ei characterem non in manu sed in fronte posuerat*.

²⁸ F. J. Doelger, *Sphragis*, p. 34.

²⁹ Of Greek origin, the word *character* primarily designates an instrument or tool for marking, then the mark itself. St. Isidore, *Etymologies*, ed. Lindsay XX, xvi, 7, defines it as *ferrum coloratum*. At an early date, *character* became synonymous with a written letter of the alphabet. Thus we read in *Liber apologeticus*, 31; CSEL 18, 26, ascribed to Priscillian (d. 385): *Hebraicæ litteræ charactere. Phoebadius, De Filii divinitate*, 8; PL 20, 47A, speaks of *characteres divinarum scripturarum*. In the same sense, the word is used by Primasius, *In Apocal.* IV, 13, 16; PL 68, 884A. Primasius also witnesses to the fact that *character nominis* was used to designate a combination of letters, called *monogramma*. In this sense, the word was known to Hrabanus Maurus (*De Inventione linguarum*; PL 112, 1582) and other Christian writers. The very fact that *character* came to designate a letter or a combination of letters confirms our assumption that the Augustinian usage does not imply a symbol such as an eagle or the emperor's effigy but a name in abbreviated form.

ation of a name, not a symbol. It was a means of identification and, according to military tradition, was never erased or changed into another *character* when impressed without authority. If the branding was done illegally and discovered, the imprinted name of the *imperator* decided the question to which army group the man belonged. The *character* on sheep also served as a means of identification,²⁰ but it connotes ownership more strongly than military *character*. St. Augustine will occasionally shift the emphasis from identification to ownership according to his design or the type of mark he had in mind, for those identifiable as Christ's soldiers were also owned by Christ, their King and Commander-in-chief.

Examining St. Augustine's works in their historical sequence, this study intends to prove: (1) that the word *character*, as used by St. Augustine, designates not a spiritual imprint on the soul but the trinitarian form or the external sacramental rite; (2) that the Augustinian equivalent of *character* as used in scholastic theology is *sacramentum*, signifying a lasting effect in the recipient of Baptism and Holy Orders. In other words, to express the doctrine that these two sacraments produce a permanent effect which modern theology calls *character*, St. Augustine uses a different terminology, *viz.*, *sacramentum* or less frequently *sanctitas*, *consecratio*, *baptismus* and *ordinatio*.

II.

St. Augustine was 34 years of age when, in 388, he returned to Tagaste, his mind still preoccupied with philosophy as a means of combating Manichaeism and paganism. At the beginning of 391, he became a presbyter and in 396 Bishop of Hippo. At first, the relations between Donatists and Catholics were friendly and quiet, united as they were in a common front against the Manichees. About the year 392, however, the Donatists became alarmed by a letter of St. Augustine to Maximinus, Donatist bishop of Sinitum near Hippo, who had rebaptized a Catholic apostate, a deacon of Mutugenna. Stunned at what seemed to be only a rumour, St. Augustine tried in vain to contact Maximinus and finally journeyed to Mutugenna where the deacon's parents revealed the whole story. Overcome with grief, St. Augustine wrote to Maximinus and argued: *Rebaptizare igitur haereticum hominem qui haec sanctitatis signa perceperit quae christiana tradidit ecclesia, omnino peccatum est. Rebaptizare autem catholicum immanissimum scelus est.*¹ He cannot bring himself to believe the story and pleads: Kindly write whether you did rebaptize him.² Why do you not come forth saying: *Ego unum baptismum novi Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti nomine consecratum atque signatum.* Alluding to the Pauline *unum baptisma* (Eph. iv. 5), St. Augustine means that he knows indeed but one Baptism, namely the Baptism consecrated and marked with the name of the Blessed Trinity. He cannot destroy the *forma* given by Our Lord: *Hanc formam ibi invenio: necesse est ut approbem.* *Non destruo quod dominicum agnosco.* *Non exsufflo vexillum Regis mei.* Wherever he finds that the trinitarian form was used, he must approve it. He will not undo what the Lord ordered to be done in Baptism. He will not deflate that *vexillum* of his King. Circumcision, St. Augustine goes on to say, is the *seal of the justice of faith* (Rom. iv, 11) and was replaced, not condemned, by a more fitting *signaculum*. Supposing a Samaritan joined the Jews, he would not be circumcised again, for there is no place to repeat it. Much less is there a place found in the heart, where the Baptism of Christ may be

²⁰ This mark consisted either in a number or in one or more letters. Cf. Vergil, *Georg.* III, 263: *Aut pecori signum aut numeros impressit.* St. Augustine, as we shall see,

speaks of oves . . . signatas nomine.

¹ Ep. XXIII, 2; CSEL 34, 1, 65.

² Ep. XXIII, 3; *ibid.*, p. 66.

³ Ep. XXIII, 4; *ibid.*, p. 67.

repeated. Hence if you wish to duplicate Baptism, you must necessarily duplicate the heart.⁴

Thus the battle was joined and St. Augustine rallied his flock through his *Psalmus contra partem Donati*.⁵ He made the Catholics sing or recite:

Ideo non rebaptizamus, quod unum *signum* est in fide,
Non quia vos sanctos videmus, sed solam *formam* tenere,
Quia ipsam *formam* habet sacramentum quod praecisum est de vite.⁶

The following years were devoted to a thorough study of Donatism and, about the year 400, he issued his first extensive anti-Donatist work, entitled *Contra Epistolam Parmeniani libri tres*. Parmenianus, whose letter dates back to 387, had launched a vehement attack on certain doctrines of his fellow Donatist, Tychonius. With great skill, St. Augustine sides with Tychonius and exposes the inconsistencies of Parmenianus' own doctrines and actions. The principal Donatist arguments were basically those of St. Cyprian who had been warned by Rome that the effect of Baptism is based on "the majesty of the Name."⁷ Following the order of St. Augustine's work, we may first note a reference to the power of the invocation of God's Name: *Sacrificia ergo impiorum eis ipsis oberunt qui offerunt impie, nam unum atque idem sacrificium propter nomen Dei quod ibi invocatur et semper est sanctum, tale cuique fit, quali corde ad accipiendo accesserit.*⁸ The sacrifice of the wicked is always holy "because of God's Name" invoked in it. In Baptism, human sinfulness can be disregarded even more, for *it is Christ who baptizes*, not the ministers who are dead through their wickedness.⁹ If the Donatist doctrine that God baptizes in place of an unworthy minister were true, would it not be better to be baptized by a sinful minister? Certainly not, but it is always Christ who baptizes.¹⁰

After disposing of a great many Scriptural objections, St. Augustine examines a sentence in Parmenianus' letter that brings us closer to the object of our study. Parmenianus had made the concession: *Baptismum quidem non amittit qui recedit ab ecclesia, sed jus dandi tamen amittit.*¹¹

There are, St. Augustine replies, many reasons why such a statement is false. First of all, no proof has ever been advanced that he who cannot lose his Baptism can lose the right to administer it, for each of them is a *sacramentum*: *Utrumque enim sacramentum est et quadam consecratione utrumque homini datur: illud cum baptizatur, illud cum ordinatur. Ideoque in catholica utrumque non licet iterari.*¹² In other words, *Baptism* is not lost precisely because it is a *sacramentum* and, therefore, must not be reiterated in the Catholic Church. By Baptism, St. Augustine does not mean here the external matter and form, but something lasting beyond the performance of the rites. It endures because the *sacramentum* or consecration remains. The right to baptize is given through Ordination and cannot be lost for the same reason. Hence those who return from heresy are not ordained again, as their Ordination remains as untouched as their Baptism. Whether conferred within or without the Catholic communion, the *sacra menta* remain the same.¹³ Even if the Church should consider it more expedient not to allow converts ordained in heresy to exercise their office, the *sacra menta* are not taken away but remain "over them" (*manent super eos*).¹⁴

⁴Ibid.; p. 69. The comparison is borrowed from Optatus, *Lib. septem* V, 1; CSEL 26, 120. See also Augustine, *Quaest. in Heptat. VI*, 6; CSEL 28, 3, 422.

⁵Date: 393.

⁶CSEL 51, 12.

⁷Cf. *Epp. LXXIV*, 5 and *LXXV*, 8; CSEL 3, 2, 803. and 822.

⁸Contra *Epistolam Parmeniani* II, 6, 11; CSEL 51, 56.

⁹Ibid. II, 11, 22; p. 71.

¹⁰Ibid. II, 11, 23; p. 73.

¹¹Ibid. II, 13, 28; p. 79.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Ibid.: *Sicut baptismus in eis, ita ordinatio mansit integra, quia in praecisione fuerit vitium . . . non in sacramentis quae, ubicunque sunt, ipsa sunt.*

¹⁴Ibid.: *Non eis tamen ipsa ordinationis sacramenta detrahuntur sed manent super eos.* Cf. *De Baptismo* III, 14, 19; CSEL 51, 210: *Illa sanctitas sacramenti verbis evangelicis consecrata super eum integra permanebat.*

and there must be no imposition of hands so that injury or injustice to the *sacramentum* be avoided: *Ideoque non eis in populo manus imponitur, ne non homini sed ipsi sacramento flat injuria.*¹⁵

St. Augustine then goes on to show that not only the ordained but also laymen may baptize although, save in case of necessity, such Baptism is illicit.¹⁶ To illustrate that an action may be at once unlawful and valid, he makes this comparison: *Neque ulla modo per devotum militem quod a privatis usurpatum est signum regale violabitur.* He means to say that a good soldier will not violate the "royal mark" imprinted by civilians or people without military authority. Then he continues:

*Si enim aliqui furtim et extraordinarie non in monetis publicis aurum vel argentum vel aes percutiendo signaverint, cum fuerit deprehensum, nonne illis punitis aut indulgentia liberatis cognitum regale signum thesauris regibus congeretur?*¹⁷

Money should be coined in official public mints. Supposing some forgers struck money and were caught, punished, or granted forgiveness, would the money that bears the royal *signum* or stamp not be placed in the royal treasury?

That these are only illustrations is obvious and generally admitted. More important is the following comparison:

*Aut si quisque sive desertor sive qui numquam omnino militaverit, nota militari privatum aliquem signet, nonne ubi fuerit deprehensus ille signatus pro desertore punitur . . . simul secum punito, si eum prodiderit, audacissimo signatore? At si forte illum militiae characterem in corpore non militans pavidus exhorruerit et ad clementiam imperatoris confugerit ac prece fusa et impetrata venia militare jam cooperit, numquid homine liberato atque correcto character ille repetitur ac non potius agnitus approbatur?*¹⁸

So far St. Augustine has only spoken of military, not sacramental, *character*. Returning to his original argument which, as we have seen, pivots on *sacramentum*, he poses the following question: *An forte minus haerent sacramenta christiana quam corporalis haec nota, cum videamus nec apostatas carere baptismate, quibus utique per paenitentiam redeuntibus non restituitur et ideo amitti non potuisse judicatur?*¹⁹ The previous examples served to illustrate that the Christian *sacramenta* adhere at least as closely to the recipient as that bodily *mark* does to the soldier. St. Augustine states again that *Baptism* cannot be lost, while we would say that its *character* cannot be lost. To avoid any misinterpretation, he insists and cautions that he uses *character* as comparison, (*similitudo*), although he does not specify the exact point of comparison. To justify himself he asks his opponent: did not St. Paul speak of the Christian as *militans Deo*?²⁰

The salient point of the discussion is *sacramentum* and the Bishop challenges the Donatists to explain how it can be lost: *Ipsi explicent, quomodo sacramentum baptizati non possit amitti et sacramentum ordinati possit amitti.*²¹ So he comes back to the same fundamental reason: if both Baptism and Holy Orders are classed as *sacramentum*, which nobody doubts, how is one *sacramentum* not lost and the other lost? *Si enim utrumque sacramentum est, quod nemo dubitat, cur illud non amittitur et illud amittitur? Neutri sacramento injuria facienda est.*²² St. Augustine's primary object is to refute the repetition of Holy Orders. The premise that the *sacramentum* of Baptism is not lost by apostasy had been

¹⁵ *Contra Epistolam Parmeniani* II, 13, 28; non fuit, cum Apostolus de agonisticis certaminibus ducat et aperte clamat: *Nemo militans Deo*.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* II, 13, 29; p. 80.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*; p. 80.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*; pp. 80-81.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*; p. 81.

²⁰ *Ibid.*: *An ducenda de militia similitudo*

²¹ *Contra Epistolam Parmeniani* II, 13, 30;

CSEL 51, 81.

²² *Ibid.*; p. 81.

admitted by Parmenianus. Since ordination is likewise a *sacramentum*, it must be treated in the same fashion. But what is to be done if the *sacramentum* was received outside the Catholic communion? It must not be repeated.²⁵ And why not? Because the sanctity of the sacraments is above the minister's wickedness. The Name of God cannot be defiled.²⁶

Faithful to his promise,²⁷ the tireless Bishop soon published a more elaborate treatise: *De Baptismo libri VII.* First he sums up the previous work, discusses some questions relative to Donatism and then submits the doctrine of St. Cyprian to a thorough analysis. The main argument again hinges on *sacramentum*. The apostate does not lose the *sacramentum* of Baptism nor if he be ordained does he lose the *sacramentum* which gives him the right to baptize:

*Sacramentum enim baptismi est quod habet qui baptizatur, et sacramentum dandi baptismi est quod habet qui ordinatur. Sicut autem baptizatus, si ab unitate recesserit, sacramentum baptismi non amittit, sic etiam ordinatus, si ab unitate recesserit, sacramentum dandi baptismi non amittit: Nulli enim sacramento injuria facienda est.*²⁸

Again he clarifies his thought on lay Baptism and declares that he is willing even to concede that we may truly call Catholic a person who is baptized outside the Church in case of emergency and who dies before actually joining the Catholic communion as desired.²⁹ But otherwise Baptism does not exist lawfully outside the Church. To understand this, the Donatists should look at the illustration (*similitudo*) from military practice:

Intueantur etiam similitudinem *notae militaris*, quia extra militiam a desertoribus et haberi et accipi potest, sed tamen extra militiam nec habenda nec accipienda est et reducto vel perduto ad militiam nec mutanda nec iteranda est.³⁰

As the context shows, St. Augustine intended to exemplify valid but unlawful Baptism by comparing it to the *nota militaris* which is recognized under any circumstances in deserters and in those marked unlawfully by civilians.

After dealing at great length with the doctrine of St. Cyprian, St. Augustine raises the question: is it possible to give a solid reason for the general tradition of accepting heretical Baptism? Yes! Baptism is not the work of man, but of Christ and for that reason must not be repeated.³¹ The recipient's orthodoxy of faith is immaterial as far as the question of the *sacramentum* is concerned: *Fieri enim potest ut homo integrum habeat sacramentum et perversam fidem.*³² All that truly matters is the use of the *verba evangelica*, i.e., the trinitarian form.³³ If so administered by Marcion, Valentinus, Arius, Eunomius, or unworthy ministers of the Church, the sacraments are the same everywhere.³⁴ But since the Holy Spirit is not found outside the Church, an imposition of hands is required for converts.³⁵ Is Baptism separable from the Church? Most certainly, St. Augustine replies, for it is Christ who baptizes and He has given this power to no one else.³⁶ It was

²⁵ *Ibid.*; p. 82.

²⁶ *Ibid.*; p. 83. *Sanctitas* corresponds to *consecratio*, previously mentioned (II, 13, 28; p. 79). God, not the minister, bestows this holiness: *Nemo ergo accipit sine dante. Sed quod pertinet ad baptismi sanctitatem, adest Deus qui dat et homo qui accipiat* (II, 15, 34; p. 88). Hence even heretical Baptism confers it and the *sacramentum* is not affected: *Et ideo nullo modo esset illius sacramenti violanda sanctitas* (II, 16, 35; p. 88). See also *De Baptismo* III, 10, 15; CSEL 51, 205: *Ejus sanctitas pollui non potest.*

²⁷ *Contra Ep. Parmeniani* II, 14, 32; p. 86.

²⁸ *De Baptismo* I, 1, 2; CSEL 51, 146.

²⁹ *Ibid.* I, 2, 3; p. 147.

³⁰ *Ibid.* I, 4, 5; p. 150.

³¹ *Ibid.* III, 11, 16; p. 206.

³² *De Baptismo* III, 14, 19; p. 208.

³³ *Ibid.* III, 15, 20; p. 211.

³⁴ *Ibid.:* *Sacramenta tamen, si eadem sunt, ubique sunt integra, etiamsi prave intelliguntur et discordiose tractantur.*

³⁵ *De Baptismo* III, 16, 21; p. 212. He changed his view previously expressed in *Contra Ep. Parm.* II, 13, 28; CSEL 51, 79.

³⁶ *De Baptismo* V, 20, 28; p. 285.

precisely St. Cyprian's error to believe that Church, Spirit, and Baptism are an inseparable unit.³⁵

At the beginning of the sixth book, St. Augustine strikes at the root of the Cyprianic error: St. Cyprian failed to distinguish between *sacramentum* and *effectus* or *usus*.³⁶ Just because the *effectus*, i.e., the remission of sins, was not found among heretics, the *sacramentum* itself was also thought to be wanting among them. But the original custom, afterwards confirmed by the authority of a general council, led the *shepherds* to the conclusion that even the wicked both have and give and receive the *sacramentum* of Baptism.

so that even the sheep which was straying outside and had received the mark (*character*) of the Lord from false plunderers outside, if it seek the salvation of Christian unity, is purified from error, is freed from captivity, is healed of its wounds, and yet the mark (*character*) of the Lord is recognized rather than rejected in it. The mark (*character*) is often impressed by wolves and on wolves, who seem indeed within the fold, but yet are proved not to belong to that sheep which is one in many.³⁷

In the first part of this work, as we have seen, St. Augustine had used the *similitudo* of military *character* without however, determining the precise point of comparison or analogy. He now chooses his illustration from pastoral life but does not tell us again that it is a *similitudo*. The metaphor of sheep and shepherd naturally calls for *character* as the mark impressed on sheep. His theological or technical distinction is still between *sacramentum* and *effectus*, while today we should say that, according to St. Augustine, St. Cyprian confused *character* with grace.³⁸

Despite his prodigious literary activities in other matters of the faith, St. Augustine soon³⁹ published another work entitled *Contra litteras Petilianae*.⁴⁰ Petilianus, a Donatist bishop, had made lavish use of Scriptural texts but in St. Augustine he met more than his equal. After a detailed exegesis of *John xiii, 10*, Petilianus states: *Semel est quod habet auctorem: semel est quod Veritas firmat*.⁴¹ To this we can easily anticipate St. Augustine's reply: *Baptismus in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti Christum habet auctorem, non quemlibet hominem. Et Christus est Veritas, non quilibet homo*.⁴² Sacramental efficacy, he continues, does not depend on personal merits but on the "invocation". At all times, the sanctity of *Christ's name* was of the greatest efficacy, even beyond the communion of the Church. In like manner, the sanctity of the *sacramentum* is also efficacious outside the communion of the Church.⁴³ If the invocation of *Christ's name* is so powerful, who would be so utterly insane as to deny this power to the invocation of the Trinity?⁴⁴ For that reason we accept Baptism as holy wherever it is given and do not destroy the Commander's *character*: *Nisi quod vestrum est destruimus. Destruimus enim perfidiam desertoris, non destruimus characterem Imperatoris*.⁴⁵ In this statement, St.

³⁵ *Ibid.* V, 23, 33; p. 290.

³⁶ *De Baptismo* VI, 1, 1, p. 297.

³⁷ *Ibid.*; p. 298: *Satis eluxit pastoribus ecclesiae . . . etiam ovm quae foris errabat et dominicum characterem a fallacibus depraedatoribus suis foris acceperat . . . corrigi . . . characterem tamen in ea dominicum agnoscit potius quam improbari, quandoquidem ipsum characterem multi et lupi et lupis infiunt.*

³⁸ *Effectus*, as used by St. Augustine and many post-Augustinian writers, signifies Baptismal remission of sins and is distinct from the sacramental consecration and sanctitas, though they all result from the power (*vis*) of the sacrament.

³⁹ Approximate date: 401-405.

⁴⁰ Petilianus, bishop of Cirta, circulated his letter in 399-400.

⁴¹ *Contra litteras Petilianae* II, 24, 56; CSEL

52, 55.

⁴² *Ibid.* II, 24, 57; p. 56.

⁴³ *Ibid.* II, 80, 178; p. 110.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* The argument is typically Roman, based on the sanctity of the Name: *Caritatem non habent et unitatem non tenent . . . inest tamen sanctitas nominis Christi . . . recte ergo ipsi nominis non facimus injuriam* (II, 81, 180; p. 111). He accuses the Donatists: *Sacramentum nominis Christi, quod in eis sanctum est, exsufflatis* (*ibid.*).

⁴⁵ *Contra litt. Petilianae* II, 108, 147; p. 160.

Augustine establishes a relationship between the invocation of the Trinity and the *character* of the Commander-in-chief. Some ten years earlier, he had written to Maximinus that he would not destroy the *forma*. Now, after discussing the power of the trinitarian invocation, he observes that he would not destroy his Commander's *character*. It remains to be shown that the *character* he refuses to destroy is not a spiritual imprint but the trinitarian form of Baptism or, in the case of Holy Orders, the invocation of the Holy Trinity.

In 401, before the completion of his work against Petilianus, St. Augustine composed his *Epistula ad Catholicos*⁴⁶ which contributes little to the clarification of the present problem. However, he observes that, recognizing heretical Baptism as one and the same with their own, the Catholics refuse to do injustice to the *sacramentum* received in heresy: *Nec . . . sacramento quod habent (haeretici) ulla injuria facienda est.*⁴⁷

Some two or three years after the refutation of Petilianus, he published a reply to Cresconius (406-407) who had taken up the defence of Petilianus.⁴⁸ A *grammaticus* by profession, Cresconius cited Scripture rather freely. St. Augustine reminds him gently that it is not quite accurate to quote *Eph. iv, 5: Unus Deus, una fides, unum baptisma, una incorrupta et vera ecclesia catholica.*⁴⁹ Besides, the very same text proves the falsity of the Donatist doctrine for as the *one God* and the *one faith* is also found outside the Church, the same must be true of Baptism.⁵⁰ To illustrate this, St. Augustine draws on both military *character* and the mark (*signum*) branded on sheep:

Neque enim propterea mutandus vel improbandus est regius *character* in homine si erroris sui veniam et militandi ordinem a rege impetraverit, quia eundem *characterem*, quo sibi satellites congregaret, desertor infixit, aut propterea signa mutanda sunt ovibus, cum dominico gregi sociantur, quia eis dominicum *signum fugitivus impressit?*⁵¹

St. Augustine now remarks that the Donatists were not at all pleased with this sort of illustration, since they were not what they called *ecclesiastica exempla*.⁵² He simply refers them to the words sheep and soldier, used in a similar manner by the Prophets.⁵³ He suggests that one could also choose circumcision as an example saying that if, for instance, a Samaritan wished to become a Jew, could he be circumcised again? No, but his previous *signaculum fidei* would be recognized. Circumcision only foreshadowed the truth that Baptism cannot be reiterated.⁵⁴

Undisturbed by Donatist criticism of his terminology, St. Augustine continues using the word *character* to exemplify his doctrine by comparing Baptism received in heresy to the *character* of deserters: *Ne ipso schismatis sacrilegio perirent, ne baptismum Christi non ad praemium sed ad judicium, non ad salutem sed ad perniciem, sicut est militiae character in desertoribus, haberent, praestitimus pacem, praestitimus unitatem.*⁵⁵ Again, he does not compare a spiritual mark to a bodily military *character* but compares *Baptism* received in heresy to the military mark in deserters.

When St. Augustine wrote this work against Cresconius, the Emperor

⁴⁶ It is occasionally called: *De Unitate ecclesiae*.

⁴⁷ *Ep. ad Catholicos* 21, 60; CSEL 52, 308.

⁴⁸ *Contra Cresconium grammaticum et Donatistam libri IV*; CSEL 52, 325 ff.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* I, 28, 33; p. 332.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* I, p. 353.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* I, 30, 35; p. 355.

⁵² *Contra Cresconium* I, 31, 36; p. 355.

⁵³ *Ibid.*: Quod si haec (i.e. the expressions *character* and *signum*) tamquam decipientia

formidatis, quia non sunt ecclesiastica exempla, quamquam de ovibus et de militibus in scripturis similitudines noveritis, propheticarum scripturarum quae dicuntur Veteris Testamenti volo aliquid dicere, quoniam in Novi Testimenti nec a nobis nec a vobis rei hujus invenitur exemplum.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* I, 31, 36; p. 355. Cf. *Sermo CCCLI*, 5, 12; PL 38, 1548 and *De Nuptiis et concup. II*, 11, 24; CSEL 42, 276.

⁵⁵ *Contra Cresconium* IV, 5, 6; p. 505.

Honorius had already legislated against the Donatists⁵⁸ and conditions had become more peaceful. His later anti-Donatist works are therefore less extensive. About the year 410, he sent a brief treatise to his friend Constantinus from whom he had received a letter circulated by the Donatists. The general emphasis is on Baptism as consecrational operation of Christ and on *sacramentum* which no man may violate: *Christi enim est unica hominis in baptismate consecratio. Tua est autem unici baptismi iteratio. Justum est ut etiam in sacrilego non violem quod verum invenio sacramentum.*⁵⁹ Both the name of Jesus Christ and His Baptism must be treated with equal reverence⁶⁰ and, as St. Augustine continues, it is diabolical to rebaptize Catholics.⁶¹

Considerably later, in 418, St. Augustine delivered a sermon in the presence of Emeritus, a learned Donatist bishop, which conveys the most adequate idea of the meaning of the word *character* in connection with Baptism and Holy Orders.⁶² So far, he had occasionally pointed out that he used *character* as a *similitudo* of some kind and he continued to adopt it despite criticism of the unscriptural nature of the expression. The precise point of comparison or likeness was still vague, however, though there was evidence of a link between the trinitarian form of Baptism and his use of the word *character*. That this is indeed the precise point of analogy is clearly stated in the public address to Emeritus in which he reminds the Donatist dignitary: *Baptismus non est ipsorum sed Christi. Invocatio nominis Dei super caput ipsorum, quando ordinantur episcopi, invocatio illa Dei est, non Donati.*⁶³ He declares that in both Baptism and Ordination the name of God, not that of Donatus, had been invoked by the Donatists. Illustrating this in his familiar fashion, St. Augustine continues:

In errante et deserente milite crimen est desertoris, *character* autem non est desertoris sed imperatoris . . . Caeteri a desertoribus *signati* sunt, non tamen signo desertoris sed signo imperatoris. Non enim desertor *characterem* suum fixit.⁶⁴

Applied to Donatism, this means that the Donatists did not baptize or ordain in the name of Donatus. And to remove all doubt concerning his terminology, St. Augustine goes on to say: *Quid est quod dico: 'desertor characterem suum non fixit? Donatus non baptizavit in nomine Donati. Nam si Donatus, quando schisma fecit, in nomine Donati baptizaret, desertoris characterem infigeret.'*⁶⁵ In other words, *desertoris characterem infigere* means to baptize in the name of the deserter, i.e., Donatus. Accordingly, *Imperatoris characterem infigere* means to baptize in the name of or, rather in the name prescribed by, the Commander-in-chief, i.e., in the name of the Trinity. It is quite obvious that St. Augustine is speaking of the Baptismal form which would be the *character* of Donatus if it were changed to *in nomine Donati*. By changing the form in this manner, Donatus would "imprint his own *character*." If he met a person baptized in the name of Donatus, St. Augustine threatens, he would ruthlessly exterminate and destroy the deserter's *character*.⁶⁶

This elucidates previous statements in which he declared: *Non destruimus characterem Imperatoris* or *Non destruo formam*, because the correlative to the

⁵⁸ On February 12, 405. *Cod. Theodos.* XVI, 6, 5; ed. Mommsen, p. 882.

⁵⁹ *De Unico Baptismo*, 2, 3; CSEL 53, 4.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* 8, 13; p. 15: *Sicut illud nomen est Iesu Christi, ita et iste baptismus Jesu Christi et utrumque agnoscendum et approbandum . . . ne tantis donis Dei fiat injuria.* Cf. *ibid.*, 10, 17; p. 17.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 23, 22; p. 23.

⁶² The *Breviculus collationis cum Donatistis* and the work *Contra partem Donati*

post gesta yield no information on our problem.

⁶³ *Sermo ad Caesariensis ecclesiae plebem*, 2; CSEL 53, 169.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*; p. 169.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*: *Ego, quando vocarem ad unitatem, si invenirem desertoris characterem, exterminarem, delerem, abicerem, non approbarem, respuerem, anathemarem, damnarem.*

deserter's character is *character regius, dominicus, or Imperatoris*. Donatus, the deserter, as St. Augustine relates, baptized in the traditional manner commanded by Our Lord. Thus, instead of imprinting his own name, he impressed the name or *character* of his Commander-in-chief. And our God and Lord Jesus Christ will not erase His own *character*: *Nunc vero ipse desertor characterem fixit Imperatoris sui. Deus et Dominus noster Jesus Christus quaerit desertorem, delet erroris crimen, sed non exterminat suum characterem.*⁶⁵ Since, by *suum characterem*, St. Augustine means the trinitarian invocation, he warns that we must carefully probe the faithful observance (*fides*) of the words: In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, "for this is the *character* of my Commander-in-chief": *Iste est character Imperatoris mei.*⁶⁶ This character He ordered His soldiers or rather His companions to imprint upon all those whom they would gather in His camp, saying: *Go, baptize in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.*⁶⁷ St. Augustine then cites St. Paul's reproachful question: *Were you baptized in the name of Paul?*⁶⁸ And explaining the text he has St. Paul say: Pay attention to the mark you have received. *Adverte characterem vestrum. Numquid in nomine Pauli baptizati estis?*⁶⁹ They received the name of the Trinity, not that of St. Paul, as their character and for that reason belong to God: *Dei est quod habet nomen Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti. Baptismus Trinitatis Dei est.*⁷⁰

We can see now the full meaning and appropriateness of the word *character* as used by St. Augustine. The completion of the analogy or comparison is to be found in the name. In the case of the soldier or deserter, it is the *signum, character* or *nota* of the commander-in-chief; in the case of Donatus or St. Paul, it would be the name or *character* of Donatus or St. Paul if they imprinted their own names on their followers, i.e., if they baptized in their own names; in the case of Christian Baptism it is the name of the Holy Trinity prescribed by the Commander-in-chief, Jesus Christ. Later on, St. Augustine briefly alludes to the mark (*signum*) branded on sheep. Turning to Emeritus, he pleads: *Diligentius te quaeram. Ovis es enim de grege Domini mei. Cum signo errasti. Ideo quaero magis, quia ipsum signum habes.*⁷¹ The succeeding comparison confirms the fact that St. Augustine uses *signum* and *character* interchangeably, as we have noted on previous occasions: *Nescis quia desertor de charactere damnatur de quo militans honoratur? Ideo te quaero ut non pereas cum signo.*⁷² He then refuses to seek the deserter's salvation by doing injustice to his Commander-in-chief through re-Baptism.⁷³

The Donatist controversy was now drawing to a close⁷⁴ and the heresy of Pelagius had begun to loom larger on the horizon. As a result, sacramental questions were deeply overshadowed by the problems of Pelagianism. In reviewing St. Augustine's teaching relative to our present matter, we can clearly trace one line of thought back to his first utterance where, with regard to the Baptismal form, the assertion is made: *Non destruo. The study of his anti-Donatist works reveals that he introduced the word *character* as a *similitudo*,*

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*; p. 170.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*: Attendo fidem in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti: *Iste est character imperatoris mei.* In this sentence, the word *fides* does not mean faith but fidelity or faithful adherence to the trinitarian form of Baptism.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*; p. 170: De isto charactere (i.e. the trinitarian form) militibus suis vel potius comitibus suis, ut hunc imprimerent eis quos congregabant castris ejus, praecepit dicens: *Ite, baptizate.*

⁶⁸ *I Cor. i, 13.*

⁶⁹ *Sermo ad Caes.*, p. 170.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*; p. 170.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*; p. 172.

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ *Ibid.*; p. 173: *Absit, ut cum quaero salutem desertoris faciam injuriam imperatori. Ergo probasti mihi quod habeas sacramentum. Exponendo sacramentum probasti mihi tamen habere fidem.* The expression *exponere sacramentum* means to explain the sacramental form. If it proves to be trinitarian, the "faith" has been observed.

⁷⁴ In 420, St. Augustine wrote two books *Contra Gaudentium* in which we find the passage: *Nec in desertore violamus characterem regium (ibid. I, 12, 13; CSEL 53, 207).*

principally to illustrate that Baptism is inviolable and must be recognized even if given unlawfully, provided the trinitarian form be used as prescribed by Christ. Baptism is inviolable not only because its lasting consecration was conferred by Christ, but also because the trinitarian form, the *character* prescribed by Christ as Commander-in-chief, is inviolable. Resisting Donatist suggestions to drop what they called a "deceptive" term, he justified its use and, in 418, as far as we can judge from his extant works, elaborated its full meaning with unprecedented clarity.

Since, as used by St. Augustine, *character* or *signum* conveys the idea of one or more letters designating the army leader's name branded on the body to testify to the enlistment of a recruit, the word is applicable by analogy (*similitudo*) to another name, *signum* or *character*, the name of the Trinity which, to use Augustinian terminology, the Apostles were ordered to "imprint" (*imprimere*) on all those whom they would enrol in the army of Christ. As in the case of military branding, this may be done lawfully in the Church or unlawfully by those who deserted from the Church. But once it has been *imprinted*, the name is inviolable in the tradition of both the army and the Church. It is not exactly Christ's own name, yet it is His *character* because He chose the name of the Trinity and no other name as mark of enlistment in His army. *Character Imperatoris*, consequently, means the *character* or name that Christ as Commander-in-chief has ordained to be *imprinted* upon the army of his followers. Since *infigere* or *imprimere characterem* means to baptize (in the name of), the entire external rite of Baptism or Baptism itself may take on the aspect of *character*, serving as mark of identification for those properly and validly baptized and the non-baptized, i.e., for trinitarian and non-trinitarian Baptism. It is in this sense that St. Augustine occasionally speaks of *Baptism* being like a *character*.

In a certain sense, military *character* or *signum* also expressed ownership. But this point is brought out more clearly in the comparison with the mark on sheep. Thus applied to Baptism, *character* or *signum* implies that the baptized are owned by Christ, no matter whether the trinitarian name was "imprinted" lawfully or not, inside Christ's army or outside, by Catholics or by heretics. From the moment of Baptism, all are God's property: *Dei est quod habet nomen Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti*.

The document of 418 is obviously no revision of St. Augustine's previous teaching. It is the clarification of an idea which was less distinctly expressed and explained in the beginning. There is no change of mind in this last exposition of his doctrine nor in his terminology which has puzzled and misled so many historians. It is well known that St. Augustine was too conscientious not to note a change of opinion. If it is assumed that, in 418, he exposed his doctrine less lucidly than in earlier years, the conclusion must be made that he actually abandoned his former position regarding *character* as spiritual imprint on the soul. However, he is by no means more obscure nor more confused. On the very contrary, he is more detailed and more explicit. His address to Emeritus is the most decisive refutation of the centuries-old assumption that St. Augustine used the word *character* to designate the lasting and indelible effect of certain sacraments.

III.

Do the letters of St. Augustine confirm this conclusion? We have already discussed his letter to Maximinus. In a letter to Emeritus, dated 405-411, he compares Baptism to the *signa imperatoris* that are found on the deserter.¹

¹ Ep. LXXXVII, 9: CSEL 34, 2, 405.

Writing to Boniface, about the year 409, he explains that the *sacmentum* of Christian Baptism, even if conferred by heretics, is sufficient for the recipient's consecration: *Quae consecratio reum quidem facit haereticum extra Domini gregem habentem dominicum characterem, corrigendum tamen admonet sana doctrina, non iterum similiter consecrandum.*² No further explanation of *character* is given. But the reader will note that the expression *extra Domini gregem* leads St. Augustine to a now familiar point of comparison, the mark branded on sheep. The heretical *sacmentum* is valid and sufficient for the recipient's lasting consecration: his error must be corrected, yet the consecration is not to be repeated.

About the same time, St. Augustine circulated a letter addressed to the Donatists in which he links up *character* with Christ's name as a mark of ownership comparable to the letters branded on sheep to identify their owner:

Vos potius recedite a pleibus pro quibus Christus sanguinem suum fudit, quas ideo vultis vestras facere, ne sint Christi, quamvis eas sub ejus nomine possidere conemini, tamquam si servus furetur oves de grege domini sui et quaecumque ex illis nata fuerint, *characterem* domini sui eis infigat, ne furtum ejus possit agnosciri.³

The comparison is as follows: The Donatists acted like thieves. Their fore-fathers separated the people from the Church of Christ and, possessing themselves the Baptism of Christ, baptized their descendants with His Baptism. They tried to conceal their theft "under His name", i.e., by baptizing as prescribed by Him. But Christ will punish the thieves, will bring the sheep back to the fold, yet He will not erase His *character* in them.⁴

Being a mark of ownership, *character* is a means of identifying the owner. Applied to Baptism, it is a means of ascertaining if true, i.e., trinitarian, Baptism was given. It is in this sense that St. Augustine expresses himself in a letter to Macrobius whom he reminds of the inconsistency in settling their own schism without recourse to re-Baptism, while continuing to rebaptize Catholics. With your own schismatics, he claims, you acted rightly: *Characterem non solum quem ipse (Felicianus) apud vos acceperat, sed etiam quem alii extra vos desertor infixerat, ipso correcto, violare non ausi sunt, quia regium cognoverunt.*⁵ In this text, *character* clearly designates some *imprint* that the Donatists did not dare to violate, but were able to verify and recognize as *royal*. They could not verify a spiritual and invisible mark, but they could examine if the true form had been used. On finding that it had been used, they did not dare to violate that royal mark or *character*.

One year before his sermon at Caesarea, St. Augustine declared in a letter: *in eis dominicus character agnoscitur.* As in so many other instances, the exact meaning is not explained, though the illustrations are the same:

Sic enim corrigenda est ovis, ut non in ea corrumpatur *signaculum* redemptoris. Neque enim, si quisquam regio *charactere* a signato desertore signetur et accipiant indulgentiam . . . *charactere* ille rescinditur. An non potius in ambobus agnoscitur et honore debito, quoniam est regius, approbatur?⁶

In the same letter, he observes without further explanation: *Non faciam injuriam*

² Ep. VIIIC, CSEL 34, 2, 526. This letter was widely known at least as early as the ninth century. But this passage is not cited anywhere until the end of the eleventh century. P. Pourrat, *Theology of the Sacraments*, p. 229 believes that it places *character* in the moral order.

³ Ep. CV, 1; CSEL 34, 2, 595.

⁴ Ibid.: Sed Dominus et fures punit, si non se correxerint, et oves ab errore revocat ad

gregem nec in eis suum exterminat *charactem*. See also Ep. CLXXXIII, 3; CSEL 44, 642: Vos (Donatistae) oves Christi estis. Characterem dominicum portatis in sacramento quod accepistis. Approximate date: 416.

⁵ Ep. CVIII, 2, 4; CSEL 34, 2, 614. Date: 409-410.

⁶ Ep. CLXXXV, 6, 23; CSEL 57, 22.

*characteri imperatoris, cum errorem corrigo desertoris.*⁷ It seems therefore safe to assume that St. Augustine's correspondents and his contemporaries in general understood the meaning of such terminology without comment.

The least we can say is that St. Augustine's letters do not contradict the evidence derived from the works previously studied and, if a comment is needed, it must be made in the light of his public address to Emeritus at Caesarea, his latest and most explicit exposition.

It is to be expected that St. Augustine uses similar expressions in his sermons and in his commentaries on the Psalms, though the difficulty of dating them accurately impairs to a certain degree their demonstrative value. In his *Enarr. in Ps. xxi*, 31, he develops a thought that occurred in his sermon delivered at Caesarea. He compares the Christian's body to a house inhabited by a soul. An inscription on the house tells us that the owner is Christ, our King and Commander-in-chief. From St. Augustine's address to Emeritus we know that the inscription (*titulus*) reads: "Baptism (received) in the name of the Father, and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit."⁸ Cannot the owner of the house, seeing his *titulus* or his name written on it, rightly claim his ownership and say to the tenant: *Non poneret titulos meos, nisi res mea esset. Titulos meos posuit. Mea res est. Ubi nomen meum invenio, meum est.*⁹ Christ finds His name written on the house, the body, not on the tenant, the soul. Will he change the inscription? No, it will remain, but the tenant's life is to be changed. So it is with Christ's Baptism given outside the Church: *Non mutamus titulos aut delemus titulos, sed agnoscimus titulos Regis nostri, titulos Imperatoris nostri.*¹⁰ If we substitute character for *titulus*, we recognize the familiar terminology: *character Regis, character Imperatoris* which he previously described as *nomen meum*, i.e., the trinitarian form of Baptism prescribed by Christ.

A comparison with the military mark occurs in *Enarr. in Ps. xxxix*, 1. Speaking of the baptized heretic, St. Augustine exclaims: *Quod enim habet, habet. Baptismus ille tamquam character infixus est: ornabat militem, convincit desertorem.*¹¹ Baptism is imprinted or conferred like a character, i.e., by "imprinting" a name: a true decoration on a soldier, legitimately marked, viz., a Catholic; a sign of treason on a deserter, an apostate or heretic.

St. Augustine's sermons lead to the same conclusion. To give examples: *Quid facit Christus quando tales convertuntur, qui foris titulum ejus baptismatis acceperunt? Ejicit praedatorem, titulum non deponit . . . Quid opus est, ut mutet nomen suum.*¹² Again we find that *titulus* is His name and we know now that it designates the trinitarian form of Baptism. St. Augustine claims that there is no need for Christ to change His name.

A link between character and the sign of Christ's name is established in the following passage in which reference is made to *I Cor. i*, 13, as in the sermon of Caesarea. St. Augustine pleads: *Pasce, serve bone, oves dominicas, habentes dominicum characterem . . . Ergo pasce oves ejus ablutas baptismo ejus, signatas nomine ejus.*¹³ We may repeat that *character dominicus*, applied to sheep, leads St. Augustine's thought to Christ's name with which His sheep are marked or signed (*signatas*). This mark can be verified by others and, for that reason, the Saint tells the Donatists to check and read the letters, the *character*. Hence, after

⁷ *Ibid.*; p. 37.

⁸ *Sermo ad Caes.*, CSEL 53, 172; In domo illa, id est in te (Emeritus), discordia habitabat et in limine titulos pacis figebat. Agnosco titulos, sed quaero habitantem. Lego titulum pacis: "Baptismus in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti." Titulus pacis est, lego. Quis habet, quaero. Fratrem meum attendo, titulum pacis agnosco. I ipsum et ego habeo. Intrare volo.

⁹ *Enarr. in Ps. xxi*, 31; PL 36, 181.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Enarr. in Ps. xxxix*, 1; PL 33, 432.

¹² *Sermo CXXXVI*, 2, 2; PL 38, 797. Approximate date: 405-411, according to A. W. Kunzelmann, *Die zeitl. Festlegung der Sermones des Hl. Augustinus* (Würzburg, 1928), p. 22.

¹³ *Sermo CCVC*, 5, 5; PL 38, 1350.

quoting *I Cor.* i, 13, he turns to them, saying: *Nescitis cujus oves estis? Characterem legite in quo signati estis.*¹⁴ He points out again that, like thieves, heretics attempt to deceive by using the same Baptismal form as the true followers of Christ and by considering their adherents as their own property. In truth they are but God's property.¹⁵

We have noted above that character may also designate the sign of the Cross. This may be gathered from the following texts: *Ab isto signo, ab isto charactere, quem accipit christianus, etiam cum sit catechumenus, hinc intelligitur quare simus christiani,*¹⁶ and again: *Nomen Christo dedimus et frontem tanto signo subiecimus: Christianus es. In fronte portas crucem Christi. Character tuus docet quid profitearis.*¹⁷ This sign of the Cross or character appears not only on the forehead but also in the Christian's heart.¹⁸ Despite the verbal resemblance or rather identity, however, it should not be confused with military character or signum.

Interpreting *Gal.* iii, 27, in a sermon addressed to the newly baptized, St. Augustine declares: *Sed sunt quidam, qui Christum solo sacramento induerunt . . . Nam et multi haeretici habent ipsum sacramentum baptismatis.*¹⁹ He tells his audience that heretics have the sacramentum, but, having been marked by deserters, they wear the sign of the good King in damnabili carne.²⁰ The context shows that he is not speaking of the sign of the Cross but of some other signum which is found on the damnable flesh. As far as the sacramentum is concerned, he adds, it does not matter where it was received, provided it is Christ's Baptism. Grace, however, may be lost even if received within the Church: *Nam et baptizatus in ecclesia, si fuerit desertor ecclesiae, sanctitate vitae carebit, sacramenti signaculo non carebit.*²¹ If we recall that the military signum or character was also called signaculum, the argument and its terminology becomes more familiar. However, in the succeeding comparison, St. Augustine returns to his more common terminology which shows that carere signaculo corresponds to carere charactere and that both have the same meaning: *Sicut desertor militiae caret legitima societate, non caret regio charactere.*²²

Addressing catechumens in a sermon on the Symbol, he expresses himself in a similar manner:

Sed haereticis baptismum non mutamus. Quare? Quia sic habent baptismum quomodo desertor habet characterem, ita et isti habent baptismum. Si desertor ipse correctus incipiat militare, numquid audet quisquam ei characterem mutare?²³

The sentence *baptismum non mutamus* may remind us of *non mutamus titulos* or of St. Augustine's question: *Quid opus est, ut (Christus) mutet nomen suum?* Expressions such as *mutare baptismum, titulum, nomen, characterem*, all refer to the Baptismal form or external rite which he refuses to change, undo or destroy by re-Baptism.

¹⁴ *Sermo XVII*, 3; ed. G. Morin, *Miscell. Agost.* I (Rome, 1930), p. 497. Cf. *Enarr. in Ps.* xxx, *sermo III*, 3; PL 36, 247: *Omnis UNO charactere signatur.*

¹⁵ *Sermo CCVC*, 5, 5; PL 38, 1350. Cf. *Sermo XVII*, 3; ed. Morin, p. 497: *Velint, nolint, characterem Christi imponere coguntur.*

¹⁶ *Sermo CCCII*, 5, 3; PL 38, 1387.

¹⁷ *Sermo CGCII*, 4, 3; PL 38, 1386. Cf. *Sermo CCCXXVII*, 4, 5; PL 38, 1434.

¹⁸ *Sermo CVII*, 6, 7, PL 38, 630.

¹⁹ *Sermo VIII*, 2; PL 46, 839 or ed. Morin, p. 36.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid.* In *Contra Faustum XIX*, 11; CSEL 25, 1, 510. St. Augustine observes that one

cannot speak of religion, true or false, unless its members are held together aliquo signaculorum vel sacramentorum visibilium consortio. In 401, he warned Petilianus: *Discerne ergo visibile sanctum sacramentum, quod esse et in bonis et in malis potest* (*Contra Petil.* II, 104, 239; CSEL 52, 155). Previously, he had stated that the sacramentum unctionis is holy in genere visibilium signaculorum . . . sicut iisse baptismus (*ibid.*; p. 154). These and similar texts prove that signaculum designates something external and visible.

²² *Sermo VIII*, 2; PL 46, 839.

²³ *De Symbolo*, 8; PL 40, 636

When St. Augustine wrote his *Tractates on the Gospel of St. John*, he used the same terminology. Since the *Tractates* were preached about the year 418, we are entitled to interpret the Augustinian terms as explained in the address to Emeritus delivered in the same year. On one occasion, he makes this suggestion: *Puta te esse militarem. Si characterem imperatoris tui intus habeas, securus militas. Si extra habeas, non solum tibi ad militiam non prodest character ille, sed etiam pro desertore punieris.*²⁴ In introducing the sentence by *Puta te esse militarem*, he indicates that he intends to illustrate a statement. Bearing the mark of his commander-in-chief within the army (*intus*), a soldier has every reason to feel safe. But if he becomes a deserter, the same mark will be useless. In fact, it will call for punishment. In a similar way, Baptism is of no avail outside the Catholic communion despite its validity. Moreover, it will call for punishment.

Misleading, if deprived of its context, may be the passage found in the following chapter where St. Augustine addresses a heretic in these words: *Tene ergo quod accepisti. Non mutatur sed agnoscitur. Character est Regis mei. Non ero sacrilegus. Corrigo desertorem, non immuto characterem.*²⁵ This "character of my King" is nothing else than the trinitarian form of Baptism which, in the same year, he had defined as "character of my Commander-in-chief".

In his commentary on the Epistle of St. John, St. Augustine stresses the necessity of charity in the baptized and warns that, without charity, it is useless to boast: "I have the *sacramentum*."²⁶ Without charity, they will roam about like deserters branded with a mark: *Si autem non habet (caritatem), characterem quidem impositum habet, sed desertor vagatur.*²⁷

The association of the trinitarian form with *titulus* occurs also in the same commentary: *Non deletur baptismus, ne titulus Imperatoris deletatur.*²⁸ St. Augustine does not enlarge on its meaning and there is no need to demonstrate again that *titulus* is identical with *character*.

Before concluding this study, we may cite a well known sentence in which he asserts that the *sacramentum* of Holy Orders is not lost by deposition: *Manet tamen in illis ordinatis sacramentum ordinationis. Et si aliqua culpa quisquam ab officio removeatur, sacramento Domini semel imposito non carebit.*²⁹ No modern theologian would express himself in this manner. Stating the same truth, he would say that the *character* of Ordination remains in the ordained. He would write: *characterem Domini semel imposito non carebit*. Yet such is not St. Augustine's theological terminology. The *sacramentum* as lasting consecration conferred by Christ Himself is the reason he advances to explain why neither Baptism nor Holy Orders can be lost: *Utrumque enim sacramentum est. Since the sacramentum is still in the recipient, it must not be given again: ideoque in catholica non licet iterari.*³⁰

IV.

This Augustinian usage of *sacramentum* designating a permanent and lasting element in Baptism and Holy Orders is one and, strictly speaking, the only reason why the Christian writers up to the second half of the twelfth century did not use the word *character* as we use it today. Truly Augustinian equivalents for sacramental *character* in the modern sense are such expressions as *sacramentum*, *consecratio*, *sanctitas* or even *baptismus* and *ordinatio*. This terminology was more or less clearly understood and used from St. Augustine to Peter Lombard

²⁴ *In Joh. Tract. VI, 15; PL 35, 1432.* Cf *In Joh. Tract. XIII, 17; PL 35, 1435:* Aliquantum enim et desertor terret provincialem. Sed utrum in castris sit et aliquid illi propositum character ille, in quo signatus est, hoc attendit.

²⁵ *Tract. VI, 16; PL 35, 1433.*

²⁶ *In Ep. Joh. Tract. V, 6; PL 35, 2015.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Tract. XI, 7; PL 2035.*

²⁹ *De Bono conjugali 24, 32; CSEL 41, 226.*

³⁰ *Contra Ep. Parm. II, 13, 28; CSEL 51, 79.*

and it contained what in the second half of the twelfth century began to be called *character*. Hence the doctrine of *character* as lasting consecration and *sanctitas*, received inside or outside the Church, was never lost with regard to Baptism, though occasionally obscured with regard to Holy Orders. But the doctrine was expressed in Augustinian, not modern, terminology. In other words, Christian writers did not speak of *character* in the modern sense of the word for some seven centuries, because St. Augustine had not used the term in the modern sense.

In point of time, St. Augustine's address to Emeritus at Caesarea is the latest, in point of explanation the most lucid exposition. If, then, our now traditional view on St. Augustine's use of *character* as designating a spiritual, indelible imprint were accurate, it would force us to the conclusion that, in his earlier years, he held a doctrine about which he became more uncertain and more obscure as time went on. So much so that, towards the end of his life, he abandoned it saying that by *character* he meant the Baptismal form. It would thus lead to the (false) assumption that he had lost faith in that lasting sacramental effect which he is supposed to have called *character*. It would and did actually lead to the entirely false conclusion that, for some seven centuries, even the best and profoundest writers steeped in Augustinian theology completely failed to debate the doctrine of, and use the word, *character* in our modern, supposedly Augustinian, sense.

These conclusions and assumptions are based on the false premise that St. Augustine used the word *character* in the same sense as, after a short period of fluctuation, the scholars of the twelfth century began to use it. But expressing himself in a terminology different from ours, St. Augustine spent his best and most active years expounding the doctrine that such sacraments as Baptism and Holy Orders effect in the recipient a certain inviolable consecration and *sanctitas* independent of the recipient's merits, faith, or state of grace. Since this effect is something sacred, resulting from a sacred rite, he often calls it *sacramentum* without limiting, however, the meaning of the word to this particular effect. Somehow, even the "invocation of the Blessed Trinity" remains and hovers over the baptized Catholic or heretic.²¹ The sanctity of Christ's name is in them and, for that reason, St. Augustine can write: *Ipsi nomini non facimus injuriam*.²² And since it is the name prescribed by his Commander-in-chief, he will declare: *Non faciam injuriam characteri Imperatoris*,²³ while on other occasions he will insist: *sacramento non est facienda injuria*.

In Augustinian terminology, "Baptism" is not just the transitory, external rite. It remains and is "not nothing", as St. Augustine puts it, "it is something, something great because of Him of whom it has been said: 'It is He who baptizes'": *Baptismus ille etiam in illo qui nihil est non est nihil. Baptisma quippe illud aliquid est et magnum aliquid est propter illum de quo dictum est: Hic est qui baptizat*.²⁴ This last sentence is indeed the foundation stone of Augustinian sacramentology. *It is He*, i.e., Christ, *who baptizes* through worthy or unworthy ministers, inside or outside the true Church, as long as they use the form or *character* prescribed by Him, the divine Commander-in-chief. Since *it is He who baptizes*, Baptism both as transitory action and lasting effect is final and above human interference. Its form or *character* is inviolable and cannot be destroyed or changed. Its effect cannot be undone by man because the consecration and *sanctitas* which Christ produces in the recipient is a lasting *sacramentum*. Any attempt to repeat it is ultimately an insult and injustice to Christ who baptized and to the form prescribed by Him.

There is no denying that, for many centuries, the knowledge of Augustinian

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² *Contra litt. Petil. II*, 81, 180; CSEL 52, 112.

²³ *Ep. CLXXXV*, 10, 43; CSEL 57, 37.

²⁴ *In Joh. Tract. VI*, 14; PL 35, 1432.

sacramentology was largely restricted to what is contained in the *Tractates on St. John*. The strange disappearance of his anti-Donatist works accounts for centuries of vagueness concerning valid Ordinations which led to the great confusion of the Gregorian Reform period.²⁵ It was then that a vigorous discovery and revival of Augustinian sacramentology began, though it would seem that the choice of the word *character* in the modern sense was not even inspired by St. Augustine. At least, no such claims were made by those who began to use it as we use it today. In fact, as far as the use of the word *character* in the new sense is concerned, we can agree with St. Albert, St. Thomas and others who state that it could not claim great antiquity, though the doctrine itself was clearly formulated, if not in every detail, by St. Augustine.

²⁵ When, at an early date, Eugippius compiled his *Excerpta ex operibus sancti Augustini* (CSEL 9, 34 ff.), he inserted some extracts from *De Baptismo* and completely neglected the other anti-Donatist works. The first literary use of *De Baptismo* that I have been able to identify is found in Agobard (d. 840-841), *De priv. et jure sacerd.*, 15; PL 104, 143A. He did not copy it from Eugippius. At the beginning of the next century, five centuries after its composition, I have met with the first quotation from Augustine's *Contra Ep. Parmeniani* in Auxilius, *De Ordinationibus*, 21; PL 129, 1067CD. I have found no evidence of the literary use of *Contra Cresconium* and *Contra litt. Petilianii* before Ivo of Chartres (d. 1116), i.e. seven hundred years after they were written. Concerning Augustinian extracts containing the expression *character*, I have discovered but two up to the middle of the eleventh century. The first occurs in Isi-

dore, *De Ecclesiasticis officiis* II, 25, 10; PL 83, 822D, copied from *In Joh. Tract. VI*, 16; PL 35, 1433. The second is found in Leidrad of Lyons, *Liber de sacr. baptismi*, 6; PL 99, 863B, copied from Augustine, *De Symbolo sermo ad catech.*, 8; PL 40, 636. Towards the end of the eleventh century, extracts containing the word *character* become more frequent, but for another century no explanation of the term is attempted. Of the highly important *Sermo ad Caes. eccl. plebem* which provides the clearest exposition of the meaning of *character* as understood by St. Augustine I have found no trace at all. To the best of my knowledge, it was not quoted or discussed before the fifteenth century. Only one manuscript of this sermon is extant, of recent date (13th century), and of so little value that the CSEL text had to be based on the Frobenius edition (Basel, 1569).

The Irish Counterparts of the Anglo-Saxon *Menologium*

JOHN HENNIG

In his preface to the Bradshaw Society edition of the *Félib Oengusso*,¹ Whitley Stokes wrote:

Only five metrical martyrologies are known to me, *viz.*: Baeda's *Martyrologium Poeticum* (which at March 17 contains the line *Patricius Domini servus concendit ad aulam*), the *Martyrologium Wandalberti*, the Anglo-Saxon *Menologium Poeticum*, the *Martyrology of Gorman*, and the *Martyrology of Oengus*. The first two are in Latin hexameters. (the last two) in the Irish metre called *rinnard*.

It has been shown elsewhere² that the later tradition of "metrical martyrologies", entirely in Irish, was disregarded by Stokes. Even for the period up to the twelfth century, Ireland's place in the tradition of "metrical martyrologies" was but imperfectly outlined in the editor's note. It was not surprising that he did not refer to the *Félib Adamnáin*,³ first published when he wrote his note, and the poem *Enlaith betha*, unpublished until Best-Lawlor's edition of the *Martyrology of Tallaght*.⁴ What was surprising was that Stokes did not mention (1) the twelfth-century poem of the leading saints of Ireland by Cuimmin Conneire.⁵ He himself had produced the first scholarly edition⁶ and, by his index of saints' feast-days, had suggested that it should be considered in the tradition of calendars of saints; (2) the calendar in Latin hexameters in Ms. Br. Mus., *Galba A xviii* and parallels.⁷ Stokes had pointed out the inadequacy of the only edition of this work in a discussion of its Irish associations.⁸ Of its close relationship with Baeda's *Martyrologium poeticum*⁹ Stokes seems to have been unaware.

Stokes still maintained the mediaeval ascription to Bede of this latter work and erroneously assumed that the entry relating to St. Patrick belonged to the original version. To his remark on this entry, Stokes added the following footnote: "So in Baeda's prose *Martyrology*, at March 17, in *Scotia S. Patricii confessoris*. And yet a writer who ought to know better, asserts that Baeda 'studiously ignored St. Patrick'." Whether Bede "studiously ignored St. Patrick" or not, the fact remains that in his prose *martyrology* the entry *In Scotia, natale Patricii* is an insertion found for the first time in *Mss Palat. 834, 833 and Veron. LXV.*¹⁰ In the *Martyrologium poeticum*, the entry for St. Patrick in *Mss R and S* is among the (later) "Celtic influences".¹¹

In his 1880 edition, Stokes had described the *Félib Oengusso* as a "calendar

¹ Henry Bradshaw Society, XXIX (1905), p. xxxix.

² See my note on Egerton 185, *Eigse*, VI (1950), 257 ff.

³ J. Kenney, *Sources for the Early History of Ireland I* (New York, 1929), no 225, iii. Literary references listed by Dr. Kenney are not repeated in this paper.

⁴ Henry Bradshaw Society, LXVIII (1929), pp. 84-7, a marginal note at the beginning of both the *Book of Leinster* and the Brussels manuscript, 5100-4.

⁵ Kenney, *op. cit.*, no 274.

⁶ *Zeitschrift für keltische Philologie*, I (1897), 66 ff.

⁷ Kenney, *op. cit.*, p. 481, and my own observations on Hampson's edition to appear in *Scriptorium*, 1953.

⁸ *Academy*, June 29, 1895.

⁹ Inadequate though it be, Quentin's re-

mark has never been followed up: Plusieurs vers y [in *Ms Galba A xviii etc.*] sont emportés à notre *martyrologue [Poeticum]*. *Les Martyrologes historiques* (Paris, 1908), p. 121, n. 6.

¹⁰ Quentin, *op. cit.*, p. 150. On the other hand, the entry for St. Brigid was made only in *Ms O*.

¹¹ Wilmaert, 'Un témoin anglo-saxon du calendrier métrique d'York', *Revue Bénédicte*, LXI (1934), 44. In spite of its local associations, the fact that the original version of the *Martyrologicum poeticum* (in *Ms Vesp. B. vi*) does not represent a liturgical calendar of York (or Rippon) cannot be fully understood without reference to Irish parallels, particularly to the *Félib Oengusso*, which work is obviously not a list of liturgical feasts observed at the church of Tallaght.

of church festivals".¹² This description is obviously wrong, because this work has entries for every day and, on most days, several entries, and also because it includes numerous saints which never enjoyed liturgical cultus (in Bishop's terminology "martyrological" rather than "sacramental" saints). In reality, this work is the most outstanding document of that type of devotional literature developed by the Old Irish Church because its liturgy had no *Sanctorale*.¹³ For his 1905 edition, Stokes chose the title "The Martyrology of Oengus". Oengus himself used the term *marta**rlaic* only with regard to one of his sources (Eusebius),¹⁴ describing his own work as one of the *félire* of the Gaels. While endeavouring to bring the tradition of Irish *félire* in line with *martyrologia* and *kalendar*, Mael-Muire Úa Gormáin carefully reserved the latter terms for the non-Irish sources (a point entirely missed in Stokes' translation).¹⁵

In describing the Anglo-Saxon poem in *Ms Br. Mus., Tib. B i*, fols. 112^a-114^b as *Menologium*,¹⁶ Hickes perhaps meant to express the incomparability of this work with the martyrologies and calendars of the Western Church. However, in 1830 Samuel Fox described it as *Menologium seu Calendarium*, adding the even more ominous subtitle "the poetical calendar of the Anglo-Saxons". Stokes' description of this work as *Menologium poeticum* is a further misleading contraction of Fox's *Menologium seu calendarium poeticum* (Hickes had said *Menologium elegantissimum*). Apart from the tentative study published ninety years ago by F. Piper under the title *Die Kalandarien und Martyrologien der Angelsachsen* (in the body of his work however termed "Die Martyrologien und Festordnungen d.A."!),¹⁷ no study, except perhaps Imelmann's thesis, other than from the point of view of language and secular literature has been devoted to this work. Following Aelfric's distinction between saints *quos gens ista caelebre colit cum veneratione festi diei* and saints *quos non vulgus sed coenobite officiis venerantur*,¹⁸ Piper¹⁹ suggested that the "popular calendar" was reflected by Aelfric's *Passiones*, the *Menologium* and Bede's homilies, and the "monastic calendar" by the *Martyrologium poeticum*, Aelfric's Anglo-Saxon homilies and the calendars in *Mss. Br. Mus., Tib. D xxvii* and *Vit. E xvii*. The comparison—a most obvious one for linguistic reasons—between the *Menologium* and the Old-English *Martyrology*²⁰ was never drawn, and even less has the Anglo-Saxon *Menologium* been compared with its obvious Irish counterparts, the *Félire Adámnáin* and the poem *Enlaith betha*.

One reason for the absence of studies in this field can be clearly stated from the personal experience of the present writer: there is no real home for such studies. While decrying such studies in that they lack sound philological foundation, the linguists have done little to proceed to a literary evaluation of these texts. On the other hand, the literary investigators, in particular the liturgists, fight shy of regions in which they cannot claim first-hand linguistic knowledge. Fox's work, now more than 120 years old, has remained the only complete translation of the Anglo-Saxon *Menologium* into a modern vernacular.

The two best known aspects of the *Menologium* are that it preserved the Anglo-Saxon names of the months and that it contains lovely descriptions of

¹² Kenney, *op. cit.*, n° 272. In his 'Die Abfassungszeit des *Félire von Oengus*', *Zeitschrift für keltische Philologie*, VI (1907), 6 ff., Thurneysen referred to the sub-title of Stokes' Bradshaw Society edition: The *Martyrology of Oengus*, but described this *félire* as a 'Heiligenkalender'.

¹³ See my articles: 'A Feast of All Saints of Europe', *Speculum*, XXI (1944), 47-66; 'The Meaning of All the Saints', *Mediaeval Studies*, X (1943), 147-61; 'A List of Irish Saints in Rawl. 484', *Eigse*, VI (1949), 50-5; 'Studies in the Liturgy of the Early Irish Church', *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* V, 75

(1951), 318-33 and *supra*, note 2.

¹⁴ *Epil.* 140 and 143. Cf. Kenney, *op. cit.* p. 480, note 342.

¹⁵ *Félire húi Gormáin*; Henry Bradshaw Society, IX (1895), p. 4 f., and Kenney, *op. cit.*, n° 275.

¹⁶ Literary references in *Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature I* (1940), p. 79 f. Berlin, 1862.

¹⁷ H. Wamley, *Antiquae litteraturae septentrionalis liber alter* (Oxford, 1705), p. 186.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 65.

¹⁹ *Ms. Br. Mus. Jul. A x* and *parall.*; ed. G. Hertzfeld, EETS CXVI (London, 1900).

nature in the different seasons.²¹ Considering that, except for Irish *féliri*, this is the only "metrical calendar" in a vernacular²² of the early Middle Ages, we should also mention the repeated references made in this work to *Brytene*, especially in connection with the feasts of Saints Gregory and Augustine and with Christmas-tide.²³ Non-liturgical feasts such as Twelfth Night, Midsummer-day and *hlafmässan*, as well as the winter solstice opening the *haliga tiid dha man haeldan sceal spa bebugedh gebod ceond bryten ricu sexna kyninges*, rank between the high feasts of God and the Apostles. Easter (*drihtness aerist; Félire Oengusso: asreracht Issu*) and the Ascension (*drihtnes stige; Oengus: fris-r-ocaib Fiada*, Mael-Muire Ua Gormain: *fresccabail Crist*) are of course assigned to fixed dates.

It is quite obvious that the primary object of this work is not to give detailed and exact information on the place and sequence of liturgical feasts, but to give a bird's-eye view of the Christian year (in itself a matter supposed to be well known)²⁴ interwoven with the natural order of time in months and seasons.

In this respect, the Anglo-Saxon *Menologium* is closely related with the *Félire Adamnáin*. This work has come down to us in a fifteenth-century manuscript (Royal Irish Academy 23. P. 3, fol. 19^a) and three later ones that attribute it to either St. Ciaran or to Cormac Naomtha MacCuoillionain under the title: *Félire Adamnáin dia mathair*. Miss Byrne described it as "not an uncommon form of Irish prayer". Indeed the beginning of this prayer of indirect invocation:²⁵

Noimh nac ceithre raithe
dutracht lim a nguidhe.
Ronsaerat ar phiana,
noimh na bliadhne huile

The saints of the four seasons
There is desire on me of their prayer.
May they save me from pain,
The saints of the whole year

immediately reminds us of the "Prologues" of the *Félire Oengusso*:

A íssu not-guidiu
ar écnairc na slógsa
cech laithi isin bládain
(Prol. 265 f., 281, 288).
Rom-sóerae, a íssu,
ar cech ulc (Epil. 441 f.)
Rom-snádat i pardus
ind rígrad imrordus (563 f.)

O Jesus, I beseech Thee,
through the intercession of the hosts
of each day . . . in the year.
Mayst Thou save me, o Jesus,
from every evil,
May convoy me into paradise
the kingfolk I have commemorated.

The *Félire Adamnáin* devotes one quatrain each to the feasts of "glorious spring", of "God's fosterling", Brigid, Gregory and Patrick, the saints of "dry" summer" (unspecified), of "beauteous autumn", namely Mary and Michael, and of winter: "May they be with me against the *drong demhna* (host of demons)", a clear reference to the Twelve Nights. Thus we see, only five saints, or possibly seven feasts, are actually mentioned. However, the last lines make it quite clear that this is a devotion to all the saints:

Aitcim naoim in talman
Aitchim aingle ile . . .

I beseech the saints of the earth,
I beseech all the angels . . .

²¹ See G. K. Anderson, *Literature of the Anglo-Saxons* (London, 1949), p. 203, and K. M. Warren, *A Treasury of English Literature* (London, 1908), p. 71 f.

²² See my article on the Calendar of Cashel: *Scriptorium*, VI (1952), 101 f.

²³ In reference to the unmistakable nationalism of the Irish martyrologies, it is important to note that the saints were reckoned to the nation among whom they labored rather than to the nation from which they originated. See my article 'Britain's

Place in the Early Irish Martyrologies' to appear in *Medium Aevum*.

²⁴ The unusual computation of dates (Cf. Piper, *op. cit.*, p. 56 f.) already makes the *Menologium* quite unsuitable for instruction on the dates of feasts. See *infra*, note 47.

²⁵ See my article 'Moses in Ireland', *Traditio*, VII (1951), 241.

²⁶ On the significance of these adjectives (*aeris qualitates*) in 'calendars' of this kind, see *infra*, note 43.

In spite of the vast difference in scope and number of saints between the *Félice Oengusso* and the *Félice Adamnáin*, the words used in the former²⁵—that of the “more than thousands of thousands” of saints “only the kings of those hosts” could be “brought forward” (*tucsam*)—also apply to the latter.

The *Félice Adamnáin* is but one of the many illustrations of the literary influence of the *Félice Oengusso*. Bishop pointed out that the Irish entries in the calendar contained in *Ms Galba A xviii* and parallels (the most significant group of additions made in these works to the *Martyrologium poeticum*) were far more numerous than had been stated by Stokes,²⁶ and suggested that the main source of these entries was the *Félice Oengusso*.²⁷ This suggestion has never been followed up and the striking relationship in scope and lay-out between the *Martyrologium Wandalberti* and the *Félice Oengusso* has never been mentioned.

In his brief account of *Martyrologium Wandalberti*, Dom Quentin had said of that *martyrologe en vers*: *La vogue était alors à ce genre d'ouvrages.*²⁸ However, it was Stokes (in the note quoted at the beginning of this paper), rather than Quentin,²⁹ who pointed out the works representative of this “fashion”. The main shortcoming of Stokes’ note consisted not so much in its incompleteness and incorrectness in detail, but in its failure to assess Ireland’s place in this tradition. That “fashion” of “metrical martyrologies” was particularly remarkable when we consider that these versifications were undoubtedly unofficial (or in Bishop’s terminology “unpractical”), a point particularly well illustrated by the Irish entries in foreign works. These entries have been shown in many instances to be due to private preference.³⁰

The only attempt to suggest the special place of Irish works in the tradition of “metrical martyrologies” was made in the introduction to the chapter: “General Treatises on the Saints” in Dr. Kenney’s *Sources*:³¹

Prominent among these (treatises) are the calendars and martyrologies, which were primarily liturgical documents for practical use as tables of the festivals of the year. But they also served as historical catalogues, or as epitomes of hagiography. This is especially the case with the Irish metrical martyrologies, which were intended to be memorised and recited by the devout Christian as the honour-roll of the history of the Church. It is from this point of view that they have the greater interest to-day, and are therefore catalogued here, rather than with the liturgical documents to which, in one sense, they more properly belong.

However, in that chapter devoted to martyrologies, calendars and Breviary lessons, to liturgical, historical and devotional works in metre and in prose, in Latin and Irish, of Irish, English, Scottish or Continental origin—all arranged in a most debatable historical order—Dr. Kenney would appear to have missed the decisive point in the assessment of the Irish metrical martyrologies as source material for the early Irish church history. These works form the most compact group of documents that illustrate the “fashion” in “versified martyrologies”; they are decidedly not liturgical but devotional, fulfilling a need that is peculiar to Ireland.

The metrical works which should have been considered together are, in tentative chronological order, the *Félice Oengusso*, the *Félice Adamnáin*, Cuimmin’s poem, the poem *Enlaith betha* and the *Félice hui Gormáin*. The obvious bridge between these Irish poems on the saints and similar Latin works

²⁵ *Epil.* 25-32.

²⁶ See *supra*, note 8.

²⁷ *Liturgica historica* (1918), p. 225. This fundamental reference was not listed by Dr. Kenney, *op. cit.*, p. 481.

²⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 396.

²⁹ See *supra*, note 9.

³⁰ See *supra*, note 22 and my review of Dom Mündig’s edition of the calendars of St. Gallen, *Irish Historical Studies*, VII (1951), 205 f. The Irish entries in the Karlsruhe Bede, Kenney, *op. cit.*, p. 481, are another case in point.

³¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 478.

is the "calendar" in *Mss Galba A xviii* and *Tib. B v*, which illustrates the relationship not only between Irish and Continental works of this kind but also between computatistic and devotional calendars in this field.³⁴ In contrast to the three other Irish works, the *Féilire Oengusso* and the *Féilire húi Gormáin* have rigidly but one entry for each day; so also has the calendar in *Galba A xviii* and parallel, in contrast to the *Martyrologium poeticum*.

Whether complete (i.e., with one entry for each day) or selective, the *félire* was fundamentally a devotion to all the saints, supplementing their commemoration (to this day) in every Mass. This supplementing by calendaric works was called forth by the absence of a *Sanctorale* in the Irish liturgy.³⁵ The Irish refused to introduce the Western conception of linear historical time into the liturgy. Irish devotion to the saints was based on the conception of internal time (such as underlies Votive Masses) and of cyclical natural time (such as underlies the earliest feasts of the Blessed Virgin). The quatrains of the *Féilire Oengusso* were not meant to be recited each on its specific date, but the whole work was to be recited on any day right through. The repetition of the first word(s) at the end, a characteristic feature of Irish poetry, was of special significance in the *félire*:³⁶ like the Rosary, the devotion itself was cyclical.

The idea of devotion to the saints in the cyclical order of natural time is illustrated by the Anglo-Saxon *Menologium*, the *Féilire Adamnáin* and the poem *Enlaith betha*. These works consider the saints in the course of the season. In his chapter on the contents of the *Féilire Oengusso*, Stokes complained that "in all this long composition there is no trace of imaginative power or of observation of nature".³⁷ Obviously inspired as it is by the *Féilire Oengusso*, the *Féilire Adamnáin* seems to be an attempt to supplement this want by treating of *naimh nac ceithre raithe* (the saints of the four seasons).³⁸

The development of the *félire* in this respect should be compared with the development of European painting from early Byzantine art to the Cinquecento. The *Féilire Oengusso* and the *Martyrologium poeticum* represent archaic stereotypes removed from nature.³⁹ The poem *Enlaith betha* illustrates the over-growing of the devotional function of the *félire* by a sense of nature.

An intermediary stage in this development can be seen in the "calendars" in *Mss Galba A xviii*, etc. where the calendaric bodies of each month are prefaced and followed by verses relating to the zodiacal signs. In the Lebar Brecc manuscript of the *Féilire Oengusso*, the quatrains for each month are prefixed by similar notes in prose.⁴⁰ In *Ms Galba A xviii* entries relating to the zodiacal signs—about the middle of the month one each of these takes the place of an entry for a saint—are in red, as are otherwise only the entries for the Epiphany and for Christmas. In *Ms Tib. B v*,⁴¹ where this calendar is followed by Bede's treatise *De Temporibus* and several astronomical tracts, majuscules are used for feasts liturgically observed; coloured majuscules for the entries relating to the zodiacal signs and the beginnings of the seasons, and also for the entries for 20/6 (solstice), 7/9 (Pleiades) and for 5/6. To this latter entry I shall refer

³⁴ *Liturgical Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library* (Oxford, 1952), p. 44 f.

³⁵ See *supra*, note 13.

³⁶ The *Féilire Oengusso* concludes with a repetition of the (original) beginning (Prol. 21). At the end of Cuimin's poem, we find the word *Carais*, referring us back to the opening words. The last two verses of the *Enlaith betha* conclude with the letter *E..* standing of course for the first word of the poem.

³⁷ Ed. Henry Bradshaw Society, p. xlvi.

³⁸ The distinction of four (rather than two) seasons indicates the lateness of this work. See my article, *Speculum* XXI, 37 ff.

³⁹ The function of such stereotype has not

been appreciated in regard to the *Féilire Oengusso* (Stokes, loc. cit.) nor to Wandelbert's *Martyrologium* (M. Manitius, *Geschichte der lat. Literatur des Mittelalters* I, p. 557 ff.), and Loeffler, *Cath. Encyclon.* X, p. 546. This is one of the many points in which the deeper strata of devotional life have been preserved against the steady growth of intellectualism, not only in the old Irish church but right down to the present day. See my article, 'Katholisches Irland, heut' und morgen', *Schweizer Rundschau*, XLVIII (1948), 500-4.

⁴⁰ Ed. Henry Bradshaw Society, p. xviii f.

⁴¹ See my article on these manuscripts to appear in *Scriptorium*, 1953.

presently. On the days where *Ms Galba A xvii* has zodiacal entries, Wandelbert attaches such entries to commemorations of saints.

This interspersing of commemorations of saints with entries relating to the zodiacal signs and the seasons cannot be understood from the viewpoint of devotion to the saints in the order of linear historical time. The idea is, of course, that, similar to the constellations, the saints ascend and descend in the liturgy which, just as the transition from the last day after Pentecost to the first Sunday in Advent to this day shows, is annular. Christ moves through His saints as does the sun through the zodiacal signs.

Wandelbert attached a separate poem to his *Martyrologium: De Duodecim mensium nominibus, signis aerisque qualitatibus*.⁴² The *Menologium* has the Anglo-Saxon names of the months; the *Féilire Oengusso* supplied us with the inflected forms of the Old Irish names of the months. We have already referred to the place occupied by the zodiacal signs in the tradition of the *félire*. *Aeris qualitates* are referred to in the *Menologium*, the *Féilire Adamnáin* and the *Féilire Oengusso* (30/6, 1/9 and 1/11).⁴³ Wandelbert referred in the opening lines for most months (also 9/5) to climatic, vegetational and agricultural conditions. *Mss Tib. B v* and *Jul. A vi* are early examples of calendars embellished with illustrations of the seasons.⁴⁴

In *Ms Galba A xviii*, etc., the entry for 5/6 reads: *Hic prepides temptant avida concludere rostra*. Stokes⁴⁵ pointed out that the use of short-e for -ae in *praepites* was a sign that the Latinity of this calendar was Irish rather than Anglo-Saxon. (It is outside the scope of the present paper to study the peculiar vocabulary, illustrated by this word, of the Latin hexametrical calendars; such a study would establish the connection of these works and should then be co-ordinated with a similar study of the equally artificial and stereotype⁴⁶ vocabulary of the Irish *féliri*). What in *Ms Galba A xviii*, etc., is a startling and isolated entry has been the basic idea of the poem *Enlaith betha* ("The birds of the world"). Just as in sixteenth-century painting holy subjects begin to be crowded out by perspective or interiors, so in this poem the fact that:

hi noin enair⁴⁷ congair a sluaig
din chaill cheir

on the nones of January, the cry
of the host from the dark wood

is more important than the fact that this is the (Vigil of the) Epiphany. Concerning March 25—one of the most important dates in the old Irish calendar, a day on which the basic events of the salvation of mankind were jointly remembered⁴⁸ just as on January 6 were and still are remembered the basic events of the early life of Christ—this poem says that it is the day when:

tecait fainnli fria nglan dail

the swallows come on their pure
meeting-place.

The third verse treats of April 15, but the second part of the second verse of September 24. This disruption of the calendric sequence is not to be explained

⁴² PL 121, 585 ff.

⁴³ A comparison of the adjectives used in this respect in the Latin, Irish and Anglo-Saxon texts would be of particular importance.

⁴⁴ Such illustrations, of course, later became a popular feature even in liturgical calendars, e.g., *Ms. Bodl. Add. A 46* (30133) and in the *livres d'heures*.

⁴⁵ See *supra*, note 8.

⁴⁶ See *supra*, note 39.

⁴⁷ Ms. BMCSR prefaced to the *Martyrologium poeticum* a versified explanation of the Roman calendar, also referred to in Wandelbert's *Propositio* and Oengus' Prologue, 293 ff., especially 305 f. Compare also the poem

'to reckon feasts on the same week-day' in *Ms. Rawl. 512* of the *Féilire Oengusso*, ed. Henry Bradshaw Society, p. 212. This is, incidentally, the only work in this field to which we could possibly apply the description of 'série mnémotechnique', cf. Wilmaert, *art. cit.*, 51 and 59. If this description were applied to the *Martyrologium poeticum*, as Bishop and Wilmaert suggested, the fact that this unofficial and local compilation was spread and developed for two centuries throughout Western Europe becomes quite inexplicable.

⁴⁸ See my article 'Liturgical Year and Financial Year', *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* V,70 (1948), 332-46.

entirely by the natural facts referred to. The reference in the second part of the second verse seems to be to the departure of the swallows.⁹⁸ In Ireland, the swallows normally do not come until mid-April and do not leave until mid-October. The connection between the dates of March 25 and September 24 exceeds those natural facts: the former date is primarily *Compert Issu Crist* and the latter *Compert Iohain* (*Félibre Oengusso*). In spite of its appearance, the poem *Enlaith betha* is basically a devotional *félire*.

As the transition from the *Martyrology of Tallaght* (which added to the foreign saints as listed in the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, in a separate section for each day, about the same number of Irish saints) to the *Félibre Oengusso* (where commemorations of Irish and foreign saints are intermingled) shows, one of the functions of the *félire* was to co-ordinate the devotions to Irish and non-Irish saints.⁹⁹ In the poem *Enlaith betha*, the dates of three great feasts of the Church universal are followed by three feasts of Irish saints. The punctuation in Best-Lawlor's translation obscures the point that in the third verse *feil Ruadain* is identical with *sechmad déc calaind mái* (feast of St. Ruadan 15/4). In the *Félibre Oengusso*, Ródan Lothrai is the only saint commemorated on 15/4; in the *Martyrology of Tallaght* he is the second in the Irish section, perhaps an indication that the poem *Enlaith betha* drew on the former work. In the third verse of *Enlaith betha*, again, no reference is made to any devotional or other associations of the saint; the facts connected with his day are purely natural: "Their fetters (of the swallows or the birds in general?) are unloosed, . . . the cuckoo calls from the wood".

The fourth verse is concerned with the nones of July. Whatever may be the meaning of the third line which ends in the *Book of Leinster* with the words *conait chet bí*, and in the Brussels manuscripts with the words *nar rug bad bí*, there is again no obvious connection between the natural fact:

anait eoin do chantain chiuil lith lathi	the birds cease to sing the music of festive days
---	--

and the final words *do* (for) *Mail Ruain o Thamlacti*. In the light of the final verse of our poem (see below), it may be suggested that the singing of the birds is described as suitable music to honour the feasts of saints, and that this music is thoughtfully extended by the birds to the day of St. Maelruain of Tallaght. The words *lith lathi* are a reduplication; both the noun *laithe* ("day") and the noun *lith* (generally translated by "festival") are used by Oengus apparently as synonymous with *feil*. Of the *Conversio Pauli*, Oengus said that *ni delbul al-lathe, lith* ("not puny is the day—a festival"). In the *Félibre Oengusso* none of those three nouns has the specific meaning of liturgical festival, not only because the old Irish church did not have Masses in honour of individual saints, but also because these words are associated with the names of too many saints who undoubtedly never enjoyed liturgical cultus. The choice made by the *féliri* (and indeed by martyrologies and calendars in general)¹⁰⁰ in commemorating Irish saints can be shown to be based on personal or local devotion (as was, of course, also the insertion of undoubtedly unliturgical saints in the *Martyrologium poeticum*). In the present instance, however, it would be hard to deduce that the author of *Enlaith betha* had special reason to refer to St. Maelruain.¹⁰¹ The date of this well-known saint¹⁰² corresponded remarkably well with the natural fact associated with it.

⁹⁸I am indebted to Professor Gerard Murphy for his helpful criticism on this point.

⁹⁹See my article, *Speculum* XXI, 47 ff.

¹⁰⁰See *supra*, note 32.

¹⁰¹Still it might be suggested that the author of the poem *Enlaith betha* wrote somewhere within the triangle Lothra (Co. Tipperary),

Clonmacnoise and Tallaght.

¹⁰²Although Oengus referred to this saint as his *aite* (fosterer) in his *Epil.* 65, he did not devote his whole entry for July 7 to him, but only the second half. In the *Martyrology of Tallaght*, he is the second Irish saint for that day, but he is, of course, the latest Irish saint commemorated in the 'diptychs' of

Continuing in the calendaric order, the fifth verse of *Enlaith betha* refers to two days in September: *feil Ciarain meic in tsaer*⁵⁴ ("the feast of Kiaran, son of the wright") and *feil Ciprian* (note that this name is not declined). On the former day:

tecait giugraind dar fairge uair⁵⁵ wild geese come over the cold sea
and on the latter:

gesid dam dond din rái réid⁵⁶ the brown stag bells from the ruddy field.

The association between these two saints may be due to the alliteration of their names.

The sixth verse is a curious prediction of the part which the birds will play on Doomsday. Similarly the Epilogue of the *Félibre Oengusso* is largely eschatological, perhaps an analogy to the liturgical year.

The final verse:

Atnagat combinni cheoil
ind eoin fri rig nime nel
ic admolad ind rig reil
coistid cleir na n-én do chéin

Melodious music the birds perform
to the king of the heaven of clouds,
praising the radiant king.
Hark from afar to the choir of
the birds (Best-Lawlor)

invites comparison with the familiar words of the Preface: *Et ideo cum omni militia caelestis exercitus hymnum gloriae tuae canimus*, not to mention, of course, the legends of St. Francis. As in the references to the zodiacal signs (notably in *Ms Galba A xviii*, etc.), in this instance the double meaning of *nem* or *coelum* comes into play, the birds taking the place of the angels.

In all *félire* literature, the *Félibre Adamnáin* has the shortest calendar. The calendar of *Enlaith betha* is only slightly more explicit. The *Menologium* has 26 feasts, the *Martyrologium poeticum* twice as many and this number was steadily increased in its later manuscripts down to Erchimbert, until in *Ms Galba A xviii* etc.,⁵⁷ we have strictly but one entry for every day, and in Wandelbert's *Martyrologium* several entries on many days. The *Félibre Oengusso* also has one entry for every day and on most days several commemorations, and the *Félibre húi Gormáin* still further tried to bring the *félire* to the completeness of prose martyrologies.⁵⁸ Only in Irish literature could works, so obviously different in size and scope, have been described by the same word, because only in the old Irish church did these works have a common definite function in devotional

the Stowe Mass. He is also among the Irish saints in the calendars in *Ms Galba A xviii* and *Tib. B v* but not in *Jul. A vi*, something that Bishop, see *supra*, note 29, did not know because Hampson did not indicate his replacement there by a non-Irish saint, namely Parmenius. Oengus devoted the first half of his entry for that same day to the latter (the Roman section for that day in the *Martyrology of Tallaght* is lost).

⁵⁴ Kiaran of Clonmacnoise was generally distinguished by this cognomen from his namesake, not only in the *Martyrology of Tallaght* and in the *Félibre Oengusso*, but also in the Karlsruhe Bede calendar (see *supra*, note 32), but not, however, in Cuimín's poem where the seventh quatrain refers to *Ciaran Cluana*.

⁵⁵ In regard to my remark in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* V.77 (1952), note 1, this persistent use of the word *uar* with reference to damp cold is remarkable.

⁵⁶ This beautiful verse invites, in a very particular way, comparison with the Anglo-Saxon *Menologium*.

⁵⁷ While there is a steady development from the original version of the *Martyrologium poeticum* to these latter works, the relationship between the Anglo-Saxon and Irish naturalistic calendars is remarkably free, just, however, as might be expected from the nature of these works.

⁵⁸ The incompleteness of the early Western martyrologies right up to Bede is due to lack of material for certain days rather than to deliberate selection for devotional purposes. Gorman, who was a Canon Regular of St. Augustine, misinterpreted the traditional *félire* as a liturgical work; his misinterpretation can be ascribed to Continental influence. This misconception was also introduced into the tradition of the *Martyrologium poeticum* by the postscript of *Ms S:*

life. The word *félire* is the only existing word to describe unambiguously what Stokes and Quentin called "metrical martyrologies": these works are not martyrologies in the traditional sense, and their metrical character is essential to their function.

The naturalist type of *félire* considered in this paper illustrates distinctively the conception of time underlying this form of devotion to the saints. Devotion to the saints in the cyclical order of natural time as contrasted with the linear order of historical times ("anniversaries") survives in the association of such devotion with certain months or week-days, a form of devotion which in many instances still has a wider popular appeal than the strictly liturgical devotions of the *Sanctorale*. The *Félire húi Cormáin* marked the submergence of the Irish tradition of *félire* in the tradition of liturgical calendars. The poem *Enlaith betha* marks its submergence in the tradition of secular nature-calendars⁶⁰ (which, of course, goes back as far as Hesiodus). Can we fail to recognise the similarity between lines 5 and 6 of *Enlaith betha* (for 25/3) and the following lines from Chaucer's *Parliament of Fowles*:

For this was on seynt Valentyne's day
When every foul cometh ther to choose his mate?

Could we not find something of the spirit of *Enlaith betha* v. 3 in the opening lines of Goethe's *Reineke Fuchs*:

Pfingsten, das liebliche Fest, war gekommen; es grünten und blühten
Feld und Wald; auf Hügeln und Höhn, in Büschern und Hecken
Uebten ein fröhliches Lied die neuermunterten Vögel?

Even in non-Catholic countries, in secular "peasant calendars" the names of saints' days have survived, and Irish folklore to this day offers examples of purely external associations of rules regarding nature with certain feast-days.⁶¹ The last verse of *Enlaith betha*, however, makes it clear that this poem still maintained the devotional tradition of the *félire* against what appeared to be an irresistible tide of naturalism.

SUMMARY:

- (1) This is the first study made of the poem *Enlaith betha*.
- (2) For the first time *Félire Adamnáin* and the poem *Enlaith betha* are studied within the tradition of the *félire*.
- (3) This tradition is considered the backbone of the European tradition of "metrical martyrologies", of which the Anglo-Saxon *Menologium* and its Irish counterparts, as well as certain strata in the "calendar" in *Ms Galba A xviii* and parallels, represent the naturalistic trend which survived in secular calendars.

Hos quicunque versus legerit lector, hoc minus et martyrologium quod et sequens adesse videtur, praecipuas anni festivitates absque ulla titubationis errore scire volebit. The main difference between Wandelbert's

work and that of Oengus is that the former gave the idea of *félire* a liturgical form.

⁶⁰ See, e.g., the calendar (ca. 1370) in *Ms. Rawl. D. 39* (Bodleian Library, *Liturgical Manuscripts*, p. 47 f.)

Textes sur Saint Bernard et Gilbert de la Porrée

J. LECLERCQ O.S.B.

DANS la mêlée des doctrines et des tendances qui rendent si vivante l'histoire du XII^e siècle, Gilbert de la Porrée eut pour principal adversaire saint Bernard de Clairvaux. Aussi ne peut-on rechercher les textes relatifs au second sans en trouver qui se rapportent au premier. Quelques-uns d'entre eux seront présentés ici. Ils s'ajoutent, bien que leurs données restent très fragmentaires, au dossier assez pauvre des documents qui nous renseignent sur le concile de Reims de 1148, à la suite duquel fut attaquée la doctrine de Gilbert, alors évêque de Poitiers.¹ Ils permettent aussi d'entrevoir la survie de cette doctrine et l'influence posthume du maître qui l'avait enseignée avec tant de sincérité. Quand, vers 1185, certains de ses admirateurs entreprirent de venger sa mémoire, on fut amené à faire, d'une certaine façon, le procès de son antagoniste. Avec le recul du temps, on apprécia mieux la valeur propre à chacun de ces deux grands esprits: c'est par là que ces témoignages enrichissent l'histoire.

I. AUTOUR DE 1148.

Il est peu de sources contemporaines qui nous informent sur le concile de Reims, et elles émanent de l'un ou l'autre des partis en présence: les récits d'Otton de Freising² et de Jean de Salisbury³ sont favorables à Gilbert, et celui de Geoffroy d'Auxerre⁴ l'est à Bernard. Et ce sont là des sources rédigées: les données de fait qu'a retenues chaque auteur s'y trouvent glosées par un commentaire qui, plus ou moins, les interprète dans un sens ou dans l'autre.⁵

Voici un document plus sobre: il est constitué par une simple série de textes et de notes. Un copiste que Dom Wilmart situe en France septentrionale⁶ l'a ajouté, au XII^e siècle, à la série des lettres de Fulbert de Chartres et d'Hildebert du Mans, dans un manuscrit qui appartint à Petau et passa dans le fonds Reginensis du Vatican (*Reg. lat. 278*, fols. 72-3). Dans sa brièveté, ce texte a l'intérêt de nous montrer, pour ainsi dire à l'état brut, sans commentaires, le matériel de citations qui servit d'argument patristique dans la discussion; ces citations, qui se retrouvent en grande partie dans Geoffroy d'Auxerre, ont dû être empruntées à quelque recueil de sentences. En outre, le texte nous livre les noms de ceux qui prirent part à la discussion: les autres sources ont moins de précision. Aux archevêques et aux évêques sont associés ici des abbés et des écolâtres. Nous apprenons qu'à côté de Pierre le Vénérable, abbé de Cluny, de saint Bernard, abbé de Clairvaux, de Suger, abbé de Saint-Denis, se trouvait le Bx Otton, abbé prémontré de Kapenberg, au diocèse de Munster. Les écolâtres

¹ L'usage est de l'appeler Gilbert de la Porrée; Geoffroy d'Auxerre le désignait comme *Porretanus* (*Epist. de condemn. errorum Gilb. Porret.*, I; PL 185, 587). Mais la forme originale de son nom était *Gilbertus Porreta*, ainsi que l'a montré F. Pelster, 'Gilbert de la Porrée, Gilbertus Porretanus oder Gilbertus Porreta?', *Scholastik* XX. (1949), 401-3.

² *Gesta Friderici imperatoris* I, 52-61; éd. G. Waitz, MGH, *Script. rer german. in us. schol.* (1912), pp. 74-88.

³ *Historia pontificalis*, II; ed. R. L. Poole (Oxford, 1927), pp. 27-9.

⁴ *Epistola de condemnatione errorum Gilberti Porretani*; PL 185, 587-96, et *Libellus*

contra capitula Gilberti Pictaviensis episcopi; ibid., 595-618.

⁵ Une excellente mise au point est donnée par A. Hayen, 'Le concile de Reims et l'erreur théologique de Gilbert de la Porrée', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge*, X-XI (1936), 29-102. On consulte toujours utilement le solide et équitable Vacandard, *Vie de saint Bernard* II (Paris, 1895), pp. 327-43. L'essentiel de la bibliographie jusqu'en 1946 est donné par A. Forest, 'Le mouvement doctrinal du XI^e au XIV^e siècle', *Histoire de l'Eglise* de A. Flliche et V. Martin XIII (Paris, 1951), p. 81.

⁶ *Codices Reginenses latini* I (Cité du Vatican, 1937), p. 85.

mentionnés paraissent tous appartenir au groupe des adversaires du Porrétain. On voit parmi eux ceux qui sont connus par d'autres sources et que les historiens citent à l'envie: Gauthier de Mortagne, Arnauld de Poitiers—désigné simplement comme "l'archidiacre"—Pierre Lombard, Thierry de Chartres, Adam de Petitpont; mais quelques noms nouveaux s'ajoutent ici.

A la fin de sa lettre sur Gilbert de la Porrée, Geoffroy d'Auxerre dit avoir retrouvé un autre écrit qu'il avait composé près de quarante ans auparavant et dont il parle en ces termes:

... Scriptura alia diu quaesita, iam penitus mihi desperanti exhibita est, quam super eisdem capitulis ante annos pene quadraginta edideram cum ipso symbolo, quod domino Papae et Romanae ecclesiae, ex parte decem archiepiscoporum et omnium episcoporum pene, qui in illa adhuc die Remis inuenti sunt cum abbatibus maximis atque plurimis, et magistris scholarum, et subscriptis nominibus singulorum, per superius memoratas personas fuerat praesentatum.⁶

L'écrit dont parle ici Geoffroy est son *Libellus* bien connu. Or le texte du Reginensis 278 donne les *capitula*, le symbole, les noms des archevêques, des évêques, des abbés et des *magistri scholarum* qui se trouvaient encore à Reims, après le concile, quand fut discutée la doctrine de Gilbert: il semble que ce texte soit celui que, dans son *Libellus*, Geoffroy commente, mais sans en reproduire tous les noms de personnes. On aurait là, pour ainsi dire, les "actes" de cette suite au concile de Reims:

ERROR GILLEBERTI PICTAVIENSIS EPISCOPI. CAP(UT) I. Quod diuina natura, quae diuinitas dicitur, Deus non sit, sed forma qua Deus est, sicut humanitas homo non est sed forma qua homo est.—Contra: Augustinus: "Omnis natura aut Deus est aut a Deo".⁸ [I]n libro *De Trinitate*: "Deus non ea magnitudine magnus est quae non est quod ipse; alioquin illa erit maior magnitudo quam Deus".⁹

CAP. II. Quod cum Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus unum esse dicuntur, non nisi una diuinitate esse intelligentur, nec conuerti possit unus Deus uel una substantia uel unum aliquid Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus esse dicatur.—Contra: Theodericus, Gregorius: "Ibi enim unitas uere est trinitas et trinitas uere est unitas".¹⁰ Augustinus *De fide ad Petrum*: "Quia in illo uno uero Deo trinitate non solum unus Deus est, sed etiam quod trinitas est naturaliter uerum est, propterea ipse Deus uerus in personis trinitatis est, in una natura unus est".¹¹ Athanasius *Contra Arium et Sabellium*: "Illi mihi necessario uidero festinandum ut tres unum esse et unum tres esse, etsi non ratione qua homo sum, tamen auctoritate perdoceam".¹² Theodericus: "Existens scientia est Deus, Deus est trinitas".¹³ Augustinus *De Trinitate*: "Consequenter intelligitur non tantum de Patre dixisse

⁶ *Epist. de condemn. errorum Gilb. Porret.*, 13; PL 185, 595.

⁷ Le texte de cette proposition, et des suivantes, concorde presque entièrement avec celui qui en est donné, d'après une copie de Sirmond, dans Mansi, *Concilia XXI*, cols. 711-2, et diffère de celui qu'en donne Geoffroy d'Auxerre; PL 185, 617.

⁸ S. Augustin, *Contra Iulianum I*, viii, 36; PL 44, 666: ita ut omnino nulla natura sit quae non aut ipse sit, aut ab ipso facta sit.

⁹ Résumé Boëce, *De Trinitate*, 4; PL 64, 1252. La même sentence, quelque peu développée, mais également attribuée à s. Augustin, est citée par Geoffroy d'Auxerre, *Libellus*, 14; PL 185, 599, et *Epistola*, 5; ibid., 590.

¹⁰ Théodoret, *De Trinitate*; PG 83, 1171. Une autre sentence du même ouvrage traduit de Théodoret est citée par Othon de Freising, *Gesta I*, 58; éd. cit., p. 84; d'après l'apparat de variantes donné, *ibid.*, plusieurs manuscrits des *Gesta* portent également *Theodoricus* ou *Theodericus*.

¹¹ S. Fulgence, *De Fide ad Petrum I*, 4; PL 40, 754: également cité sous le nom de s. Augustin, par Geoffroy, *Libellus*, 35; PL 185, 607.

¹² Paroles d'Athanase dans le *Contra arianos dialogus II*, 42, de Vigile de Thapse; PL 62, 225; cité par Geoffroy, *Libellus*, 38; PL 185, 608.

¹³ Théodoret, *De Trinitate*; PG 83, 1167.

Apostolum: Qui solus habet immortalitatem, sed de uno solo Deo qui est Trinitas".¹⁴ Idem: "Supernarum uirtutum carmina unum tres esse et tres unum esse demonstrant".¹⁵ Idem: "Nec Sabellium incurrimus tres Deum fatendo, nec tuae perfidiae laqueis retinemur dum hunc Deum in trinitate esse ingenuae confitemur".¹⁶

CAP. III. Quod tres personae tribus unitatibus sint tria et distinctae tribus proprietatibus quae non sunt ipse personae, sed tres aeternae et ab inuicem et a diuina substantia numero differentes.—Contra: Augustinus, *De essentia diuinitatis*: "Deus simplex est natura et immutabilis et im-perturbata nec aliud est ipse et aliud quod habet".¹⁷ Idem habes in Ieronimo, *De essentia Dei*.¹⁸ Idem in Ysidoro,¹⁹ Beda. [Boetius], *De Trinitate*: "Hoc uere est: unum in quo nullus est numerus quia nullum in eo aliud praeter id quod est".²⁰ Ieronimus ad Damasum papam: "Non enim nomina tantummodo, sed etiam nominum proprietates id est personas uel, ut graeci exprimunt, ypostases. hoc est substantias, confitemur".²¹

CAP. IV. Quod diuina natura non sit incarnata.—Contra: Leo papa: "Assumpta est a maiestate humilitas, a uirtute infirmitas, ab aeternitate mortalitas, et natura inuiolabilis naturae est unita passibili".²² Idem: "Carnem sibi inuiolabilis Verbi deitas coaptauit".²³ Gregorius: "Venit ad nos calciata diuinitas".²⁴

Credimus simplicem naturam diuinitatis esse Deum incarnatam esse sed in Filio.²⁵

NOMINA ARCHIEPISCOPORUM QUI INTERFUERUNT CONCILIO. Remensis. Bitu-
icensis. Burdegalensis. Turonensis. Treuerensis. Cesariensis. Eboracensis.
25 Cantuariensis. Rotomagensis. Viennensis. EPISCOPORUM. Suessionensis.
Cathalaunensis. Parisiensis. Autisiodorensis. Ambianensis. Tornacensis.
Morinensis. Noruincensis. Valentinus. Cenomannensis. Aletensis. Engolis-
mensis. Xantonensis.—ABBATUM. Cluniacensis. Cisterciensis. Clareuallensis.
Sancti Dionisi. Sancti Benedicti. Corbinensis. Premonstratensis. Otto
30 Capemburgensis et alii plures.—MAGISTRI SCOLARUM. Gauterius de
Maurit[ania]. Gauterius eboracensis. Archid[iaconus]. Gaufridus eboracen-
sis archidiaconus. Humbertus bituric[ensis]. Petrus lumb[ardus].
Theodericus carnott[ensis]. Robertus de bosco. Adam de paruo ponte et
alii multi.

Dans ce texte l'abbé de Clairvaux figurait à son rang, comme un nom parmi d'autres. Il est pourtant des manuscrits où le procès de Gilbert au concile est présenté comme un combat singulier entre Bernard et lui. Dans un manuscrit provenant de l'abbaye cistercienne de Vauclair, au diocèse de Laon; parmi des sentences patristiques sur Dieu et la prédestination, chacune des propositions

¹⁴ *De Trinitate* I, vi, 10; PL 42, 826; cité par Geoffroy, *Libellus*, 32; PL 185, 606.

¹⁵ Paroles d'Athanase dans le *Contra Arianos* II, 42, de Vigile de Thapse; PL 62, 225; cité dans Geoffroy, *Epistola* 6; PL 185, 590, et *Libellus*, 36; *ibid.*, 608.

¹⁶ Paroles d'Athanase dans le *Contra Arianos* II, 46, de Vigile de Thanse; PL 62, 227; cité dans Geoffroy, *Libellus*, 38; PL 185, 608.

¹⁷ Ps. Augustin, *De Essentia diuinitatis*, 1; PL 42, 1200; cité par Geoffroy, *Libellus*, 48; PL 185, 613.

¹⁸ Le même texte que le précédent, légèrement abrégé, est cité par Geoffroy, *Libellus*, 50; PL 185, 613, sous le nom de Jérôme.

¹⁹ Un texte d'Isidore dans le même sens, *Etym.* VII, i, 26; PL 82, 262, est cité, avant le précédent, par Geoffroy, *Libellus*, 49; PL 185, 613.

²⁰ Boëce, *De Trinitate* II; PL 64, 1250; cité

par Geoffroy, *Libellus*, 43; PL 185, 610. Dans le manuscrit, l'espace où devrait être écrit le nom de Boëce est laissé en blanc.

²¹ Semble résumer Jérôme, *Epist.* XVI, 4; PL 22, 357; cité sous cette forme par Geoffroy, *Libellus*, 50; PL 185, 613, et par Guillaume de Saint-Thierry, *De Erroribus Guillelmi de Conchis*; PL 180, 336.

²² Cite, en l'abrégeant, s. Léon, *Sermo XXI*, 2; PL 54, 192, également cité dans Geoffroy, *Libellus*, 61; PL 185, 615.

²³ S. Léon, *Sermo XXV*, 2; PL 54, 209.

²⁴ S. Grégoire le Grand, *Hom. in Eu.* VII, 3; PL 76, 110D; cité sous la même forme, légèrement différente du texte de Grégoire lui-même, dans Geoffroy, *Libellus*, 57; PL 185, 615; cité sous une autre forme encore dans Geoffroy, *Enistona*, 7; *ibid.*, 591.

²⁵ Mansi, *Concilia XXI*, cols. 712-3.

reprochées à Gilbert est suivie de l'article correspondant de la profession de foi qui s'y oppose; ces articles sont mis sous le nom de Bernard, comme si le dialogue s'était échangé entre ces deux adversaires seulement:

GILBERTUS PORRETANUS. Quod diuina natura id est diuinitas . . .
 BER[NARDUS] ABBAS. Credimus simplicem naturam . . .
 G[ILBERTUS] POR[RETANUS]. Quod non unus Deus . . .
 B[ERNARDUS] ABBAS. Cum de tribus personis loquimur . . .
 G[ILBERTUS] POR[RETANUS]. Quod proprietates personarum . . .
 B[ERNARDUS] ABBAS. Credimus solum Deum . . .
 G[ILBERTUS] POR[RETANUS]. Quod diuina natura non sit incarnata . . .
 B[ERNARDUS] ABBAS. Credimus ipsam . . .—. . . sed in filio.²⁸

Dans un manuscrit de ce monastère d'Anchin dont l'abbé Alvise fut en relations avec saint Bernard,²⁹ la profession de foi est également attribuée à l'abbé de Clairvaux:

Eodem anno heresim concitat magister Gislebertus asserens:

Quod diuina natura id est diuinitas . . .
 Quod non unus Deus . . .
 Quod proprietates personarum . . .
 Quod diuina natura non sit incarnata . . .

RESPONSIO DOMINI BERNARDI ABBATIS CLARE VALLIS. Credimus simplicem naturam . . .—. . . sed in filio.³⁰

Enfin, dans un exemplaire du *De Consideratione* de saint Bernard qui fut copié à Clairvaux peu d'années après la mort de l'auteur, une main contemporaine, dans une marge, a écrit ces mots: *Contra errorem Gisleberti*; or cette note se trouve en face d'un passage du livre V, composé en 1152 ou 1153, où il est question de la nature de Dieu: *Quid est Deus? Quo nihil melius cogitari potest. Si approbas, non oportet assentiaris esse aliquid quo Deus sit et quod Deus non sit . . .*³¹

Lisait-on, à Clairvaux, les œuvres de Gilbert? Il subsiste un exemplaire de son commentaire de Boèce parmi les manuscrits de Clairvaux: il est du XII^e siècle, et il n'est pas exclu qu'il ait servi à saint Bernard.³² Un autre manuscrit de Clairvaux, également du XII^e siècle, commence par un traité anonyme *De dilectione*.³³ Ce thème était cher aux écrivains spirituels cisterciens, influencés par saint Bernard. Or certaines formules de ce traité rappellent celles d'Abélard et de Gilbert de la Porrée. Seulement, ici elles n'alimentent plus la polémique, mais la mystique:

Cum uero haec sit sanctae Trinitatis distinctio: Pater est potentia, Filius est sapientia, Spiritus Sanctus benignitas, non solum, ut ait quidam,³⁴ ad summi boni perfectionem describendam, uerum etiam plurimum prodere ad diuini cultus religionem hominibus persuadendam. Duo siquidem sunt quae nos maxime Deo subiectos efficiunt: timor uidelicet et amor. Potentia quippe

²⁸ Ms Laon 176, XII^e s., fol. 45-45v.

²⁹ Cf. Vacandard, *op. cit.*, I, p. 138 et *passim*.

³⁰ Ms Douai 365, XII^e s., fol. 2-2v. Le texte suit celui de la lettre d'Arnould sur la prise de Lisbonne le 25 Octobre, 1147: éd. Martene, *Ampl. coll. I* (Paris, 1724), p. 800. Dans un autre manuscrit d'Anchin, Douai 372, qui est la première collection ancienne d'œuvres et de *Vies de s.* Bernard, se trouve ajoutée (t. II, fol. 1-1^r) la lettre de Gauthier de Mortagne, l'un des adversaires de Gilbert de la Porrée, sur la science de l'âme du Christ: PL 186, 1052; ce manuscrit s'ajoutera à ceux

qui a été énumérés L. Ott, *Untersuchungen zur theologischen Briefliteratur der Frühscholastik* (Münster en W., 1937), p. 341, n. 3.

³¹ Ms Troyes 426, fol. 148^v: cf. *De Consideratione* V, vii, 15; PL 182, 797.

³² Ms Troyes 1841.

³³ Ms Troyes 1621, XII^e s., fols. 1-22, inc.: Frater fratris, de dilectione. Petitioni uestrae, frater carissime, satisfacere pusillanimitas nostra . . . Le début est peu original: jusqu'au fol. 12, le texte est surtout constitué de citations bibliques et patristiques.

³⁴ Les mots *ut ait quidam* sont une *additio* interlinéaire contemporaine.

et sapientia timorem incutint . . . Benignitas autem specialiter ad amorem pertinet . . .³³

Mais ces textes où les formules d'Abélard et de Gilbert servaient de point de départ à des développements sur la charité semblent avoir été rares. Dans les milieux monastiques, cisterciens et bénédictins, on continuait à voir un danger pour la foi dans ces essais de théologie spéculative. Témoin ce traité où un moine de Saint-Jacques de Liège, Guillaume, demande qu'on institue une fête de la Trinité pour affirmer ce dogme en réaction contre les erreurs qui, à son avis, continuaient de le menacer.³⁴

Dans l'entourage de Gilbert, au contraire, on continuait à lui faire gloire de son enseignement. A sa mort, en 1154, le doyen de Poitiers Laurent, qui devait lui succéder bientôt comme évêque de cette ville, prononça son éloge. Le texte a été édité par D. Brial,³⁵ sauf quelques passages qui ne sont que de la littérature et n'apportent rien à l'histoire.³⁶ L'un d'eux, cependant, mérite d'être publié ici, car il nous montre qu'en Gilbert on estimait non seulement l'évêque, mais le maître en théologie:

Ille audiens Apostolum suum dicentem: *Gratia Dei sum id quod sum et gratia eius in me uacula non fuit,*³⁷ ne forte in uacuum gratiam Dei receperisset,³⁸ collatam sibi diuini muneris gratiam cunctis communicabilem faciens, noluit eam propriis usibus reseruare. Unde meruit eminere magisterii merito supra omnes doctores in tempore suo et obtinuit nomen grande super nomen magnorum qui sunt in terra . . .³⁹

II. AUTOEUR DE 1185.

Après le concile de Reims, pendant plusieurs générations, saint Bernard et Gilbert continuaient de s'opposer dans l'esprit de leurs admirateurs respectifs. Le porrétanisme gardait des adeptes fervents.¹ Mais surtout Bernard et Gilbert symbolisaient deux attitudes intellectuelles qui n'avaient pas cessé de se distinguer au cours de tout le moyen âge et qui, devenues davantage conscientes, risquaient parfois de se trouver en conflit. Un témoin lucide—et charmant—de cet antagonisme aide à saisir à quel point il était profond et mérite, à ce titre, d'être présenté.

Le manuscrit 259 de la Bibliothèque municipale de Cambrai vient de la cathédrale de cette ville. C'est un volumineux recueil de plus de 600 pages de format restreint (208 x 152 mm). D'une écriture extrêmement fine du XIII^e siècle y sont copiés des textes d'auteurs variés, mais qui tous sont du XII^e siècle ou de la fin du XI^e: saint Anselme, Yves de Chartres, Rupert de Deutz, Hugues de Fouilloy, Honorius Augustodunensis, Hildebert du Mans, Raoul de Flay, Hugues et Richard de Saint-Victor. A ce recueil assez peu homogène, mais caractéristique de diverses écoles, se trouvent mêlés trois textes qui constituent un ensemble. On a d'abord (fol. 228-228') une lettre adressée au pape Urbain

³³ Fol. 12.

³⁴ J'ai présenté ce texte sous le titre: 'Le traité de Guillaume de Saint-Jacques sur la Trinité', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire au moyen âge*, XVIII (1950-51), 89-102.

³⁵ Recueil des historiens de la France et des Gaules XIV (Paris, 1877), pp. 379-81. Le texte avait déjà été publié par J. Besly, *Evesques de Poitiers avec les preuves* (1637), pp. 103-8, d'après le Ms Regin. lat. 150 (XII^e s.), Saint Michel en l'Herm, au diocèse de Luçon), fol. 156^v-9.

³⁶ Il manque dans l'édition de D. Brial, p. 379, neuf lignes du fol. 156^v du manuscrit

Reg. lat. 150 et quatre lignes du fol. 157; p. 380, neuf lignes du fol. 157^v et sept lignes des fol. 158^v-9.

³⁷ I Cor. xv, 10.

³⁸ Cf. II Cor. vi, 1.

³⁹ Ms Reg. lat. 150, fol. 157^v.

¹ Cf. A. Hayen, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-7; A. Forest, *op. cit.*, pp. 163-4. F. Pelster, 'Die anonyme Verteidigungschrift der Lehre Gilberts von Poitiers im Cod. Vat. 561 und ihr Verfasser Canonicus Adhemar von Saint-Rufin Valence (um 1180)', *Studia mediaevalia in honorem R. J. Martin* (Bruges, s.d.), 113-46.

III par un certain Evrard dénonçant des erreurs qui s'enseignent à Paris au sujet de la Trinité et du Christ; il demande au pape d'informer sur ces erreurs et d'y mettre fin par une définition dogmatique. Puis, après un court extrait de Boèce (fol. 229^r), commence un long dialogue entre le moine Evrard et un certain Ratius. Il est question des moines et surtout de leurs préventions contre toute subtilité dans le domaine intellectuel. Mais bientôt sont nommés les deux représentants des tendances qui s'affrontent ici: saint Bernard et maître Gilbert. Ratius fait l'éloge du Porrétain, puis défend sa doctrine; Evrard pose des questions, parfois des objections: la discussion, serrée, se développe suivant un plan assez rigoureux, que plusieurs intermèdes viennent agrémenter: un prélat survient, qui donne l'occasion d'une invective contre le faste et la gourmandise de ses semblables; un neveu de Ratius, Sosie, prend part à la conversation. A l'arrivée et au départ de chacun de ces interlocuteurs—spécialement au moment des repas—des propos sur l'hospitalité ou d'autres sujets font diversion. Mais l'entretien progresse: Evrard, à son tour, fait l'éloge de saint Bernard; la compétence de ce dernier en morale "pratique" est précisée par opposition à celle du Porrétain dans le domaine de la théologie spéculative. Sosie met en parallèle la vie des clercs dans les écoles et celle des moines: ce sont ces deux milieux qui, en réalité, affirment en cette controverse leurs aspirations.

Enfin (fols. 240^v-241^r) une lettre à Evrard complète le dossier. Un correspondant dont le nom commence par un B—l'initiale est seule donnée—parle à Evrard de sa lettre à Urbain III et du dialogue qui précède et lui propose d'y apporter quelques corrections en faisant appel, s'il le faut, aux lumières de Ratius.

Ces trois textes constituent donc un ensemble homogène: Evrard est donné comme l'auteur des deux premiers et le destinataire du troisième; Ratius est nommé dans les deux derniers; le style est le même dans les trois. Mais surtout, dans les trois est abordé le même problème: l'opposition entre Bernard et Gilbert—and entre les milieux monastique et scolaire. La date à laquelle sont rapportés ces trois textes est indiquée dès le début, semble-t-il, avec assez de précision, puisque Urbain III fut pape de novembre 1185 à octobre 1187. Dans la lettre qui lui est adressée, Evrard fait allusion à une intervention doctrinale du "pape Alexandre": il s'agit du prédécesseur d'Urbain III, Alexandre III (1159-1181).² Saint Bernard est donné comme déjà canonisé, ce qui avait eu lieu en 1174. Pourtant, vers le début du dialogue, Evrard dit avoir été, "en France, clerc du seigneur Hyacinthe, actuellement pape": cette mention ne peut s'appliquer qu'à Hyacinthe Orsini, qui fut pape de 1191 à 1198 sous le nom de Célestin III; il semble bien qu'il ait séjourné à Paris pour ses études, et il était au concile de Sens de 1140 ou 1141, où il prit la défense d'Abélard.³ Il faudrait donc admettre que la lettre destinée à Urbain III ne lui ait pas été expédiée, ou qu'il subsiste une certaine incohérence entre les données chronologiques des trois textes.

Il n'est pas plus facile, en effet, d'en identifier l'auteur que d'en situer la date. Le nom d'Evrard est clairement indiqué dès le début des deux premiers. Mais quel est ce personnage? Il donne à saint Bernard le titre de "pater noster", comme le faisaient volontiers les cisterciens; toutes les circonstances auxquelles il fait allusion donnent à penser que le dialogue avec Ratius a eu lieu dans un monastère cistercien. Mais où situer celui-ci? Evrard écrit au pape qu'il s'adresse à lui "depuis les extrémités de la terre". Est-ce à dire qu'il vit loin de Rome, aux frontières occidentales de l'Europe,⁴ ou n'y a-t-il là qu'une simple réminiscence du Ps. LX? Il dit s'être entretenu avec l'abbas *Monasteriensis*: il

² Condamnation de la proposition: *Christus non est aliquid secundum quod homo, par la lettre Cum Christus du 18 février, 1177;* Mansi, *Concilia XXI*, col. 1081.

³ Cf. R. Mols, art. *Célestin III*, dans *Diction. d'hist. et de géogr. ecclés. XII* (Paris, 1950), col. 62.

⁴ *Geoffroy d'Auxerre*, par exemple, écrit

peut s'agir d'une des abbayes des régions germaniques dont le nom fut Münster, mais dont aucune ne fut cistercienne, ou—ce qui est plus vraisemblable—de l'abbaye cistercienne de Montier-en-Argonne.⁵ Evrard n'est pas désigné comme abbé, mais ne fallait-il pas qu'il fût revêtu de quelque dignité pour qu'il osât écrire au pape? On le voit, toutes ces données restent bien imprécises.

Le nom d'Evrard est assez répandu, au moyen âge, en Flandre et aux environs.⁶ Parmi les écrivains du XII^e siècle ou du commencement du XIII^e qui se soient appelés Evrard, il en est trois en qui, à priori, on semble avoir des chances de reconnaître l'auteur des textes de Cambrai. On pense d'abord à Evrard de Béthune; mais celui-ci est avant tout un logicien et un grammairien; son *Grecismus* est plein de citations de Platon et surtout d'Aristote;⁷ le style et le genre de ce traité sont déjà ceux de la scolastique du XIII^e siècle et ils diffèrent absolument des textes de Cambrai. Evrard de Béthune a d'ailleurs écrit vers 1212, longtemps après Urbain III et Célestin III. Un autre Evrard de Béthune est l'auteur d'un ouvrage contre les Vaudois dont le titre est *Anti-hæresis*: Jacques Gretser, qui l'a édité, le donne comme cistercien et se demande s'il est le même que l'auteur du *Grecismus*.⁸ On a voulu le rattacher au "porrétanisme philosophique";⁹ mais il fait seulement profession d'antinominalisme,¹⁰ et son traité paraît également plus tardif que les textes du manuscrit de Cambrai. On pense alors au Bx Evrard, abbé cistercien de Clairmarais, au diocèse de Thérouanne,¹¹ qui résigna sa charge en 1187. Une chronique de Clairmarais dit que c'était un lettré, et qu'il reçut des bulles et des priviléges d'Urbain III au cours de plusieurs procès qui se terminèrent en sa faveur; après sa démission, il composa des livres et spécialement un traité sur l'accent;¹² il aurait également écrit des lettres rédigées selon l'art du *dictamen*.¹³ Les dates où il vécut et ses préoccupations d'humaniste coïncideraient avec ce que nous révèlent d'Evrard les textes de Cambrai. Mais il n'y a là que des indices bien faibles, et sur lesquels ne peut s'appuyer qu'une conjecture.

Ratius,¹⁴ le principal contradicteur d'Evrard, se présente, dès le début, comme originaire d'Athènes; plus loin il fait allusion à la bibliothèque qu'il possède à Athènes. Sur le conseil de sa soeur appelée Sophie, sa mère, dont le nom est *Ratio Atheniensis*, l'a envoyé en France: il y a été l'élève de Gilbert de la

à propos du voyage que l'évêque Eskil de Lund fit à Clairvaux pour y rencontrer s. Bernard: *Quem a finibus terrae non curiositas audiendas sapientiae, sed fidei zelus plenitudo atraxerat. Vita I Bernardi* IV, 25; PL 185, 335. De s. Malachie O'Morgair qui, d'Irlande, vint mourir à Clairvaux, s. Bernard dit qu'il vint a *finibus terrae*. *Serm. de Malachia* I, 2; PL 183, 483.

⁵Cf. L. Janauschek, *Origines cistercienses* (Vienne, 1877), p. 79.

⁶ Le manuscrit porte indifféremment *Euerardus* ou *Eurardus*. L'orthographe *Eberhardus* est plus fréquente en Bavière et aux environs.

⁷ Le *Grecismus* est fréquent dans les manuscrits, et il a été plusieurs fois édité. J'ai utilisé Ms Arras 880 (XIV^e s., Saint-Vaast d'Arras).

⁸L'éd. Gretser a été reproduite par Mar-garin de la Bigne, *Maxima bibliotheca veterum patrum* XXIV (Lyon, 1677), pp. 1520-84. Gretser l'a dédiée à l'abbé cistercien de Salem. Au sujet de l'identité de l'auteur du *Grecismus* et de celui de l'*Anti-hæresis*, il écrit simplement: Certe nomen et patria concordant, p. 1522. De fait, dès le début, p. 1525, l'auteur se présente en ces termes: *Ego Ebrardus, natione Flandrensis, Betunia oriundus . . .*

⁹F. Vernet, art. *Gilbert de la Porrée*, dans

Diction. de théol. cathol. VI (Paris, 1920), col. 1355.

¹⁰S'opposant au dualisme des vaudois, Ebrard explique que la Loi, bien qu'elle différât de l'Evangile, ne contenait pas un autre enseignement: *Lex enim in euangelium translata alia quidem est, non aliud. Zacharias enim mutus fuit non aliud a se loquente . . . Eodem penitus modo lex ab euangeliō differt. Euangelium enim nihil aliud quam apertio legis, quae erat obscura. Ne simus nominales in hoc, sed potius porretani . . .*

¹¹Aujourd'hui au diocèse d'Arras.

¹²Pacis et solitudinis amatorem et in litteris ualde gnarum . . . Reliquum uitiae suae, cum ingenio excellenti polleret, consumpsit in componendis libris ex quibus unum, cui titulus *De Accentibus*, memor Carolus de Visch, Dunensium prior, in suo Catalogo priorum ordinis, t. II, p. 103. *Historia domestica Claromarisci*, Ms Saint-Omer 850 (XVIII^e s.), fol. 229. Cf. aussi H. de Laplane, *Les Abbés de Clairmarais* (Saint-Omer, 1868), pp. 97-102; C. de Visch, *Biblioth. Cisterc.* II (1656), p. 103.

¹³D'après Daunou dans *l'Hist. litt. de la France* XV, p. 139.

¹⁴Le manuscrit porte généralement *Ratius*, parfois *Rascius*.

Porrée à Chartres et a ensuite accompagné son maître à Poitiers: il lui enseignait le grec tandis que Gilbert lui donnait des leçons de latin; après la mort de Gilbert, il composa son épitaphe.¹⁵ Mais toutes ces allégations semblent très fantaisistes. Quant à Sosie, qui remplace un moment Ratius, son nom et son rôle sont bien artificiels, et on ne peut même pas émettre une hypothèse à son sujet. On ne peut se défendre de l'impression qu'on se trouve en présence d'une fiction littéraire: la lettre au pape est peut-être fictive et les personnages nommés ne sont sans doute pas historiques—ce qui ne veut pas dire qu'ils n'ont pas existé. Car ils sont les symboles de milieux réels: Ratius représente la raison grecque dont il porte le nom; c'est l'humanisme scolaire et intellectuel. Evrard, c'est l'humanisme monastique et le témoin d'une tendance mystique. Ratius parle, pour ainsi dire, au nom de la spéculation, Evrard au nom de la contemplation.¹⁶

Tour à tour les partenaires de ce petit drame, fort joliment écrit, émaillé de réminiscences classiques, font discrètement l'éloge, puis le procès du monde monastique et du monde scolaire: chacun de ces deux milieux, malgré ses faiblesses et ses dangers, offre des avantages et possède des qualités. Les prélats seuls n'ont rien qui vaille d'être loué: les interlocuteurs s'accordent sur ce point, ce qui achève de faire de ce texte une sorte de satire de la société cléricale dans la seconde moitié du XII^e siècle. Et pourtant sous ce badinage se dissimule un conflit très profond, où sont engagées des aspirations spirituelles divergentes, mais légitimes. On reproche à Bernard de n'avoir pas compris Gilbert de la Porrée;¹⁷ mais on lui reconnaît une haute sainteté, on admire son enseignement moral et sa mystique. Il faut choisir entre l'occupation de Marthe et celle de Marie, entre la science et cette "sagesse" dont la définition selon Bernard sera donnée deux fois. Ou le cloître, ou Paris: tel est le vrai dilemme. En discutant de Bernard et de Gilbert, ce sont deux institutions, deux états de vie dans l'Eglise, deux conceptions du rôle de l'intelligence dans la vie chrétienne, que mettent en question les personnages du dialogue.

Les textes du manuscrit de Cambrai sont fort longs; ils occuperaient une centaine de pages d'édition, non sans apporter, semble-t-il, quelques lumières à l'histoire doctrinale. Il ne s'agit ici que de faire connaître ces nouveaux témoins, très explicites, des remous que, quarante ans après le concile de Reims, continuait de susciter la doctrine du Porrétain, malgré les censures de Bernard.¹⁸

III.

EPISTOLA EURARDI DE QUIBUS DAM ARTICULIS FIDEI DE HOMINE ASSUMPTO, DE
DUABUS NATURIS ET UNA PERSONA CHRISTI ET DE PROPRIETATIBUS KATACTERICIS
AD URBANUM PAPAM III. *Domine Dominus noster, quam admirabile est nomen
tuum . . .*¹ Prologue où est fait l'éloge du pouvoir pontifical et après lequel
5 est précisé l'objet de la lettre:

Sed ut omittam hereses fere per uniuersum mundum a laicis et inter laicos
exhortas, non possum silere errores quorumdam in theologia studentium,
Parisiis et alibi theologiam docentium siue dissentium, quorum quedam

¹⁵ Cette épitaphe est différente des deux qui sont publiées dans *Gall. christ. II* (Paris, 1873), col. 1178.

¹⁶ Ces deux tendances et ces deux formes de culture sont celles que j'ai caractérisées sous le titre: 'L'Humanisme bénédictin du VIII^e au XII^e siècle', *Analecta Monastica I* (Studia Anselmiana, Rome, 1948), 1-20, en particulier 7-10: 'La scolaire et la culture monastique'.

¹⁷ Le défenseur même de Bernard, Evrard, avoue que Bernard a pu accuser Gilbert

d'hérésie, mais non le convaincre: *conuenire, non convincere*.

¹⁸ Les extraits édités ci-dessous suffisent à donner le cadre où s'insère la discussion et les articulations de celle-ci; les références précises doivent permettre de retrouver les passages qui ne seront pas édités, mais dont les rubriques, reproduites en italique, telles qu'elles sont dans le manuscrit, indiquent le contenu.

¹ Ps. viii, 2.

pertinent ad Trinitatem, quedam ad Christi personam, quedam ad Christi naturam.

Ad Trinitatem hoc modo: Inquiunt quidam: "Paternitas est Deus", alii: "Paternitas non est Deus". At quantum periculum est affirmare Deum esse

5 quod Deus non est, tantum periculum est Deum negare ipsum non esse quod ipse est. At isti affirmant de Deo quod isti negant; igitur alteri, etsi non alterutri, errant. Errantes uero a te reuocandi sunt . . .

Quod relatio non est Deus.—Opposito.—Augustinus contra affirmantes paternitatem esse Deum.—Determinatio.—Ysidorus in VII libro Ethymologiarum.—(228) Contra idem ait magnus Basilius . . .—Divisio decem predicatorum.—Tria prima predicamenta dicta de Deo diuinam predican essentiam, cetera uero non . . .—Sunt tantum duo modi predicandi in theologicis.

DE SECUNDO ERRORE SCIL. DE PERSONA CHRISTI. Maxima naturalis facultatis. Nestorius fuit deceptus.

15 Nostri uero parisienses damnatam heresim audientes concedere duas personas esse Christum, nomen pluralitatis reiciunt, sed significationem admittunt.

Nota hic errorem de persona quod filius Dei sit pars cuiusdam persone . . .—De distributione subsistentium et subsistentiarum . . .—(229) Quod hoc 20 nomen Christus equiuocum sit secundum quosdam.

DE TERTIO ERRORE QUI EST DE CHRISTI NATURA.—Eutices fuit deceptus maxima naturalis facultatis.²—Auctoritas Hilarii de natura cui natura non inesse nec non conuenire non potest.—Probatio quod una humanitas fuerit in Christo— . . .—Inconuenientia que sequuntur quod negatur esse humanitas in Christo.

25 Item papa Alexander audiens abusiones que procedebant ex hoc quod negabant hoc nomine homo aliquid attribui Christo et quod Petrus et Christus non fuerunt uere duo homines nec Christus dicebatur eodem modo homo quo ceteri homines et quod in illo triduo ita fuerit homo sicut ante et post, precepit ut diceretur Christus esse aliquid secundum quod homo.³

30 Auctoritati igitur domini pape cedentes dicunt: Christus est aliquid secundum quod homo, sed perperam exponunt sic: aliquid id est alicuiusmodi, et est nouissimus error peior priore. Cum igitur in sensu conueniant cum euticianis, licet differant in uerbis, semieuticiani dicendi sunt.

Pater, ii sunt errores qui a Parisiensi ciuitate deriuati fere per uniuersum orbem seminantur. Ii sunt errores per quos pusilli et magni scandalizantur, et cum quidam illorum panem sane doctrine esuriant, non euangelizantur. Nam etiam etsi aliqui sint qui eis sanam doctrinam proponant, tamen quia aliter didicerunt, eos audire nolunt. Nam perdere nolunt senes quod iuuenes didicere, et nemo est cui fidei de fide adhibeant nisi tibi. Ideoque a finibus terre ad te clamandum⁴ iudicant. Pater hos errores in scholis existens audiisti et inter taliter errantes conuersatus fuisti, et licet tunc haberes scientiam et uoluntatem emendandi, quia tamen non habebas auctoritatem, non correxisti. Sed cum nunc nomen tuum admirabile⁵ sit factum in uniuersa terra et magnificentia tua sit eleuata super celos, id est super sanctos et prudentes uiros gloriam Dei enarrantes,⁶ nunc a Domino sublimatus et ad fidei catholice instructionem conuersus, confirma fratres tuos⁷ a finibus terre ad te clamantes⁸ in petra a te et per te exaltari⁹ desiderantes, in fide Christi confortari¹⁰ exspectantes.

Pater, non hec propono coram hac reuerenda sede quia tot et tantos uelim

² Dans le texte correspondant à cette rubrique, il est dit à propos d'Eutychès: Cui concordant quidam parisienses. Dicunt enim Christi unam solam naturam, scil. diuinam . . .

³ Alexandre III, Epist. 'Cum Christus'; Mansi, Concilia XXI, col. 1081.

⁴ Cf. Ps. lx, 3.

⁵ Cf. Ps. viii, 2.

⁶ Cf. Ps. xviii, 1.

⁷ Cf. Lc. xxii, 32.

⁸ Cf. Ps. lx, 3.

⁹ Cf. Ps. xxvi, 6; lx, 3.

¹⁰ Cf. I Cor. xvi, 13.

accusare de fide, sed ideo quia nolo eos diuturnitate silentii suo errori prescribere, uel quia uolo a te corroborari in fide, ut iure possim uti uerbis Prophetae dicentis: *A finibus terre ad te clamaui, dum anxiaretur cor meum in petra exaltasti me*,¹¹ et in fide Christi corroborasti me.

- 5 Hec est igitur petitio mea ut omissis ad tempus questionibus temporalium, accedas et ascendas ad cor altum¹² et intendas solutionibus harum questionum, et qualibet septimana, dum uacare potes coram te disputari facias de theologia, donec Parisiensibus scribens diffinias utrum paternitas sit Deus, utrum relatio sit diuina essentia, utrum aliquis homo incepit esse Deus, utrum due substantie sint Christus, utrum una sola forma substantialis sit in Christo . . . —(229^v).

- 10 Pater mi, pater mi, currus Israel et supportator religionis christiane et auriga eius¹³ et gubernator fidei catholice, intende et attende quanto labore, quanto studio et quanta diligentia antiqui patres et sancti extirpauerunt hereses nestorianam et euticianam, et cum tibi constiterit prenominatos theologos in damnatas hereses incidisse, sufficit hoc clero denuntiare et ueritatem catholice fidei proponere, scilicet unum tantum subsistens et unam tantum substantiam esse Christum et ita unam solam personam et duas subsistentias id est duas essentias esse in Christo et ita duas naturas . . .

- 20 Suit un extrait de Boëce sous cette rubrique:

BOECIUS IN LIBRO DE CONSOLATIONE

O qui perpetua mundum ratione gubernas . . .
. . . Euoleat aut mersas deducant pondera terras.¹⁴

- 25 Puis DIALOGUS RASCI ET EURARDI. Suo suus pulsanti uel leniter, licet non leuiter, aperiri.¹⁵

- Sepe et multum mihi cogitanti de celesti norma et forma uiuendi monachis proposita et de quorumdam animorum ceruice indomita, de scala Iacob ad celum erecta per humilitatem ascendenda et de eiusdem scale descensione propter elationem,¹⁶ semel superuenit meus Ratius Atheniensis, 30 uir uirilis animi, apprime in omni facultate eruditissimus qui more suo iocose sic mihi inquit: Frater Euerarde, studiis accingere tarde. *Nescio quid tecum graue cornicaris inepte.*¹⁷—Ad quem erecto capite: Rati, optato aduenisti, sed non optato incepisti, utpote a calumnia. Nam non cornior inepte, sed meditor apte.

- 35 R(atus) — Meditaris quidem, sed *in meditatione tua non exardescit ignis*¹⁸ qui tam cito in modico commoueris uerbo . . .

- E(uerardus) — Cum itaque sim monachus et non poeta, tamen prodesse uellem, si possem, uel mihi. Ideoque placet mihi delectari in iocunda consuetudine et gaudere in dicendo idonea regularis uite . . . Dicam tibi, a te 40 cupiens erudiri, cui sepius in ariopage eruditior sedisti.

R.—Dic.

E.—Dicam, sed non est mora libera mihi, quia campana ad uespertinum uocat me officium, et anxior quia hospes es, tuum ueritus abcessum.

- 45 R.—Ne timeas, bene et plene tuum poteris prosequi propositum ante meum discessum. Vade itaque et cito redi.

- Ego itaque abiens, apud me dicebam: Dicam huic hospiti ea que mente paulo ante uoluebam. Dicam equidem, nam ipse conscientius est eorum que apud claustrales cuiusuis ordinis et habitus aguntur. Dicam non causa diffamandi aliquos, sed in dubiis me confirmandi. Nam ecce presto est noster

- 50 Ratius.

¹¹ Ps. ix, 3.

¹² Cf. Ps. lxiii, 7.

¹³ IV Reg. ii, 12.

¹⁴ De Consol. philos., l. III, metr. IX.

¹⁵ Cf. Lc. xi, 10.

¹⁶ Cf. Regula s. Benedicti, cap. VII.

¹⁷ Perse, Sat. V, 12.

¹⁸ Cf. Ps. xxxviii, 4.

R.—Dic, Eurarde, si quid habes.

E.—Habeo aliquid aduersum te¹⁹ quod me appellas simplici nomine, cum regula nostra iubeat aliquid adici nomini cuiuslibet monachi.²⁰

R.—Istud regulare dicas ratibus, non mihi. Ne autem detineas diem uana loquendo euntem,²¹ quod dicturus es, dic citius.²²

E.—Patienter audio te arguentem me uanitatis. Quero igitur a te unde tanta sit dissonantia inter regularem et conuentualem monachorum institutionem et cotidianam conuenticularem quorundam (230) conuersationem, quod et exprimunt per indiscretum, murmuriosum, susurroneum et contumeliosum sermonem, et unde tanta discordia inter suam professionem sanctam et habitum exteriorem et habitum mentis interiorem. Unde beatus Bernardus ait: "Tepescimus processu temporis a feroore religionis et nostre conuersationis paulatim refrigescit caritas . . ."²³ (En marge cette rubrique: *De reprehensione monachorum facta a patre nostro beato Bernardo.*)

15 R.—Numquid ego monachus sum ut iudicem de moribus monachorum? *Tractent fabrilia fabri.*²⁴

E.—Es monachus uerus quidem mentis uirtute, licet non habitus professione, et peritus quemuis cuiusvis ordinis in suo ordine instruere . . . Precepit beatus Benedictus ne ea que quis audiret in seculo referret in claustro.²⁵ Sed quoquis adueniente uel abbate uel monacho, conuenticulum fit, circumsedetur a monachis, de uisis et auditis in seculo, de rumoribus uagis, de principibus terrarum, de prelatis ecclesiarum questio fit. Hospite igitur referente conticent et se continent omnes intenti, quia ora tenent; quod si quis moueret uerbum de diuinis operibus sanctorumue scripturis, statim insurgeretur in eum questionator, disputator quasi malefactor iudicaretur, cum nusquam legatur inhibitum ab aliquo sanctorum patrum questiones fieri theologie uel de bonis moribus et de iis disputari.

R.—. . . Barbaries uidetur aliquibus monachorum quidquid alicuius scripture resonat subtilitatem; quod autem quis non intelligit fastidit et odit etiam intellecta, in quibus non consueuit abhorret. Redit enim quis libenter ad consueta, quia consuetudo quasi altera natura.²⁶ Unde stoicus:

Naturam expellas furca, licet usque recurret.²⁷

Inde est quod dissueti scripture otiosa pro consuetudine sequuntur uerba, studiosi uero tam monachi quam laici, tamen litterati, litteraturam et litteratos diligunt et uenerantur. Unde Boetius in Hebdomadibus suis: *Omnis diuersitas discors, similitudo uero appetenda.*²⁸ Inde est quod quidam monachorum, nigrorum dico, adeo impatientes, adeo iracundi, adeo elati, adeo ad contumeliam inferiorum proni sunt ut etiam seculares in hoc antecedere uideantur, in hoc prelati monachorum utriusque habitus, et forte plures, plurimum redarguendi quod traditiones suas nimis mandant custodiri, instituta uero regule a beato Benedicto traditae multi non multum attendunt preteriri, ut de humilitate tenenda et de fraterna pace obseruanda.

E.—Satis, ex parte tamen, assentio uerbis tuis. Nam hac consuetudine inductus quidam monachus nomine Hugo tria obiecit mihi disloquentia, licet gestu et habitu uideretur religiosissimus, scientia et moribus multum commendatus . . .

Rubrique: *De uera humilitate . . .*

R.—Sed inter claustrales quoque, ubi tales (humiles) inueniuntur?

¹⁹ Cf. *Mc.* xi, 25.

²⁰ *Regula s. Benedicti*, cap. LXIII.

²¹ Cf. *Ovide*, *Met.* I, 683.

²² Cf. *Io.* xiii, 27.

²³ *Sermo in Annuntiat.* III, 9; *PL* 183, 397.

Les mots *religionis* et *nostrae* manquent dans le texte de s. Bernard.

²⁴ Horace, *Epist.* II, 1, 116.

²⁵ *Regula s. Benedicti*, cap. LXVII.

²⁶ Cf. *Macrobe*, *Sat.* VII, 9, 7.

²⁷ Cf. Horace, *Epist.* I, 10, 24.

²⁸ Boëce, *Quod substantiae in eo quod sint bona sint*; *PL* 64, 131C.

Inuenti iure laudantur, sed rari fient et fere omnes se reprehendi grauantur. Corripe imperatorem, regem, apostolicum uel alios minores principes: conferunt et bene ferunt. Corripe quosdam claustrales: statim indignantes te persequuntur . . .

5 Rubrique: *De hoc quod spectat ad prelatum . . .*

E.—Loquebar de quibusdam ad me attinentibus cum abbatte Monasteriensi, inter que cum dicrem me fuisse clericum in Francia domini Iacinti, nunc pape, affuit prefatus Hugo dicens: Nunc id scimus. Adiecit nullos inuitos a Deo trahi, probans hoc sic: nam ad hoc ut homo trahatur exigitur libertas arbitrii . . . (230^v).

La discussion s'engage sur le libre arbitre. Rubriques: *Divisio patientie*.—*Descriptio patientie*.—*Differentia inter diffinitionem et descriptionem*.—*Descriptio uirtutis*.—*Tullius: vindicta est uirtus*.—*Nota quod quandoque uitium est patientia*.—(231) *Divisio scientie iudicium*.—

15 15 Hic incipit principale propositum controuersie habite inter beatum Bernardum et magistrum Gillebertum.

E.—Prefatus monachus nomine Hugo sequenti die opinionem suam retractans, me presente, quesuiuit a me causam dicti magistri Gilleberti Pictauiensis episcopi negantis Deum esse essentiam uel deitatem suam et cetera in hunc modum . . .

20 *Commendatio magistri Gilleberti Pictauiensis*.

R.—Subit mihi memoria illius summi uiri et acutissimi philosophi Gilleberti iocunda quidem, sed in hoc nimis superbi, quia humanam plus iusto contemptis laudem et gloriam. Inde est quod nolens condescendere capacitatibus plurium tam in legendo quam in scribendo minus studiosos, ita submouit ut sibi uideretur contumeliam diuine scripture uel etiam humane philosophie irrogare qui talibus hominum monstris non agnoscenda hec potius quam proculcanda proiecit indignosque eos iudicauit uel ad ea audienda uel legenda, qui uel callidi liuore uel ignaui segnitiam intellectu capere ea nequirerent . . . *De utilitate ex lectione scripti magistri Gilleberti proueniente . . .* qui etsi pauca scripsit, si quis ea duce Spiritu intellectus perlegerit, peritior in omni facultate hec intelligendo efficietur quam si omnem aliorum percurreret paginam; cuius scripta omnia et subtiliter ab eo excogitata, quia mundum fere totum tum propter ipsius segnitiam tum propter liuoris calliditatem eis indignum iudicauit, in bibliotheca mea Athenis sunt reconditia, diutiis Cresi mihi gratiora.

35 E.—Audiui quia auditor ipsius fuisti.

R.—Fui equidem, unde et gaudeo et semper gaudebo: ad quem audiendum mater mea, cuius nomen Ratio Atheniensis, consilio Sophie, mee sororis, me in Franciam misit; cui Carnoti quartus in lectione,²⁰ Parisius in aula episcopi fere tercentesimus²¹ assedi, et ipsi episcopo Pictauis adhesi usque ad ipsius obitum; qui me docente grecam nouam²² linguam, ego quoque ipso latinam. Cui sepulto superscripsi hoc breue epitaphium:

40 Irriguum fontem siccata aquosa dies,

45 In mense enim aquarii quod terre gesserat
Terre reddidit, quod celi celo.²³

Qui si sic in Grecia sicut in garrula enituit Francia, nomen celebrius etiam nostro Platone iure obtinuisse. Qui desides nimis reliquit heredes potius gule et uane glorie apparentie quam uere scientie insistentes, a quibus etiam

²⁰ Le manuscrit porte *lectionem*.

²¹ Ainsi dans le manuscrit; peut-être faut-il lire *trigesimus*.

²² Le manuscrit porte *nouum*.

²³ Ces vers font allusion au signe du

zodiaque appelé le Verseau (*Aquarius. Amphora*); le soleil entre dans la constellation de ce nom vers le 20 janvier et en sort environ un mois plus tard. Pourtant, Gilbert de la Porrée mourut le 26 novembre, 1154.

nendum alienis nondum est intellectus. Ipse enim ultra hominum fere euolauit intellectum.

E.—Rati, irrationabiliter flere noli . . .

Si uis festinare ad questionum solutiones, hic incipe ceteris pretermissis.—

5 *Inuocatio diuini auxilii. Hic incipit solutio cur dicatur Deus non esse sua essentia.*

De nominis causa: unde, cui et ad quid sit impositum.—(231^r) *Priscianus de uerbi significatione.*—Aristoteles.—*Diuisio uerborum.*—*Distinctio nominum.*—*De nominis in propria positione ad significandum.*—(232) *Cur Deus*

10 *sit uere simplex subtili ratione ostendit.*—*Qualiter in qualibet facultate negotiandum sit.*—*Nota theologiam bipertitam.* In diuinis uero que non modo disciplina uerum etiam re ipsa abstracta sunt intellectualiter uersari opportebit id est ex propriis theologorum rationibus illa concipere, non ex naturaliter concretorum aut disciplinaliter abstractorum proprietatibus 15 iudicare. Diuina autem dico que circa sanctam adtenduntur Trinitatem, non ea que ad bonos mores scilicet ad merita uel premia pertinent, nisi premium uoces ipsum Creatorem. (En face de ce texte se trouve cette rubrique: *Ex ignorantia huius sententie fere omnes theologos falli.*)

Questio obscura de obscuro.—*Solutio.*—(232^r) *Quid sit species generis ei*

20 *quid indiuinduorum sit species.*—*Incipit solutio cur dicatur: Deus non est deitas.*—(233) *Diuisio modorum predicandi de Deo.*—*Quod relatio non est diuina essentia.*—*Quod Deus est sapientia.*—Isidorus *quod Deus non est relatio, sed est sapientia quam habet.*—*Inuectio in catholicorum hereticos:*

25 *. . . Qui autem inde dubitat non tantum pena, sed sensu indiget, quamuis quidam dicant paternitatem, filiationem esse Deum, quasi Deum blasphemari. Illos de ipso profitentur errores quorum nomina diffidentur qui, ut ita dicam. hereticorum catholici in Sabellii, Donati, Pelagii et aliorum huiusmodi pestilentium uerba iurati eorum nomina eoque publicis edictis damnata noscuntur, cum catholicis detestantur, ut cum blasphemiarum causis sint 30 iuste damnabiles, blasphemorum detestatione putentur indemnes; homines sine ratione rationatores, sine doctrina doctores, artium ignari, nimirum a uia ueritatis exorbitant et ideo pro uero falsum et e conuerso reputant et quod bonum est malum iudicant, communia artibus appropriant, propria communicant, et uim uerborum ignorantes tamen de significationibus eorum 35 iudicare presumunt, et que de Trinitate personarum et de unitate essentie earum predicanter confundunt, omnia uocabula de Deo dicta essentiam predicare autemant, non discernentes nec aliquando discentes quod nominum de Deo predictorum quedam figurant essentiam ut Deus, quedam relationem ut Pater . . .*

40 *De diuersitate eorum que de Deo dicuntur.*—*Haec uero que dicta sunt contra scolares theologos qui omissis gradibus doctrine theologiam ignorantibus docere presumunt nemo arbitretur contra beatum Bernardum dicere.*—*Habite de relatione utrum sit Deus prime questionis solutio.*—*Catholice sensit et scripsit obiecto.* (233^r)—*Prima questio de paternitate soluta est.*—

45 *De secunda questione scil. quod Deus non sit diuinitas.* Prima ratio quod Deus non est diuinitas.—*Quod Deus sit incomprehensibilis.*—*Prima ratio.*—*Quod affirmations in diuinis incompacte negative uere, ait Dionisius.*—*Nota secundum hoc non aliud deitas quam Deus . . . Tertia ratio.*—*Quarta ratio.*—*Quinta ratio.*—(234) *Ut transitio notetur.*—*Nota impropre dici diuinam 50 essentiam patri uere.*—*Sexta ratio.*—*Quod una persona secundum Sabellium sit Trinitas.*—*Septima ratio.*—*Vtrum hoc nomen Deus et deitas sint synonima.*—*Quod Deus non habet proprium nomen.*—*Quid sit actio, unde ui.*—*Solutio questionis cur Deus non habeat proprium nomen.*—(234^r) *Auctoritas Dionisii quod non quid sit, sed quid non sit significatur.*—*Quod excellentius*

et potentius de Deo dicitur: non est quod est.—Quod de Deo aliquid dici potest, ipse non potest.—Opposito Eurardi: quod Deus habet proprium nomen.—Isidorus quod nomen Dei sit tetragrammaton.—Solutio.—Probatio quod hec nomina Deus, deitas, non sint propria nomina: probatur quod nec 5 appellativa.—Quod diuersarum rationum et significationum nomina diuersis de causis Deo attribuuntur.—Ninus fuit prima causa idolatrie.—Opposito quod Deus habet esse.—(235) Quod translatio fit a naturali facultate ad theologiam ipsorum nominum.—Causa dicendi Deum esse sapientiam, scientiam etc.—Hic dicit magister Deum simplicem cum dicat beatus

10 Bernardus hoc ipsum negare.—Opposito est quod Deus est essentia.—

R.—. . . Ecce campana prandii uocat te. De cetero autem tibi me aliquid soluturum ne expectes. Surgamus et abeamus.

E.—Cras redi.

R.—Amplius non redibo. Vale, recedo.

15 E.—Nunc scio quod impatiens es ire. Hec consuetudo doctorum quando questionibus arcantur, impotentes soluere rationis responsione, soluunt, immo effugunt, ire et indignationis ostensione. At contra qui peritus est in solutione gaudet oblata sibi soluendi opportunitate, et hoc ideo quia in contradictione exercetur sapientia.

20 His inter me et amicum meum actis adest nuntius significans magne auctoritatis adesse prelatum. Fratres igitur de hospitio dira nouitate perculti, festinant piscatoribus auditum sed dirum insinuare rumorem; capiuntur pisces parui et magni, sed inter eos capi uoluit piscis authenticus tante auctoritatis uentre dignus. (Rubrique en marge: *Reprehensio castrimargie*).

25 Viuus est aspectui tanti patris et pastui oblatus, ut prius delectaretur oculus et sic suauior excitaretur appetitus sicque deuotior prepararetur admirabili lucio uentris tumulus, non sine aromatum mixtura tumulando. Affuit forte noster Ratius et attendens diligentiam prelati diligenter pisces attendentis et sollerter inquirentis utrum potius frustra secaretur an integer elixaretur

30 aut certe condimento aromatum uentri eius inclusu assaretur. At domestici sui ipsum incathedratum circumstantes diuersi diuersa sentiunt, questiones propositas sollerter soluunt et cauentes studiose ne a sententia domini sui in aliquo dissentiant. Tunc Ratius uisu et auditu recreatus ait mihi: Euerarde, Euerarde, he questiones circa lutium, immo de lucio, propositae, 35 tue questioni sunt dissimiles qua querebas: Qua ratione diceretur Deus solus uere esse et Deus causaliter esse et Petrus uere esse.

E.—O discretissime, quantum studium tuum semper diuersum fuit a studio prelati cuius animus intentus est patinis, immo semper est in patinis, tuus semper in disciplinis; suus querit quid bene sapiat palato corporis, tuus quid 40 bene sapiat palato mentis. Hac igitur curiositate omissa gule, sis curiosus circa solutionem questionis theologicae nunc ad memoriam tibi reducte . . .

Cur solus Deus uere tamen taliter esse dicitur.—Qualiter solus Deus uere esse dicitur et taliter et Petrus uere.—Octava ratio.—(235') Quid significet subiendo uel predicando nomen mathematicum et concretum.—Nona ratio. 45 —Nota hoc inductum fuisse contra magistrum quod magis pro ipso facit.—Causa cur non sit uerum: Deus est Pater et Filius.

R.—. . . Sed dicunt quidam hac propositione: Deus est trinitas, fieri mentionem de diuina essentia ut hoc nomen Deus in qualitatem faciat et sicut ista est uera: Essentia diuina est trinitas, ita et hec: Deus est trinitas. 50 Utramque igitur magister negauit, et hec una causarum quapropter Deus negatur esse essentia et ueritas et similia propter inconuenientia et heresim damnatam que inde sequitur si hec trinitas est essentia et eius simplex conuersa concedatur, licet apud sanctos patres huiusmodi locutiones sepius inueniantur . . .

De distinctione lexim, resim et sintasim.—Opposito ad hoc quod dicitur: deitas est trinitas.—Quod dicimus Deus est Deus.

R.—. . . Videturne tibi, frater Euerarde, disputatum satis super hac questione utrum Deus sit deitas, sit sua essentia?

- 5 E.—Sufficienter et satis rationabiliter et, ut uerum fatear, non est quid refragari debeat. Restat tamen ut respondeas argumentis et rationi beati Bernardi qui nunc est uere et iuste in catalogo sanctorum, cuius assertioni auctoritatem addidit spectata et approbata sanctitas fere a cunctis.

- R.—Nota unicuique artifici in sua facultate credendum ut logico in logica, 10 geometre in geometria et fabro in fabrateria et theolo in theologia. (En marge: *In quibus peritus fuit beatus Bernardus*). Sed iste sanctus de quo est sermo, nullius artis artifex inuentus, in artibus exercitatus parum, in questionibus theologie nihil, in moralibus uero theologicis multum. Inde est quod de questionibus artium uel theologie tantum non ei quantum exercitato 15 credendum, quia, ut dicitur, iuuenis (236) a studio artium prudenter indoctus recessit, in qua etate ad theologiam audiendam non ad aliquem theologie doctorem accessit. (En marge: *Commendatio beati Bernardi*). Sed de morali facultate plurimum est ipsi credendum, in qua multum uiguit, ut in scriptis suis moralibus innotuit. Nam quod de fonte Spiritus Sancti plene 20 hausit in sermonibus super Cantica canticorum conscriptis, per mellifluum et subtile et exornatum ipsius eloquium apparuit.

- E.—Cae quid dicas dicendo ipsi non esse tantum in theologia credendum quantum credi debet in ea exercitato plurimum. Hoc est improbatum et opinioni religiosorum contrarium et manifeste falsum. Nam quomodo 25 subtilitatem theologie ignoraret qui scientem omnia sciuit, cum quo unus spiritus fuit, cum Dominus de eo et similibus in euangelio dixerit: *Quemcumque audiu i a Patre meo nota feci uobis.*^{**}

- R.—Iterum ad disputationem uentum est. Vis probare mihi quod quia Veritas hoc dicebat, quicquid Christus nouerit nouerit et beatus Bernardus? 30 Nam si quicquid Christus a Patre audiuit, Bernardo notum fecit. Sed quicquid ipse Christus sciuit a Patre audiuit. Ergo quicquid Christus sciuit, Bernardo notum fecit. Sed nihil Christus Bernardo notum fecit quod Bernardus non nouerit. Ergo Christus nihil sciuit quod sanctus Bernardus non sciuit. Ergo sicut Christus omnia sciens est, et beatus Bernardus. Hoc 35 forte monachis suis persuadebis, at non mihi.

E.—Hoc ego non credo, scilicet quod aliquis tantum sciuerit quantum Christus.

R.—Ad quid igitur inducere sunt auctoritates tue?

E.—Ad hoc ut probarem ipsum plene et bene theogiam nouisse.

- 40 R.—Cum quinque sint facultates, scilicet naturalis id est phisica, mathematica, ciuilis, theologica atque rationalis, dic cur magis ei adiudicas scientiam questionum theologie absque studio et doctore sibi peruenire quam physice uel mathematice id est quadriuui, uel ciuilis id est rhetorice et legum peritiem, atque rationalis id est dialectice, cum hec scientia sit ceteris 45 subtilior, grauior et usurpanti sibi periculosior; in aliis errare graue quidem est docto uiro opprobrium, sed in hac errare criminosum. Nam huius error heresim inducit.

- E.—Et si theologie questiones ignorauerit, quomodo libros de theologia componere potuit? Quomodo tuum magistrum in pleno Remensi concilio ne 50 dicam conuincere, sed de heresi conuenire preualuit? Cuius etiam argumenta contra ipsum tuum facta adhuc scripta reseruantur posterorum memorie.

R.—Sicut aliud est loqui de logica, aliud scire logicam, ita aliud est loqui de theologia et aliud scire theogiam. (En marge: *De practica et theorica*

^{**} Io. xv, 15.

theologie). Sed scientia theologie duobus modis intelligitur, in practica et theorica, sicut cuiuslibet alterius facultatis. Theorica est scientia naturam rerum contemplans, cuius summa in symbolo continetur, scilicet articulos fidei, et ad questiones eiusdem ostenditur, quarum solutiones cum ipsis non nisi longo doctrine studio habentur; cuius practica in scientia morum consistit,²⁴ id est in scientia recte uiuendi et scientia recte uiuere docendi. Hanc scientiam habuit sanctus Bernardus et beatus Martinus et beatissimus Benedictus et alii plures sancti quibus Christus nota fecit homo quecumque a Patre audiuit ad opus hominum, scilicet ad recte uiuendum et ad Deum habendum. Quod autem oponis quomodo sine scientia questionum theologie potuit summum theologum de heresi accusare: dico quod in hoc facto zelum Dei habuit. sed magistrum Gillebertum plene non intellexit nec causam dicti attigit et, sicut plerique sancti, aliqua se scire forte putauit que nesciuit, sicut Cyprianus magnus martyr et Origenes et Ieronymus et etiam magnus Gregorius qui contradicit Ieronymo in iudicando de principe grecorum qui detinuit angelum ad Danielem missum, quorum alter interpretatur de bono angelo, alter de malo.²⁵ Eodem modo quod circa dicta magistri Gilleberti uidebatur uerum beato Hilario non uidebatur uerum beato Bernardo. Attamen hoc non est tantum imputandum beato Bernardo quantum aliorum ad hoc ipsum inducentium presumptioni et arrogantie, qui quod non potuerunt intelligere putabant se intelligisse, quibus sanctus uir credidit, inductus caritate que omnia credit.²⁶

E.—Vellem, si placeret tibi, ut mihi ostenderes quid beatus Bernardus intelligisse putauerit quod non intellexit de dictis tui Gilleberti.

R.—Hoc Boetius ait: “Qui homo uel qui Deus est refertur ad substantiam qua est Deus”,²⁷ et magister euidentius adhuc determinans ait: non que est Deus.²⁸

E.—Bone Rati, nisi rationabiliter apertius dixeris, nec est intelligibile quid ambo in hoc senserint.

R.—Acquiescam tue petitioni . . .

Quid sit predicari.—(236) *Evidenter hic ostenditur qualiter intelligendum: Deus homo refertur ad substantiam qua est Deus, non que est Deus. Cur dicitur Pater Deus, Filius Deus, Spiritus Sanctus Deus.*

R.—. . . Videturne tibi accusatio aduersus magistrum processisse ex ignorantia artium? Unde papa Eugenius: “Quomodo iudicabimus quod non intelligimus? Loquitur enim iste homo Deo, non hominibus”. De magistro loquens Eugenius hec ait.²⁹

E.—Huius controversie inter prenominatos magne opinionis uiros habite causa fuit confusa significatio huius nominis substantia . . . Adhuc restat tibi parum addendum sufficientie solutionis.

R.—Quid?

E.—Respondere objectis a beato Bernardo in libro *De Consideratione* que uidentur facere contra hoc, scilicet Deus non est deitas.

R.—Quid dicam? Nihil ibi positum recolo dignum nodo. Magis enim est persuasorum quod ibi inducitur quam assertioni contradictorium. Non est argumentatio, sed quedam ornata persuasio ad quosdam. At quia uir talia inducens magne fuit auctoritatis et sanctitatis, rectus ac timens Deum,³⁰ suas rationes magistri contrarias inducam et earum instantias. Iste est modus

²⁴ Le manuscrit porte consistunt.

²⁵ Cf. s. Jérôme, *Comment. in Danielem X*, 20; PL 25, 557; et s. Grégoire le Grand, *Moral. XVII*, xii, 17; PL 76, 20.

²⁶ I Cor. xiii, 7.

²⁷ Boëce, *De Trinitate IV*; PL 64, 1253B.

²⁸ Gilbert de la Porrée. *In Boetium de Tri-*

nitate; PL 64, 1290B.

²⁹ A rapprocher des paroles qu’Othon de Freising prête à Innocent II: Multa, frater, dicis, multa et ea fortassis, quae a nobis non intelliguntur, legi facis . . . *Gesta Friderici*; loc. cit., p. 82.

³⁰ Cf. Iob i, 8.

opponendi sancti patroni tui: "Quid est Deus? Quo nihil melius cogitari potest . . ."⁴¹ Item beatus Bernardus: "Multa dicuntur esse in Deo et quidem catholiceque, sed multa unum. Alioquin si diuersa putemus, non trinitatem habemus, sed centenitatem."⁴² Hec ipse. (En marge: *Responsio uerbis beati Bernardi*). Ad hec ego: Cum de Deo predicentur relationes ut paternitas et creatio, rationes ut personalitas et indifferentia et diuersitas personalis et essentia ut deitas, beatus Bernardus inter hec non distinguens hec omnia dicit Deum esse . . . At Boetius scribens Ioanni romano diacono de istis specialiter que his nominibus, scilicet Pater, Filius, Spiritus Sanctus predicanter, ostendit illa et de diuersis Patri et esse diuersa non solum a se inuicem, uerum etiam ab essentia . . ."⁴³

E.—Boetium non audeo arguere erroris nec beatum Bernardum. (En marge. *Commendatio beati Bernardi*). Cuius laus ubique preconatur de summa theologia, de quo uere predicatur quod plura didicerit orando quam disputando et plura sub fago quam in disputationis ariopago.⁴⁴ De tot disputationibus tuis tam nominatis, tam exercitatis, ostende mihi uel unum cuius tam preclara, tam gloria extant opuscula sicut huius uiri sancti.

R.—Nescio quid concupitationis ingerit tam frequens commendatio a te facta de beato Bernardo, ac si dares intelligi me contra id quod dicis uel aliquid dicere uel opinari. Probabile enim hoc est quia id omnibus uel pluribus sapientibus notis atque precipuis in religione uidetur. (En marge: *Falsum imponitur magistro Gilleberto uel quod nunquam excogitauit*). Igitur absit quod aliter sentiam. Nec si aliquid sensit aliter de dictis magistri quam magister uel quam debuit, quod non dico, sed eis quos ipse abundans caritate, que omnia credit, credit in delatione magistri fuisse ueraces, quia ipso garruliores sed non facundiores illius accusationis presumptores cuius non fuerunt intellectores. Mirandum est uero quod omnibus litterissimis Francie uiris episcopum in scriptis suis commendantibus, ausu temerario quidam monachi in accusatione tanti doctoris prosiliere, excepta et salua auctoritate sancti Bernardi per omnia. Nolo itaque quod tu uel alias dicat me in hac parte aliquid asserere contra scriptum uel dictum sancti uiri. Non est ita. Non enim sedeo Gilleberti defensor nec uiri sancti accusator, sed relator assertionis utriusque. Sic de me sentias.

Objectio uerbis beati Bernardi. Obicit adhuc sanctus de magistro et suis loquens: "Non multa, inquiunt, sed unam tantam diuinitatem que omnia illa sunt Deo ut sit . . . — . . . uel uni cognita uiro."⁴⁵ Hactenus beatus Bernardus. Ad hec ego salua auctoritate sua: Hoc magister numquam excogitauit quod duplex esset, cum ipse ut premissum evidentissime et subtilissime probet Deum omnimoda simplicitate (237) esse simplicem, nec asseruit Deum obnoxium alicui forme cui ut materia subsit. Hoc enim esset expositioni quam super hunc locum Boetii facit contrarium. Ait enim, ut superius dictum est: "In theologicis uersari oportet intellectualiter."⁴⁶ Post etiam rhetorico beatus Bernardus utitur argumento hoc modo: "Deus non partibus constat ut corpus . . ."⁴⁷ Ad hec, salua auctoritate eius, hec possunt dici: In hac ratiocinatione, immo in hoc sermone asserit beatus Bernardus uisum fuisse magistro Deum substare forme et quod Deus inclinet alteri beneficio se pro suo esse, id est humiliet. Ad hec ualde dubius respondeo: Nefas enim est asserere hunc sanctum aliquid contra ueritatem magistri dictis uel scriptis imponere. At in episcopi scriptis uel dictis nihil potest inueniri unde sensus hic elici possit . . . (En marge: *Objectio contra*

⁴¹ De Consideratione V, vii, 15; PL 182, 797.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Cf. Boëce, *De Una persona et duabus naturis* III; PL 64, 1345.

⁴⁴ Cf. Guillaume de Saint-Thierry, *Vita*

prima Bernardi I, iv, 23; PL 185, 240D.

⁴⁵ De Consideratione V, vii, 16; PL 182, 797.

⁴⁶ Cf. Gilbert de la Porrière, *In Librum de praedic. trium personarum*; PL 64, 1304A.

⁴⁷ De Consideratione V, vii, 16; PL 182, 797.

beatum Bernardum.—*Que sit essentia deitatis*) . . . Ponit etiam pater monachorum unam clausulam de trinitate et unitate sic: “Dicamus itaque tres, sed non ad preiudicium unitatis . . .”⁴⁸ Hec ego audiens uehementer obstupesco. *Obiectio contra beatum Bernardum.* Ipse enim multum laborauit et laborando disputauit quod Deus esset sua essentia . . . Nec ignorauit quin Boetius trinitatem personarum naturalibus rationibus probaret atque singularitatem essentie theologicis contra diuersos hereticos, Nestorium scilicet et Eutices . . . Ad hoc est quod aliquotiens dixi: Quidam claustrales litterati, sed in scholis minime exercitati, quod in libris orthodoxorum patrum inueniunt in libris suis transcribunt, sed qualiter intelligendum sit nec sciunt nec inquirere a scientibus solliciti sunt, quia quod ipsi nesciunt qui sancti sunt, peccatores scire minime credunt.

E.—Si uerbis audacia daretur, dicerem mihi uideri melius in hac parte beatus Bernardus sensisse quam te uel magistrum tuum.

15 R.—Euerarde, duobus uitiis cares, et utinam sic omnibus, scilicet uitio adulationis et hypocrisis. Sed cum his careas, caue presumptionem indiscreti iudicii et precipitis, quoniam stulti dum uitant uitia in contraria currunt. Hoc tamen omisso, perge quod ceperas.

E.—Bonum est mihi quia meritorium patienter audire me uocari stultum, 20 dum per hoc eligar a Deo meo. Nam stultos huius mundi elegit Deus ut confundat fortia . . .⁴⁹ (237)

Quod Deus sit incomprehensibilis etiam angelis, ait Dionysius. At tuus, ut ait, philosophus e contra audenter asseruit et ueraciter docuit et se scire et probare testatus fuit quomodo sit una essentia trium personarum et tres 25 persone unius essentie. Ergo ipse plus de Deo comprehendit quam alii homines uel angelii, quod noster abbas uere theologus se nescire, ut ceteri, perhibuit, humilibus consentiens et humiliiter . . . Noster sanctus in quadam dicit omelia: “Sapiens est cui queque res sapiunt prout sunt, cui in se sapientia prout est sapit. Is non modo sapiens, sed beatus est. Hoc enim est 30 uidere Deum sicuti est”.⁵⁰ Quomodo tuus magister sciuit quod nec angeli ad plenum sciunt, quia nec Deum nec sanctum Trinitatem plene comprehendunt. Hoc igitur edoce et hanc questionem solue et eris mihi magnus Apollo.

R.—Solutio premissa est . . . *Trinitas est in unitate et trinitas in trinitate elocutio uera, locutio falsa.*—*Quod aliud scitur, aliud nescitur, aliud creditur.* 35 —*Cur magister Gillebertus sic exposuerit hoc dictum Boetii: Deus est ueritas id est uerus.*—*Quid sit predicare.*—*Solutio cur ueritas id est uerus expositum sit a magistro.* Differentiam inter locutionem et elocationem.—(238) *Questio prima.*—*Questio secunda.*—*Questio tertia.*—*Questio quarta.*—*Questio quinta.*—*Solutio prime questionis: de hoc uerbo est qualiter dicitur 40 de creatore et de creatione.*(238)^v *Solutio.*—*Que fuerit causa controuersie inter episcopum et beatum Bernardum.*—. . . Quod enim secundum resim tantum iudicauit episcopus Pictauiensis uerum, secundum lexim et resim abbas Clareuallensis iudicauit accipendum. Quod enim unus tropice dictum putauit, alter proprie . . . *Hic recapitulando ponuntur omnes questiones de* 45 *quibus contra magistrum Gillebertum mota est controuersia a beato Bernardo.*

. . . R.—Sed iam auditurus es rumorem. Aperiat tibi Birria cursitando. Quid mi Birria, (239) quid sic asmatizas?

B(irria).—Otium et alienus cibus faciunt te derisorem; sed surge cito 50 auditurus nuntium ab uxore tua tibi missum. Sosyas tuus ecce post me uenit, claudicando tamen, qui te foris. ego intus quesui. Tu autem non inuentus repertus es.

⁴⁸ *De Consideratione* V, vii, 18; PL 182, 799.

⁴⁹ Cf. *I Cor.* i, 27.

⁵⁰ S. Bernard, *De Diuersis*, sermo XVIII, 1; PL 183, 587.

R.—Quomodo?

B.—Nam qui macer esse solebas, dilatatus es et inpinguatus cibis huius domus inflatiuis. Sed antequam transalpinaueris te mihi reddes. Equi uero tui iam pacifici sunt nec recalcitrant. Iam enim habent mansuetudinem propter dietam monachalem. Acrior ergo illös cura domat, scilicet famis. Sed dieta abbatialis larga et delicata recalcitationem equinam in te conuertit. Factus enim ab hac es, ut mihi uidetur, sicut equus et mulus . . .

R.—Sosyas adest. Sosya, adhuc innitaris Iacob claudicando?

S(osyas).—Claudico quidem, sed non sum luctatus cum angelo, sed cum equo tuo qui iam non indiget freno . . .

R.—Eamus ergo.

E.—Quid? Infectam relinques petitionem meam de soluenda questione proposita? . . .

R.—Sosyas uero soluet tibi propositam questionem qui sedatum habet cerebrum, nec cogitando nec loquendo fatigatum ut ego.

E.—Nunc certe uilem me reputas et illitteratum qui dicis laicum, mihi questionem soluturum.

R.—Ne indigneris quod laicus iste sit. Nepos enim meus est et filius sororis mee Sophie, apprime instructus a me. Nec cures quis te doceat, bene dum docearis . . . Sosya, doce hunc monachum quomodo hoc uerum: Deum esse et trinitatem esse unum Deum et similia sint ab eterno . . . Sed incipe a capite, scilicet a descriptione ueritatis posita ab Aristotele et a nostro doctore.

S.—Vis ut doceam indignantem Mineruam?⁵¹

E.—Audiam te libenter, quia audio te nouisse doctrinam doctoris nostri.

S.—Veritas sic describitur: Veritas est ratio substantie rei . . . *Descriptio ueritatis*.—(239^o) Que rem esse faciunt et que probant tam in naturislibus quam in theologicis . . . Unde summus philosophus noster, Pictauensem episcopum dico, uere dixit . . . Ieronimus de ueritate.—*Quod ueritas duplex est: ueritas alia est moralis, alia rationalis.*—*Probatio quod Deus non est uerus Deus.*—*Auctoritates cur et causa cur Deus dicatur Deus.*—(240) *Quadrifimbris diuisione ueritatis . . . Sed Ratius adest.*

R.—Frater Euerarde, est soluta questio tua?

E.—Est utique plene et plane,⁵² sed nec leuiter nec breuiter. Sed beneficium solutionis obfuscavit maleficio insultationis, dicendo quod facerem in claustro rota quinta quod addita plaustro.

R.—Iocose dixit quia mos est grecorum iocosa interponere quandoque seriis, iuxta uerbum sapientis: Interpone tuis interdum seria ludis et e contrario,⁵³ et hoc causa recreationis.

E.—Scio et ignosco.

S.—Reuera serio dixi.

R.—Cur?

S.—Quia oneri est claustro.

R.—Quomodo?

E.—Propter diuersitatem studiorum. Nam, ut ait Boetius: “Omnis diuersitas discors.”⁵⁴ Iste enim ex consuetudine habet docere uel doceri. Sed monachorum quasi professio est nec docere nec discere. Negligunt autem uerbum sapientis: Turpe est nil uelle doceri.⁵⁵ Item Euerardus insenuit studio litterature; nunc oportet ipsum operam dare agricultura uel omnibus odiosum esse. Dispar enim studium dissidium facit animorum. Mallent enim

⁵¹ Cf. Cicéron, *Acad. poster.* I, iv, 18.

⁵² Le manuscrit porte *plene et plene*.

⁵³ Ps.-Caton, *Dist.* III, 6; ed. G. Némethy (Budapest, 1895): *Interpone . . . gaudia curis.*

⁵⁴ Boëce, *Quod substantiae in eo quod sint bonae sint;* PL 64, 1311C.

⁵⁵ Ps.-Caton, *Dist.* IV, 29: *Culpa est nil discere uelle.*

5 ipsum uel ligna secare, uel segetes metere, uel uindemiare quam dubitabilia theologie aut nodosa enodare. Nec si uellet liceret sibi unius dictionis significationem alicui interpretari; abhominabilis enim apud eos prudens disputatio, sed amabilis et commendabilis otiosa immo nugatoria locutio, licet eterna clausura damnetur a beato Benedicto⁶⁶ et a beato patre eorum, dicente Bernardo, in libro *De Consideratione*: "In ore laici nuge sunt nuge, sed in ore sacerdotis nuge sunt blasphemie".⁶⁷ Quomodo igitur in ore monachi sunt licite?

10 R.—Frater Euerardus humilitatem Christi imitatus est, qui cum esset liber factus est seruus, magis eligens partem Marie quam Marthe.

S.—Idem Parisius facere potuisset. Sed in hoc uidetur incredulus, quasi Deus in nullo loco nisi in claustro uellet uel posset gratiam misericordie sibi conferre, cum non sit ex meritis premium glorie.

15 E.—Sicut premium glorie non est ex meritis, ita non est sine meritis, sed cum meritis. Sed unde David: "Cum sancto sanctus eris et cum innocentem
innocens eris", ex hoc "cum electo electus eris"⁶⁸ in celo. Consequens propheticie relinqu Sosye qui mauult in seculo morari cum peruersis secularibus quam in claustro cum sanctis claustralibus. Igitur Sosyas si nouissime dicta et extremo tacuisset, non Sosyas sed Sophias mihi fuisse.

20 Sed forte dissimulatorie loquitur, uolens admoneri fieri monachus.

S.—Adherebo ordini inuento immo precepto in paradiſo, non instituto in monte Cassino uel in Cistercio, et non obliuiscar communionis doctrine et beneficentie operum misericordie . . . *Quod caritas nascitur ex eo quod quis docet et docetur.—Probatio quod quanto quis est melior tanto est doctior.*

25 *Disputatio de uita scholarium et claustralium . . .*

E.—Igitur cum ita sit, immo quia est, quomodo commendabilior est uita scholarium quam claustralium, quorum ordinata cohibetur disciplina non tantum manus, sed et lingua et animus? Qui in schola Christi insistentes dicunt cum David: "Quoniam non cognoui litteraturam, introibo in potentiam Domini. Domine, memorabor nominis tui solius . . ."⁶⁹ Unde beatus Bernardus: "Sapiens est cui queque res prout sapiunt . . ."⁷⁰ Confer ergo bonitati claustralium bonitatem scholarium: infirmatur monachus, unus uel duo custodes adhibentur sibi, diligenter lectum ipsius sternentes, pedes ipsius lauantes, aquam manibus et mensam cibis parantes, nocte et die, si opus est, ante ipsum uigilantes, cum magna deuotione et oratione devota premorientem inungentes (240') et uiaticum afferentes . . . At cum scholaris egrotat, quis obsequio ipsius assistit, nisi prediuies sit? Quis admonet eum de sacramentorum perceptione? Solus famulus uel aliqua eius obsequio assueta claudit oculos morientis uel duo uel plures adsunt clerici. Quis ibi psallit? Ve soli! Proh dolor, sepius miserabilius decedit. Ecce commendatio, immo commendabilis uita scholarium. De fine uero quid dicam? Circa uiuos attende discipline rigorem. Peccat quis in conuentu uel silentium rumpendo, uel signum illicite dando, uel quicquam quod non debet agendo: qui publice peccat sic oportet ipsum publice penitere. Compara uigilias somnolentie, sobrietatem crapulis, ieunia commensationibus, asperitatem uictus et uestitus deliciis secularibus et scholaribus, insuper pudicitiam impudiciis, preter hec scientiam scientie, mansuetudinem iracundie, humilitatem elationi humane, et prefero preferendum preferendo . . .

R.—Ad hec respondeo: Tibi potius utramque uiam uiuendi experto credendum est, et quantum lumen solis precellit lumen quantecumque facis, tantum antecellit uitam religiosi et discreti claustralis uitam etiam boni

⁶⁶ *Regula s. Benedicti*, cap. VI.

⁶⁷ *De Consideratione* II, xiii, 22; PL 182, 756.

⁶⁸ Ps. xvii, 26.

⁶⁹ Ps. lxx, 15-6.

⁷⁰ *De Diversis*, sermo XVIII, 1; PL 183, 587.

secularis. Nam uita nostra multis uitiis est obuoluta . . . *De corrigendis in claustris.* At ut salua pace tua dixerim, multum erratur in claustris quod negligitur plus debito moderamen discretionis in rebus administrandis, et nimis amatores estis cuiuscumque consuetudinis uestre siue scripte siue in 5 usum redacte, spiritualia euangelica precepta et beati Benedicti regularia dispensantes uel negligentes, scilicet de pauperum et hospitum receptione, de possessionis augmentatione et retentione et de talento multiplicando, de scandalo fratum uitando . . . , de largitione elemosine in uia discipulo interdicte licet fame uel frigore egeno deficiente, de superfluitate equorum, 10 edificiorum et agrorum, de desiderio uite et mortis timore, de illatorum immoderata coram iudice seculari repetitione etiam cum lite . . .

E.—*Claustralibus hec cur imputas?*

R.—Quia discreti talia non reprehendunt nec se murum pro domo Domini ponunt. At si Ioannes Baptista tam fuisset amator pacis et timidus offense 15 maioris ut claustrales sunt iustitie pro defensione, gladio non succubuisset. At frater Eurarde, uale, constans esto. Videbis enim auxilium Domini super te.

E.—*Mi Sosya cum auunculo, uale.*

R.—Vale, frater Eurarde, uale. Si rediero habebis me comitem, non ducem 20 in inuestigatione questionum trium facultatum quas proposuisti tractare.

EPISTOLA

Doctori quandam egregio, nunc autem Dei gratia humili Christi discipulo Eurardo suo fratri carissimo, frater B.: ascendere de uirtute in uirtutem cantica graduum modulando.

25 Nouissima illa tempora que predixit Apostolus in nos arbitror deuenisse . . . Iam plerique sanam doctrinam non sustinent^a quibus nuge lectiones, rumores sermones sunt, de regibus illis non de legibus questiones . . . Venit a foris quispiam rumigerulus, illi dicitur: “Tu sede hic bene”. Illum honorifice fratres excipiunt, ab illius ore dependent, uersa facie, intentis oculis, arrectis auribus, et illo iactante friuolo aperient ora sua quasi ad imbrem serotinum. Hic sapiens, hic facundus, hic denique gratiosus homo reputatur et bonus. Intentissime auscultat monachus . . . Hiccine est preceptum Christi? Hec regula Benedicti? Hec doctrina Bernardi? Heu, heu filie Sion inclyti et amictu auro primo, quomodo reputati sunt in uasa 30 testea opus manuum figuli?^b (241)

Verum hec iam superfluo fortasse carpere uidear. Namque tu in dialogo tuo huiusmodi hominum monstra satis abundeque mordaci quadam elegantia pupugisti . . .

His omissis nos ad nostrum negotium accingamus . . . De medio fiat omnis 40 iniqua suspicio, facessat indignatio, rancor omnis absistat. Non tentator accedo, sed motus meos gestio simpliciter aperire fratri et amico . . . Dum me igitur in locum altum et gratum otium contulisset, studiis spiritualibus nacta opportunitate me tradidi, licet ad breue. Quod otium tum in legendō tum in scriptitando consumpsi, si tamen dici debet esse consumptum: unum 45 lucrum non minimum mihi gaudeo prouenisse, pretaxatum si quidem librum tuum grandi amore, multo studio, prout materie dignitas postulabat, legi relegique non semel, nam plus placebat lectio pluries repetita.^c

In quo quedam offendii que a te potissimum censui requirenda, dilucidanda, plenius et planius enodanda. Pauca sunt autem in quibus forte, ut assolet 50 breuitas obscuritatem, hec peperit phantasiam. Cum ergo tibi super auctoritate Ieronimi qua obieceras, introductus a te Ratius responderet: “Bene, inquit, opponis, putans easdem esse proprietates nominum et

^a Cf. *II Tim.* iv, 3.
^b Cf. *Thren.* iv, 2.

^c Cf. Horace, *De Arte poetica*, 365.

personarum". Sed non est ita . . . (241^r) Item miror quod uisum fuerit magistro Gilleberto ut non concederet simplicem conuersam huius: Trinitas est Deus, sicut nec huius: Quilibet trium est homo . . . Item in epistola tua ad Urbanum papam ponis oppositionem bonam contra illos qui dicunt 5 Christum esse duas substantias Deum et hominem . . .

Quid tibi uidetur, o mi frater Eurarde? Iam te rebare quietum et in aurem accubare securum plerumque bonus dormitat Homerus.⁶⁴ Verum operi longo fas est surrepsere somnium.⁶⁵ Importunus tibi fortasse uidear aut molestus qui dilectam inter amplexus sponsi suauiter quiescentem suscitare presumo 10 antequam uelit.⁶⁶ Verum magis mea me urget esurie et amici ad me de uia uenientis inedia que me a te mendicare compellit tres panes,⁶⁷ trium scilicet facultatum questiones quas proposuisti tractare Ratio comite. Expergiscere rogo, aduoca Ratiū dispensatorem domus tue, excute horreum, aperi arcā, resera ostium, iube dari amico non modo tres, sed et quotquot habet 15 necessarios. Ad hec amicorum omnia esse communia uetus sententia est.⁶⁸ Ergo de amicitia tua, immo uero de fraternitate presumens, tuli codicem tuum siue potius, ut regulariter loquar, codicem nostrum. Sed feci quod non debui deferendo: en quod debeo facio satisfaciendo. Ecce habes quod tuum est, si tamen quicquam tuum est. Non intres in iudicium cum seruo tuo.⁶⁹ EXPLICIT EPISTOLA FRATRIS B. AD FRATREM EURARDUM DE DUBITATIONIBUS 20 IN SUPERIUS TRACTATO DIALOGO HABITIS.

⁶⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, 359.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* 360.

⁶⁶ Cf. *Cant.* ii, 7.

⁶⁷ Cf. *Lc.* xi, 5.

⁶⁸ Cf. Terence, *Adelphoe*, 804.

⁶⁹ Ps. cxlii, 2. Cet article était en cours d'impression quand j'ai trouvé, dans le Ms

Oxford, Corpus Christi Coll. 137 (XII^e s.), fols. 97^v-100^v, un autre témoin du texte publié ci-dessus d'après le Ms Reg. lat. 218 ce témoin n'offre pas de variantes notables, si ce n'est qu'il ne nomme pas l'évêque *Tornacensis*; en revanche, il donne une fois, au sujet de Thédore: *Theodoricus grecus*.

The Meaning of *Est* in the *Sentences* (1152-1160) of Robert of Melun

PETER W. NASH S.J.

THE late Father Martin O.P. died without writing the general introduction to the *Sentences* of Robert of Melun.¹ He had intended doing so only after the whole of the *Sentences* had been critically edited.² It is deeply to be regretted that he lived to see the publication of only the first volume of this work.³ Father Gallet O.P. had to finish the editing of the second volume. It is to be hoped that Father Gallet completes the editing and also gives us the long-awaited analysis of Robert's teaching.

Until the appearance of the remaining volumes it would, of course, be rash, merely on the basis of the first two volumes, to claim to be able to give Robert's definitive views. Yet, so incisive is his discussion in the second volume of the meaning of *est* as said of God and creatures, that it is hard to imagine him radically changing his solution later.⁴ As it may be several years before the final editing of the entire *Sentences*, it might be of interest to evaluate Robert's solution insofar as it can be gauged from some ten chapters of Book I. It sheds much light on the twelfth century background to the later explicit disputationes *de esse et essentia*.

Robert, like Gilbert de la Porrée, whom he frequently criticizes,⁵ came to grips with the problem of the predication and meaning of *esse* and *est* through his reading of Boethius' *De Trinitate* and *De Hebdomadibus*.⁶ He was certainly

¹ R. M. Martin O. P., *Oeuvres de Robert de Melun III, Sententie*, vol. 1 (Spicilegium Sacrum Lovanense, 21, Louvain, 1947) and R. M. Martin O. P., and R. M. Gallet O. P., *Sententie*, vol. 2 (Spicilegium Sacrum Lovanense, 25, Louvain, 1952). Father Martin, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. vi, puts the composition of the *Sentences* between 1152-1160. According to the biographical sketch in *Oeuvres I*, pp. vi-xii, Robert was born in England in the closing years of the eleventh century. We first hear of him as a professor in the *Schola Artium* of Ste. Geneviève around 1137. There he succeeded Abelard. Robert went to Melun around 1142, where he taught theology with great renown. He attended the Council of Rheims, 1148, with Peter Lombard and attacked some of the theories of Gilbert de la Porrée. He seems eventually to have held a chair of theology at Saint Victor. He went to England in 1160, was ordained in 1163, and consecrated Bishop of Hereford. He showed up none too well in the dispute between Henry II and the Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas à Becket, though he seems later to have rallied to Thomas' views. He died at Hereford February 27, 1167.

In his *Sentences* Robert cites the following twelfth century authors (cf. *Sententie*, vol. 1, nn. 324-329; vol. 2, pp. 389-393): Abelard (1079-1142), Anselm of Laon (d.1117), St. Bernard (1091-1153), Clarimbaldus of Arras (whose commentary on Boethius' *De Trinitate* was written c. 1153), Confridus (the secretary of St. Bernard), Gilbert de la Porrée (1076-1154), Hugh of St. Victor (1096-1141), Peter Lombard (whose *Sentences* were written 1145-1150 according to his Fran-

ciscan editors, cf. *Petri Lombardi Libri IV Sententiarum I et II*; I, edit. 2a, Florence, 1916, pp. xxxv-xxxvi), Walter of Mortagne (d.1174), William of Champeaux (1070-1121), William of Conches (1080-1145), William of St. Thierry (d.1148/1153), and at least seven of the current *Sententie* (namely *Divinitatis, Divine Pagine, Florianenses, Magistri Omnebene, Parisienses, Magistri Rolandi*, and *Summa Sententiarum*).

Robert had John of Salisbury as a pupil for two years at Ste. Geneviève and John of Courtaillers at Melun.

² *Sententie*, vol. 1, p. v: Vu l'importance et l'étendue de cette œuvre, on comprendre qu'il est impossible d'écrire dès maintenant l'introduction générale et complète qui ne peut manquer à une édition critique.

³ Vols. 1 and 2 of the *Sententie* cover only 68 of 261 folios of the Bruges manuscript (Book I). Book II, which was never completed, takes up 96 folios of the Saint-Omer manuscript Cf. *Sententie*, vol. 1, pp. vi-viii.

⁴ *Sententie*, vol. 2, part 5, chapters 45 to 55.

⁵ He attacks Gilbert for his views on the divinity as the form of God, cf. *Sententie*, vol. 2, p. 241n; for his refusal to make use of similitudines in theology, cf. *ibid.*, p. 92n; for refusing to admit that in the Trinity proprietas personales are Persons, cf. *ibid.*, p. 163n; and on the question of the use of number with regard to the three divine Persons, cf. *ibid.*, p. 210n. Robert himself is going to make good use of similitudines to show how *est* can be said of God and creatures truly but not univocally.

⁶ cf. Boethius, *Liber Quomodo Trinitas*, 2; PL 64, 1250: Sed divina substantia sine materia forma est atque ideo unum et est id

aware of the two interpretations of the Boethian *diversum est esse et id quod est* in Gilbert's commentary.⁷ There was the view of the "theologians" that *est*, when used of God, signified the divine essence, and still signified that same essence when said of creatures. Only by extrinsic denomination could one say that man is: the *est* in this case referred to the divine principle or source. On the other hand, the "philosophers" interpret *esse* and *quod est* to mean created subsistence and subsistent respectively, e.g., humanity and man.

Robert, we shall see, investigates the meaning of *est* as said of both God and creatures. He follows neither of the views mentioned by Gilbert. With the aid of a keen dialectic, but without the benefit of a metaphysics of act and potency, he arrives at a position according to which he can admit that, while only God is truly (*vere est*), yet creatures can truly be said to be. That this position will leave the creature only a shadowy consistency does not worry Robert. He has discovered a way to use *est* in different meanings without making God in any way the *esse* of creatures. This way is a foreshadowing of the analogy of proportionality.

I shall give a running analysis of the pertinent chapters. This will, I hope, bring out Robert's vigorous dialectic as well as his doctrine.

The discussion starts with the problem of the exclusive eternity of God. This leads Robert into the investigation of the meaning of truth, which he finds he cannot answer until he discusses the meaning of *est* and the way attributes, such as 'good', 'just', seem to be predicated in common of God and creatures.

CHAPTER 45.⁸

The problem of this chapter is that raised by the eternity of truth, or rather of 'the true' (*verum*). The true is something, and there can be many 'trues' (*vera*). Now there are many things true which were just as true from eternity as they are now, e.g., God is (*Deum esse*), God is God, etc. Now none of these *vera* is God. So it would look as though God is not the only one to be from eternity, and hence not the only one to be eternal.⁹

Robert says that the difficulty stems from misinterpreting such expressions as *verum est*, *verum est aliquid*, *verum est verum*.¹⁰ Despite the presence of *est*, these expressions do not signify a second *esse* distinct from that of the thing of which it is true to say that it is:

Quid enim in ista: verum est, enuntiari de vero dicemus? Idem quod de homine enuntiatur hac locutione: homo est, an aliud? . . . Sint ergo ista:

quod est. Relinqua enim non sunt id quod sunt. Unum quodque enim habet esse suum ex his ex quibus est, id est ex partibus suis, et est hoc atque hoc, id est partes sueae conjunctae . . . Cf. also Boethius, *De Hebdomadibus* (or *Quonodo Substantiae*): PL 64, 1311.

⁷ Gilbert de la Porrée. In *Boethium de Hebdomadibus*, PL 64, 1317D-1318A: Secunda regula: *Diversum est esse et id quod est* *Ipsum enim esse nondum est: at vero quod est, accentu essendi forma, est atque consistit.* Hic notandum videtur quod diversorum philosophorum in diversis facultatibus usu diverso, esse et esse aliquid diversum dicuntur. Nam in theologia, divina essentia, quam de Deo praedicamus, cum dicimus Deus est, omnium creatorum dicitur esse. Cum enim dicimus corpus est, vel homo est, vel hujusmodi. theologici hoc esse dictum intelligent quadam extrinseca denominatio ab essentia sui principii. Non enim dicunt corporalitate corpus esse, sed esse aliquid, nec humanitate hominem esse, sed

esse aliquid, et similiter unumquodque subsistens, essentia sui principii praedictant non esse aliquid, sed esse. Illa vero quae in ipso creata est subsistentia non esse, sed esse aliquid . . . Ergo cum dicitur diversum esse et id quod est, secundum theologicos quidem intelligitur esse id quod est principium, id quod est vero, illud quod est ex principio: sed secundum alios philosophos, esse subsistentium solae illorum quae praedicanter subsistentiae; quae vero sunt, eantum quae illa in se habendo subsistunt.

⁸ *Sententiae*, vol. 2, n. 256 ff. This is chapter 45 of Book I, part 5. I will not give the chapter titles, even though they are found in the manuscripts: they do not always fit, and not seldom give the impression that each chapter treats a separate topic, which is not the case. Also in quoting Robert I shall not change the archaic spelling of Father Martin's edition.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, line 8.

Paulus est, hoc verum est Paulum esse. In his autem locutionibus non duo esse demonstrantur.¹¹

“Paul is” and “True it is that Paul is” say the same thing. By the expression “Paul is”, Paul is proposed to us as being, he is shown to be (*esse proponitur*). Whence it follows that: “That-he-be” is the same as saying ‘true-it-be’ (*scilicet* ‘that Paul be’); and this saying ‘true-it-be’ is the same as saying ‘to-be truly belongs to Paul’. That is the closest I can come to rendering the sense of the Latin: *Ipsum ergo esse, est hoc dictum verum esse, scilicet Paulum esse, et hoc dictum verum esse, est esse Paulo vere adesse.*¹² An important phrase is added to the sentence: *et convertitur*. The meaning, then, seems clear enough: it is simply the convertibility of *ens* and *verum*. Robert, however, has complicated matters by not being able to distinguish between what we would call logical and ontological truth. In later chapters he will say that truth is said properly of the spoken expression of thought.¹³ It will be said of things with no change of meaning, because e.g. there is exactly the same reason why a prophecy is said to be true, and a prophet is called true.¹⁴ Robert seems to have no inkling of the transcendently true. The convertibility that Robert has in mind is that of the two expressions, “Paul is” and “it is true that Paul is”: the second does not imply anything (*aliquid*) which is not Paul. So if only Paul existed, anything true about him would not posit any non-Pauline reality:

Unde manifestum est, nichil esse quod Paulus non sit, licet hoc dictum, scilicet Paulum esse, verum sit, idem omnino hoc cum illo est. Unde nulla exigit ratio quod aliiquid sit quod Paulus non sit, quia hoc verum est: Paulum esse. Multo ergo minus aliud erit quam Paulus sit, quia verum est hoc verum esse Paulum esse. Si enim verum esset solum Paulum esse, non esset verum aliud esse quam Paulum esse. Hoc nullus rationis particeps umquam negare presumpsit.¹⁵

The application to God and truths about God is obvious; Robert will make it in the next chapter.

What does *esse* mean in this chapter? He speaks of a statement not implying *duo esse*, and of *esse* being truly present to something. He knows that *est* in *verum est* adds nothing to that of *Paulus est*. But there is no hint of what *esse* means for the existent individual, of its constitutive role, if any. That is not his present concern. We may look for some light on our question in the following chapter, in which Robert claims to elucidate the problem of the eternal existence of something other than God by contrasting the nature of God and creatures.

CHAPTER 46.

So far Robert has treated the relation of *est* to *verum est* in the case of the creature. In the present chapter he says it is not exactly the same for a creature to be and for God to be. God is, but has not His being as a result of constitutive parts:

Ut hoc vero melius intelligi possit, diligenti attentione inspiciendum est, quia aliud est aliiquid ex aliquibus esse, et aliud aliiquid esse. Quod inde constare oportet, quia non omne quod est ex aliquibus est. Verum omne quod ex aliquibus est, ipsum esse necesse est. Deus enim est, nec ex aliquibus esse habet.¹⁶

¹¹ *Ibid.*, lines 9-15.

¹² *Ibid.*, lines 18-20.

¹³ *Ibid.*, chapter 56, p. 276, lines 15-17: Dicitur enim, propheta verus est, prophetia vera est, doctor verus est, doctrina vera est, locutio vera est, dictum verum est.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, lines 18-21: In his vero et in aliis

istis similibus ratio significationis non surgit ex causa diversis. Nam non est alia causa quare propheta verus dicatur et quare prophetia vera esse iudicetur.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, c. 45, p. 257, lines 20-29.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, c. 46, p. 258, line 9.

What is not God is *ex aliquibus*, and, provided the constitutive elements are united, the *esse* of it has got to be there. That this is the meaning of the above is seen from the immediately following discussion of the nature of the creature, *scil. Paul.*

Paul's constitutive elements are body and soul, and it from these that he "has *esse*". The very union of these two confers *esse* on Paul. Now, lest we should anachronistically attribute to Robert the doctrine that *esse* is an act and a real principle of being, the reading of the next two sentences will show us that Robert was thinking of no such thing. He insists that for Paul to be is simply to have an individual soul and body united to make one person. On this union, on their being united (*coadunata esse*) it follows that Paul is (*Paulum esse*):

At Paulus, cum sit ex aliquibus, esse habet ex anima scilicet et corpore.
Horum namque coniunctio Paulo esse confert. Hoc quippe est Paulum esse,
hec scilicet hanc animam et hoc corpus in unam personam coadunata esse.
At ad hec coadunata esse in unam personam sequitur Paulum esse.¹⁷

The above provides Robert with the premises of the proof that the truth of Robert's being does not signify any new *esse*, any thing which is not Paul. Why is it true (*verum est*) that Paul is (*Paulum esse*)? Because soul and body are united (*hec coadunata esse*). But the latter fact is identical with Paul being: it means simply that Paul is. So the identity of *Paulum esse* and *verum est Paulum esse* is proved by the mediation of the *haec coadunata esse*:

Inter ergo tale esse et esse, pluralitas nulla potest esse, nec unum et aliud inter ea esse potest; ex quibus necessario colligitur quia non est aliquid quod Paulus non sit; quia hoc verum est Paulum esse. Nam si idem Paulum esse et hec scilicet hanc animam et hoc corpus in unam personam coniuncta esse, nichil est quod Paulus non sit, quia hoc verum est Paulum esse, eo quod hoc Paulum esse aliud non est quam hec coniuncta esse, hanc scilicet animam et hoc corpus. At, ut dictum est, idem est Paulum esse et hec coniuncta esse.¹⁸

One cannot help noticing the Boethian provenance of this defining the creature by its compositeness.

For Boethius man is the composite of this soul and this body. Boethius characterizes every creature as *hoc atque hoc*, whereas God is only *hoc*. Once the component parts of a creature are united, there it is, it has *esse*.¹⁹ Robert's use of *esse*, even as Boethius', does not imply any reality or principle apart from the essence. To be, for the creature, is to be composed. This is brought out further in Robert's application of the example of the truth about Paul to the problem of the truth about God.

As nothing new came into being, nothing non-Paul, as a result of it *being true* that Paul is, still less does anything non-divine, anything apart from God appear as a result of it being true that God is. The *a fortiori* argument derives its force from the fact that the creature, unlike God, has not a simple *esse*. Paul has not a simple *esse* "although this very *esse* which is simple is predicated of him." It is, as we saw, a plurality in Paul which grounds this "simple" predication of *esse*:

Quis unquam tanta cecitatis caligine involutus fuit, qui etiam suspicari posset quod aliquid sit quod Deus non sit, quia hoc verum est Deum esse. Ratio itaque illa qua volunt probare quia aliquid est quod Deus non est quia hoc verum est Deum esse, facilissime ex eo quod predictum est falsa esse

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, lines 10-14.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, lines 14-23.

¹⁹ Cf. *supra*, note 6.

ostenditur. Nam si non ideo aliquid est quod Paulus non sit quia hoc dictum est Paulum esse, multo minus aliquid esse oportebit quod Deus non sit quia hoc dictum est Deum esse. Nam alia subest causa quare esse de Paulo enuntietur, et alia quare de Deo. Non enim Paulus esse simplex habet, quamvis hoc ipsum esse quod simplex est de Paulo enuntietur. Est quippe pluralitas quedam causa quare hoc ipsum esse quod simplex est de Paulo enuntietur.²⁰

There is no such plurality in God: *Nulla namque pluralitas in Deo esse potest.*²¹ As the plurality in Paul could not produce a plurality of *esse*, how could it possibly in God? Robert then goes on to ask: what do people mean in saying that God is?

Understanding the verb *est* as a substantive word, they appeal to St. Augustine as authority for saying that it applies properly to God alone.²² But, Robert points out, the correlative is that it applies to others not properly, and it must do so. And this improper application cannot be a pure equivocation; there must be some community of meaning in its application to God and creatures.²³ The problem is: what community of meaning is possible? It is not enough that the word alone be the same. There is something in the meaning of *est* which makes it apply properly to God, improperly to creatures. Whatever it may be, for the moment he will concentrate on the meaning of *est* according to which it is predicated properly of God.²⁴

There follows an appeal to *Exodus* iii, 14. The answer to Moses: *Qui est*, etc., was supposed to signify God in a clear-cut and proper manner. If it were not a proper sign Moses did not get the sign he asked for. So, if it had any application to other things, it would not have been a proper sign. And yet, objects Robert, I can say of myself: *Ego sum qui sum*, as I can say of another, *Homo qui est*.²⁵ Obviously determining the community of meaning in *est* is not so simple. Robert tackles this problem in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 47:

Is the meaning of *est* such that it applies to God alone or can it belong to creatures as well? If the latter, then there is the difficulty that arises from it being common to God and creatures, *scil.* that whatever God would have in common with creatures could not be God. As neither substance nor accident God cannot be either a property or the substance of creatures. Now it would be illogical to say that what is meant (*significatum*) by *est* belongs to God and yet cannot be God. The significance of *est* must be God by its being in God.²⁶ As it is predicated of God, it must be God. *Est* is one of those words said of Him

²⁰ *Sententie*, vol. 2, p. 259, lines 1-12.

²¹ *Ibid.*, line 13.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 259, line 18. Father Martin in a note corrects Robert's reference to Augustine, *Super Iohannem*, to Augustine's *De Trinitate* V, 2, 2 (PL 42, 912): sola est incomparabilis substantia vel essentia, qui Deus est, cui profecto ipsum esse, unde essentia nominata est, maxime et verissime competit.

²³ *Ibid.*, lines 17-26: Hoc vero verbum "est" verbum est substantivum, et quemadmodum beatus Augustinus *Super Iohannem* asserit soli Deo proprio convenit. Verum quare soli Deo proprio convenire dicitur nisi alii vel aliis conveniret, et non ita proprio. Hoc vero esse non posset, id est quod alii conveniret et non ita proprio ut Deo conveniret. Sed non ita proprio sed in alia que eius propria non esset cum Deo in propria conveniret. Illud vero nullus umquam dicturus est quod Deo in nulla significazione conveniat.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 260, lines 1-9.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, lines 10-29.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 261, chapter 47, lines 1-14: Que vero erit vocis huius significatio "est" in predictis locutionibus, an talis, que soli Deo conveniat, an que Deo et aliis. Sed si cum rebus creatis Deus eam communem habet, eam Deo convenire qua ratione verum erit, nisi ipsa Deus non sit? Nichil namque quod Deo cum creaturis commune est Deus esse potest. Deus enim nec proprietatis creature nec substantia est, eo quod nec substantia est nec accidens. At qua ratione significatum huius vocis "est" Deo convenire dicimus, si ipsum Deus non est? Significatum ergo huius vocis "est" Deum esse necesse est, eo quod et ipsum in Deo est. Cf. Robert's argument against Gilbert that *divinitas* cannot be a form whereby God is God, for it would not be God: cf. chapter 42, pp. 248-250. Cf. also *Questiones de divina pagina*, (*Oeuvres* I, p. 23).

by intrinsic denomination (*ex ipso*), and not by reason of His external works:

De Deo enim vere enuntiatur. Quod sequitur ipsum Deum esse. Est nempe vox ista 'est' una earum vocum que ei ex ipso convenient, et non ex his que ipse circa nos operatur. Unde, quemadmodum dictum est, necessarium est eius significatum Deum esse.²⁷

There is no more reason why the meaning of *est* should have anything in common with creatures than 'good' does; God is and is good, a creature is and is good. Either both words or neither have a significance common to God and creatures.²⁸

In the light of the foregoing Robert says it is no idle question to ask if words, which are said of God *ex ipso*, are used of us in the same sense. If they cannot be so used, what basis is there for the well-known degrees of comparison that hold between God and creatures?

At super hoc nonnulla questio est, id est, an voces que ipsi Deo ex ipso convenient nobis in eadem significatione convenient in qua Deus eas suscipere dicitur. Nam nisi hoc sit, id est, quod nos et ipse eas in eadem habeamus significatione, qua ratione comparationis aliquo gradu accepta inveniuntur.²⁹

Robert gives three examples of such comparison. Our conformity to Christ means that we are like Christ, and, as He is the image of His Father, therefore we must have some likeness to the Father.³⁰ Also we are commanded to be merciful even 'as your Father is merciful'. This surely applies to the rest of the virtues; they must make the good like God. Finally, *Genesis* warrants us saying that every rational creature of its very nature (*ex ipsa sui conditione*) has the image of God in it. We read of 'spirit' being said of creator and creature; this could not be if 'spirit' did not carry the same meaning for both. It is much the same, apparently, for other words such as 'good', 'just', etc.³¹

Robert is trying to see whether identity of meaning can be saved without identifying God and creatures. He will find that it cannot.

CHAPTER 48.

It cannot be denied, he says, with regard to the words just mentioned there is a transfer from creator to creature or vice-versa through a similarity of meaning. He considers it no easy matter to show that there is this similarity. Is it something or nothing? If the likeness is of nothing, the transference of names is meaningless. If the likeness is something, then just what is signified?³²

There are several types of likeness. The first is merely representational, such as the image of a man. A second is that of sign to thing signified. This can be because of external appearance or because of something intrinsic: *Est vero alia rerum significantium ad res significatas, que fit secundum exteriorem formam vel secundum intrinsecam naturam.*³³ Snow, signifying the pure soul, exemplifies the former; a herd of goats, signifying spiritual thoughts, the latter. A third type arises from participation in the same form: e.g., Peter and Paul are alike in their participation in justice.³⁴

Now the representational and significative likenesses do not permit any comparing of their terms: you cannot, for example, say that snow is whiter than

²⁷ *Ibid.*, lines 14-18.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, lines 19-32.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 262, lines 1-5.

³⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, part 3, c. 31, p. 92n.

³¹ *Ibid.*, part 5, chapter 45, p. 262 to the end of the chapter.

³² *Ibid.*, chapter 48, p. 263, lines 8-17: Nam, quemadmodum ostensum est, quin saltem ex similitudine significatio ad significacionem a creatore ad creaturam vel creature ad

creatorem assumantur negari non potest. . . . Si autem nullius similitudo hic nomen est, inaniter et falso ex similitudine hec nominum translatio fieri dicitur. At si vere similitudo aliiquid hic est, neque hoc nomen "similitudo" non incassum, sed rem significatam subjectam habens in quo ipsa consistat inquirendum est.

³³ *Ibid.*, line 20.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, lines 18-28.

the soul, or that goats seek higher peaks than thoughts. This being able to compare things is important to Robert; as we saw, God and creatures are somehow compared from the viewpoint of justice, goodness, etc.

Now the third type of similarity, the participational, does allow comparison of the terms: Paul is more just than Martinus, God is more just than Paul. In fact, God is and is said to be the most just, which could not be said either properly or truly if anyone were His equal in justice:

Tertia vero similitudo proprie capax est comparationis. Proprie namque dicitur quod Paulus iustior est Martino. At non minus proprie Deus iustior Paulo dicitur. Ipse quippe summe iustus est et dicitur, eo quod nec proprie nec vere diceretur si aliquis in iusticia ei equalis esse posset.³⁵

Here the meaning of 'just' and 'good' does not vary, except in degree and intensity: *significatio variari non videtur, sed solum intendi vel remitti.*³⁶ Were there a diversity of meaning, comparison would be impossible, or, at least, so it seems. Robert immediately proceeds to show there is no good ground for that *videtur*.

Neither reason, nor faith, can approve this line of reasoning, nor can Scripture corroborate the implication that the aforesaid comparisons are based on participation in a common meaning.³⁷ If there is identity of meaning in the propositions "God is just" and "Paul is just", then it is God Himself who is signified in both, because the "just" in the first can designate only God. Now God is not just by participation in any property: He is just by His essence. God's essence cannot by any stretch of the imagination be predicated of Paul. The "just" in "Paul is just" cannot signify God. For then Paul's justice would be God:

Que namque ratio suspicere potest quod hac voce "iustus" idem significetur in his locutionibus: Paulus est iustus, Deus est iustus. Nam si unum et idem in eis significat, Deum in utraque significabit, eo quod in ista: Deus est iustus, vox ista "iustus" solum Deum designat. Non enim aliquam in ea significat proprietatem cuius participatione Deus iustus sit, sed divinam essentiam que Deus est, quam de Paulo predicari non posse dubium esse non potest; neque in hac locutione: Paulus iustus est, hac voce "iustus" Deum significari aliqua ratione verisimile esse possibile est.³⁸

So, too, one would have to say that Paul is the highest good, which is impossible as then the *summum bonum* would be contingent.³⁹

CHAPTER 49.

This chapter answers an objection. Some would say that the good predicated of Paul is the *summum bonum*. This goodness remains when Paul ceases to be, just as the light of the sun, which shines on Paul, will not cease when Paul ceases.⁴⁰ It is surely the same with the divine light that enlightens all men. And the same can be said for justice, faith, hope, and even the very reason and essence of Paul:

Sicut ergo luce illa eterna omnes illuminantur que prius est quam illuminet, et postquam illuminare desinit non minus existit, ita esse potest, sicut quorundam estimatio habet, quod nec iusticia Pauli neque bonitas eius esse desinat quando Pauli esse desinunt, neque eas tunc incepisse esse necesse est, quando Pauli esse inceperunt. Quod de fide et spe Pauli dicere possunt; immo etiam de ipsis ratione atque essentia.⁴¹

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 264, lines 3-8.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, lines 10-12.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, lines 23-25.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, lines 25-34.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 265, lines 3-19.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, chapter 49, p. 265, lines 23-31.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 266, lines 4-10.

Robert cannot find terms strong enough to condemn such a view: *Que quam falsa, quam nefanda, quam detestabilia sint nullum latere potest qui ratione uti valet, minus eum qui fidem cum ratione habet.*⁴² Robert has no intention of discussing here the question of justice and the other virtues, e.g., is the charity, which is the merit of the just, God? His present concern is with the meaning of *est*. To get at that it is most advantageous to see whether words like "just" and "good" can bear degrees of comparison, even though applying to God and creatures with diverse meanings:

Verum de significatione huius vocis 'est', in presenti agendum esse videtur, eo prius expedito quod interiectum est, id est, an hee voces 'iustus', 'bonus', 'misericors' et alie huiusmodi convenienter comparationis esse possint, licet Deo et electis in diversis significationibus convenientia.⁴³

CHAPTER 50.

Were it true that diversity of meaning precluded comparison then practically all theological teaching, Catholic or otherwise, would be at an end. Denis the Areopagite's dictum that privations are truer of God than affirmations wouldn't hold if words like "just", "good", etc., were applied univocally. It is clear that no words apply with an identity of meaning: *unde manifestum est nullam omnino vocum Deo et creaturis in eadem convenire significatione.*⁴⁴ Rather, it is by a figure of speech that what is said properly of one thing is transferred to another, e.g., it is by such a figure that we say God is angry. In the same way we are said to be good and just, though these apply properly not to us, but to God. The reason for this is that true justice, true goodness is in God only. In us justice is not there truly; there is only a likeness in us of true justice: *Est namque in Deo vera iusticia, vera bonitas . . . ; in nobis non vere, sed verarum qualitatemcumque similitudinem habentes.*⁴⁵ At this point we may well suspect that Robert will find that true being pertains to God alone, and that creatures are not truly. But, before he comes to that, Robert has to show how similarity can permit comparison of things that are diverse in meaning. In doing so Robert arrives at a position very close to the doctrine of the analogy of proportionality. He was not able to apply it to *esse* in relation to essence for the simple reason, as we have seen, that *esse* means to be an essence.

The similarity alone, then, which we have to true justice permits one to say truly and correctly that God is more just than Paul. He insists that the comparison is possible not because of any participation in a common quality, but solely on the grounds of a similarity: *Hee namque comparationes ex similitudine rerum diversarum fiunt, et non ex communis qualitatis participatione.*⁴⁶ He uses the example of brightness: we can say that the brightness of God is greater than the brightness of the sun. Brightness cannot mean the same in both cases. Yet the comparison is not unjustified. Surely, then, God can be said to be more just than Paul, even though "just" is not used univocally. A similarity makes the attribution possible, but what similarity, when the things are diverse?

It is the similarity which things have from the viewpoint of their effects: it is the effects which are alike, even though they be in different genera: *Est quippe aliquorum similitudo ex suis effectibus in diversis rerum generibus, id est, ideo quia similia in diversis rerum efficiunt.*⁴⁷ The example of brightness is pat to his purpose. The sun's brightness so illuminates the eyes of our body that we are enabled to see visible things about us. So, too, God's brightness illuminates the eyes of the soul in such a way that we are enabled to behold the Light divine.

⁴² *Ibid.*, lines 11-13.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, lines 17-22.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, chapter 50, p. 266, line 31-p. 267, line 12.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, lines 20-22.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 268, lines 15-17.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, lines 18-20.

There's no question of participation in a common form: the comparison is one of a proportional similarity of diverse effects. Robert does not use the term "proportional": he speaks of the comparison stemming from "their diverse effects in diverse genera". As the sun's brightness is to bodily vision, so is God's brightness to spiritual vision. Hence, Robert concludes: "every significance of things consists in those likenesses of things of diverse genera, which stem not from participation in a common quality, but are predicated because of the effects of what differ by nature. Hence it is neither false nor should it even seem false that the word 'est' applies to God and creatures in a different sense."⁴⁸ The obvious question to ask here is: what effect is implied by *est* that enables one to establish a proportional similarity between God and creatures? Robert now turns his attention in the next four chapters to the meaning of *est*.

CHAPTER 51.

Robert starts by throwing bell, book and candle at those who with a "damnable audacity" say that *est* is used univocally of God and creatures: they do just this in their predication the divine essence of creatures, which shows how insane they are. They say that, whenever *est* is used in apposition, it is the divine essence which is predicated:

Quod tamen, quemadmodum dictum est, quidam dampnanda audatia asserere presumunt, id est, hoc verbum "est" in eadem significatione Deo convenire et rebus a Deo conditis; immo etiam id manifeste profitentur, quod eorum insaniam et falsitatis errorem evidentissime demonstrat, id est divinam essentiam de omni creatura enuntiari. Hac enim locutione: Paulus est, divinam essentiam de Paulo enuntiari mentiuntur. Quod etiam omni locutione fieri dogmatizant cuius hoc verbum "est" apposito est, id est, divinam essentiam de omni illo enuntiari de quo ea locutione agitur cuius hoc verbum "est" apposito est.⁴⁹

The Faith, Scripture and all the philosophers join in condemning such an unheard of error. The philosophers have said not a little about the meaning *ens* or *est*. Some have thought there were diverse meanings. Others have thought there is but one meaning common to all things. But none have been so mad or shameless as to proclaim that the divine essence is to be predicated of everything.⁵⁰ Having delivered this broadside, Robert settles down in the next chapter to show why such predication is impossible. The discussion is valuable for the light it throws on the nature of God, on the meaning of *vere est*, and on the constitution of the creature.

CHAPTER 52.

Those, who say that God's essence is predicated of God and creatures, hold that God's essence is not God, but that by which God is:

Nam si eam de omnibus creaturis enuntiari verum est, qua ratione verum erit Dei essentiam esse et creaturarum. Est enim Dei essentia, quemadmodum mentiuntur, non quia illa (269/270) Deus sit, sed quia ex illa Deus est. Unde et eadem ratione omnium creaturarum eam esse necesse est.⁵¹

The logical conclusion of this error is that, if the divine essence is truly enuntiated of creatures, then creatures must participate in it. It follows that the divine essence must be participated in either as form or subject of form:

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, lines 26-30: Omnis vero rerum significatio in ipsis consistit similitudinibus rerum diversorum generum, que non est ex participatione communis qualitatis, sed quemadmodum dictum est ex effectibus

rerum natura differentium.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, chapter 51, p. 269, lines 3-13.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, lines 14-26.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, chapter 52, p. 269, line 29-p. 270, line 2.

Que namque erit causa quare ex illa Deum esse dicant, et non unamquamque creaturam, cum verum sit eam secundum eorum errorem de unaquaque creatura enuntiari. Si enim ea de unaquaque creatura vere enuntiatur, unaqueque creatura ea participat. Quia ergo unaqueque creatura ea participat, aut tanquam forma ea participat aut tanquam forme subiecto.⁵²

In the remainder of the chapter Robert shows that the divine essence cannot be as the subject of either substantial or accidental form, for that would make it a matter, hence receptive of all forms and mutable. If resort is had to the subterfuge that the divine essence is like Plato's world-matter,⁵³ which is receptive of forms without possessing any, then the divine essence is simply the matter of the world.⁵⁴ In no way, then, can it be said that the divine essence is participated in as a subject of form. The following chapter will show why it cannot be participated in as a form common to creatures.

Of special interest in the above argument is, first, the insistence that the divine essence is immutable, invariable. Robert is going to equate *vere est* with impossibility of change or variation.⁵⁵ The second point of interest is the reason given for the divine essence, if participated in, having to be as form or subject of form. It is that there is nothing in the being of a creature which is not form or subject of form, although the creature is constituted from integral parts. These integral parts are, as it were, the matter of the whole and in the totality receive "information":

Nichil enim in esse alicuius creature reperiri potest quod aliquod istorum non sit, quamvis et illa ex partibus integralibus habeat constitutionem. Partes namque integrales in ipso toto compositionis suscipiunt informationem. Siquidem ipsius tocius quodammodo materia sunt.⁵⁶

Hence, though a creature be constituted of parts, *licet . . . ex partibus constet*, in its esse there is nothing that is not form or subject of form.

Robert does not give any examples of what he considers integral parts. Boethius in his *De Trinitate* speaks of body and soul as being the parts out of which man has his *esse*.⁵⁷ It would seem that Robert must mean material parts such as hands, feet, bones, blood, etc., which, if not "informed", are only an aggregate. But whatever Robert's meaning, it is clear that he here completely confirms his views of Chapter 46 that, for a creature, to be means to be an essence, a composed essence. There is no notion here of *esse* as act. And yet this does not in the least imply, for Robert, that *est* properly applies to a creature.

CHAPTER 53.

This chapter shows that the divine essence cannot be participated in by a creature as its form. Not as its substantial form, for as such it would have to be a quality: it would be to go against the whole weight of Catholic doctors and eminent philosophers to assert that there could be a substantial form which was not a quality.⁵⁸ Not as accidental form, for then the divine essence would be contingent (Robert says: *posset omnino non esse*). Nor as form, which was

⁵² *Ibid.*, lines 2-8.

⁵³ Fr. Martin (*Sententie*, vol. 1, p. xx) writes: il emprunte des éléments de Physique au Timée de Platon dans la version de Chalcidius, à Macrobe et Guillaume de Conches. Il se rencontre avec Guillaume de Conches sur les points suivants: selon Platon Dieu a créé la matière, la volonté de Dieu est cause suprême, causalité universelle de Dieu, la bonté divine seul motif de la création, l'homme est le point central de la création.

⁵⁴ *Sententie*, vol. 2, p. 270, lines 2-32.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, chapter 59, p. 283, lines 3-4.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, chapter 52, p. 270, lines 8-13.

⁵⁷ Robert does not cite Boethius, but we can recognize the doctrine of the *De Trinitate*, PL 64, 1250; . . . ut cum homo terrenus constet ex anima corporeaque, corpus et anima est, non vel corpus vel anima in partem.

⁵⁸ *Sententie*, vol. 2, chapter 53, p. 271, lines 1-12.

neither substantial nor accidental. This would be to countenance the fiction of a creature formed by a form that was neither substantial nor accidental: *Fingant ergo consequenter creaturam aliquam forma esse formatam que nec ei sit substantialis neque accidentalis.*⁵⁹

Even though such a creature is pure fiction, Robert, nevertheless, thinks it useful to take a look at a creature supposed to have been formed by participation in the divine essence. It cannot be a *quale*, *quantum* or anything that comes about through participation in any of the nine predicamental forms. It is something no creature can be, for it would have to be such as God is. As God would be formed by the form ‘divine essence’, so would the creature. Thus the creature would have an *esse* common with the creator:

Cuiusmodi ergo formatum creatura esse potest ex participatione divine essentie, nullum sane nisi tale quale creatura esse non potest. Nam creatura talis esse non potest qualis Deus est. Quod falsum esse non potest si divina essentia forma creatoris et creature est. Quale namque formatum creator ex ea est, tale et creaturam ex eadem esse necesse est. Unde si divina essentia creatoris talis forma est ex qua est, et creature talis forma est ex qua et ipsa est. Habet ergo creature esse commune cum creatore.⁶⁰

But this common *esse*, resulting from participation in the divine essence, is either mutable or immutable. If mutable, the creator is mutable. If immutable, then the creature is immutable. But it is “a detestable lie” that the creature is immutable, which it would have to be if every creature participates in the divine essence. Hence, the chapter concludes: “there can be no form which is said of God and creatures by this one word ‘est’”.⁶¹

CHAPTER 54.

Robert professes ignorance of what else *est* could mean if predicated in common of God and creatures. He will not impute views to his opponents which he is not certain they have proposed: that would look too much as though he were seeking an excuse to berate them rather than an occasion of refuting error through his love of truth. But he has no doubt that it is for reasons equally stupid someone would say that *esse* is common without being a form.⁶²

Doesn’t the presence of God in all things, it may be objected, show that there is an *est* which is common? Robert admits God is in all things, but not as matter, form or any other way existing in another that human mind can grasp. The predication of *est* cannot of itself show that God is in creatures, nor that it is said univocally of both. The reason is that *est* belongs properly to God, who alone properly is, just as He alone truly is. Creatures, on the other hand, just as they neither truly are, neither are they properly:

Unde manifestum est Deum predicatione huius vocis “est” non posse ostendi creaturis inesse, nec eam Deo et creaturis in eadem significatione posse convenire. Nam Deo proprie convenit, qui solus proprie est, sicut et solus vere est. At creature sicuti nec vere sunt, ita nec proprie. Unde nec ista vox “est” eis proprie convenit, sed ex quadam ad illum qui vere est similitudine.⁶³

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, line 26. Robert enlarges on this Augustinian view of creation by formation in *Sententie*, vol. 1, p. 228f.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 272, lines 4-12

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, lines 26-27.

⁶² *Ibid.*, chapter 54, p. 272, line 30-p. 273, line 7: *Quid vero aliud hoc esse possit quod de Deo et creaturis hac voce “est” communiter enuntietur ab eis non accepi. Et ideo (272/273) eis illud imponere nolo quod*

pro certo non habeo eos proposuisse, ne potius occasionem eos culpandi videar quiescisse quam amore veritatis eorum falsitatem repulisse. De hoc tamen non dubito qui eque magnis, immo etiam magis profanis falsitatum absurditatibus urgeatur quisquis aliud quam formam hac voce “est” dixerit significari, quod Deo et creaturis esse commune opinetur.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, lines 12-17.

So all proper predication of *est* of creatures is finally excluded. What predication there is must be because of some likeness (and not because of any participation).

In the following paragraph Robert shows how a similarity can justify the use of *est* for designating creatures. The word "man" is said of an individual man truly and properly, but not of a painting. You can say of a portrait "that's a man", not because of any true human substance there, but because of the likeness. In the same way *est* is said of creatures, not because there is any participation in true *esse*, but because of a likeness, a very slight likeness, one, in fact, which is weaker than in the case of the portrait:

Quemadmodum ergo hec vox "homo" picture hominem representanti non ex veritate humane nature convenit, sed ex quadam similitudine, ita hec vox "est" non convenit creaturis ex veri esse participatione, sed ex illius tenuissima similitudine. Multo namque pictura homini similior est (273/274) quam creatura creatori. Et ideo ex viciniore similitudine picture ad hominem hec vox "homo" picture convenit quam sit illa similitudo creature ad creatorem, ex qua vox ista "est" creature convenire dicitur.⁶⁴

Robert backs this up by an appeal to Scripture (*Romans i, 20*). There every creature is said to be an obscure likeness of God. So no believer should be upset at hearing that, if the *esse* of the creature be compared to eternal *esse*, the creature cannot be said to be truly.⁶⁵ This is why even the teachers of the Gentiles say that, in comparison with things unseen, sensible creatures only seem to be:

Non debet mens fidelis turbari, si creature non dicantur vere esse, esse eorum ad eternum esse relato, cum et Gentium doctores hec sensibilia non dicant esse, sed videri esse, comparatione eorum que sensibus comprehendi non possunt. Multo quidem verius comparatione creatoris omnia creata possunt dici non esse, sed esse videri, eo quod creator vere est, cetera umbram et imaginem veri esse habent.⁶⁶

So only the creator is truly, and all else has but a shadow or image of true *esse*.

CHAPTER 55.

Robert has come to the end of his discussion of the meaning of *est*. In chapter 55 he applies his findings to other seemingly common words, such as "spirit". Now it can be clearly seen that the reason, which, in an earlier chapter,⁶⁷ seemed to warrant an univocal attribution of "spirit" to God and man, is of little or no worth.⁶⁸ He concludes the chapter thus: "Therefore it is plain, from what has been said, that it is not necessary for the word 'est' to apply univocally to Creator and creature, although it is well and truly said that Creator and creature are."⁶⁹ In other words, it is true to say (*vere dicitur*) that the Creator is (and this means *truly is*) and the creature is (and this means seems to be truly, is not truly, is but an image of *vere esse*).

CHAPTERS 56-59.

In the remaining four chapters of part 5 Robert comes back to the problem posed in chapter 45. He is now able definitively to show why the eternally true

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, line 27 - p. 274, line 4.

⁶⁵ Note the equivalence of the eternal with the immutable: to be truly is to be always, immutably what one is.

⁶⁶ *Sententie*, vol. 2, p. 274, lines 7-15. Robert could have read this Platonic view of creatures in an author whom he frequently cites, *scil.* St. Jerome. Cf. Jerome, *Epist. XVI ad Damasum* (PL 22, 357): *Una est Dei et sola natura, quae vere est. Id enim*

quod subsistit, non habet aliunde, sed suum est. Cetera quae creata sunt, etiamsi videntur esse, non sunt: quia aliquando non fuerunt; et potest rursum non esse, quod non fuit. Deus solus qui eternus est, hoc est, qui exordium non habet, essentiae nomen vere tenet.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, chapter 47.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, chapter 55, p. 275.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, lines 5-8: *Ex hoc ergo perspicuum*

(*verum*) does not postulate the eternal existence of anything other than God. In a deeper analysis he shows that "true" and "truth" belong properly to the utterance of a true enuntiation. They are said of things only by transference from this primary instance: thus, because a prophecy is true, the prophet himself can be called a true prophet. This means that *verum* and *veritas* are not in the realm of things. Otherwise there could not be a multiplicity of such *vera* when there is nothing existing at all: *multa namque huiusmodi vera nullis rebus existentibus esse possibile est.*⁷⁰ So *verum* cannot designate any *thing* which would be neither the Creator nor a creature. Even had it been true, by an impossible supposition, that God had not been from all eternity, that truth would not have entailed there being any *thing* non-divine from all eternity.⁷¹ Even Aristotle⁷² is a witness to the exclusion of *verum* from the circle of things: he says that truth and falsity are a matter of composition and division in the intellect.⁷³ This confirms the conclusion that *verum* has nothing to do with positing or not positing things: *nichil esse oportere, quod aliqua rerum sit vel aliqua non sit, quia verum est.*⁷⁴

It follows that "still less is it necessary that there be any thing which is God or is not God, because of truth."⁷⁵ The contrary would entail ludicrous consequences for the doctrine of the Trinity. After detailing such consequences, Robert repeats, as thoroughly proved, his contention that *nec vera nec veritates que locutionibus enuntiativis designantur aliqua esse que nec creator nec creature sint.*⁷⁶

A final difficulty arises from trinitarian doctrine: the Father is said to be *verax*, the Son *veritas*, and the Holy Ghost neither. Yet the appellation "truth" is common to all Three. We need not follow Robert's discussion in detail. What is to our purpose is that Robert is helped by St. Paul to see why the word "true" is used to signify God. St. Paul says that God is called truth because He is invariable both in His essence and in His promises. It is the impossibility of variation which makes God "truly true":

Ait enim ideo Deum veritatem dici quod invariabilis est tam in essentia quam in promissione. Quod est eum verum esse et veritatem. Ipse enim vere verus est et vere veritas est, quia eum variationem aliquam admittere impossibile est.⁷⁷

est, quia hanc vocem "est" non est necesse in eadem significacione convenire creatori et creaturis, quamquam vere et convenienter dicatur: creator et creatura sunt.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, chapter 56, pp. 276-277.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, chapter 57, p. 278.

⁷² Robert has two quotations from Aristotle: (1) Ait enim Aristotiles in libro *Interpretationum circa compositionem et divisionem esse veritatem et falsitatem*, and (2) Hoc idem etiam in libro *De anima* evidenter determinat, dicens *complexionem intellectuum esse veritatem ac falsitatem*. The editor correctly gives the source of the first quotations as Boethius, *In librum de interpretatione, editio altera*; PL 64, 414D. For the second he cites what he considers the relevant passage in Aristotle's *De Anima* III, 6: In quibus autem et falsum iam et verum est, compositio quaedam iam intellectum est, sicut eorum quae unum fiunt. This, according to the Bekker pagination, would be 430a27. The strictly relevant passage, however, is III, 8, 432a11: *complexio enim intellectuum est verum aut falsum*. Lest this reference to the *De Anima* be taken as evidence that Robert was using an early medieval translation, it should be noted that his source is again Boethius, *op. cit.*, PL 64, 406C: Sed haec in libris de

Anima verissime diligentissimeque separavit dicens: (here follows the Greek text of Aristotle's *De Anima* III, 8, 432a10-14, then the Latin translation) . . . Est autem imaginatio diversa ab affirmatione et negatione, complexio namque intellectuum est veritas vel falsitas, etc. Though the first Latin translation of the *De Anima* was made perhaps shortly after the middle of the twelfth century (cf. G. Lacombe, *Aristoteles Latinus*, Pars Prior, Rome, 1939, p. 58), the terminus *ad quem* (1160) of Robert's *Sentences* make it hardly likely that he saw it. The present lone citation and the evident similarity of wording to Boethius' translation make it certain that Robert was making no use of Aristotle himself. The mention of Aristotle, therefore, in the table of *Citations d'Auteurs Profanes* (p. 393) should be omitted.

⁷³ *Sententie*, vol. 2, part 5, chapter 57, p. 278. line 17 - n. 279. line 3.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, chapter 23.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, chapter 58, p. 279. line 26: *Multo ergo minus necessarium est aliquid esse quod Deus sit vel quod Deus non sit, quia verum est.*

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 281, lines 16-18. Cf. *Romans* iii. 4.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 283, lines 1-3.

CONCLUSION.

In the chapters analyzed we have enough, I think, to give us a clear and consistent picture of Robert's understanding of *est*. As used of God it means to be truly, for He alone truly is, properly is, because He alone is simple, unchangeable, not composed of parts, not having His *esse ex aliquibus*, not formed by any form, identical with His essence, of Whom all predicates *ex ipso* are predicated by identity and essentially and not by participation in any form that is not God, Who, therefore, has nothing in common with His creatures. *Est* is said of God truly and properly. *Essentia* or *ens* or *esse*, which are all the same, are properly said of God alone. For God to be is to be immutably, eternally, simply what He is.

Creatures exist, but are not truly. It can be said truly that they are, but their 'to be' is not a true 'to be', but only an image, a faint likeness of the divine 'to be', of true *esse*. Creatures are not truly, because they are the unstable union of form and subject of form. To be for them is to be *ex aliquibus*. It is to be a mutable, contingent union of form and matter which is a plurality of integral parts.

Robert's world is that of Boethius and St. Augustine. Creatures exist, but what is noticed is not their existence but their status as images of the immutable.

There is much here of value for anyone interested in the development of mediaeval thought before the impact of Aristotelian metaphysics. Robert had an idea of proportional analogy, but never thought of applying it to *esse*, since he had not arrived at the notion of *esse* as an act distinct from essence. The application which he did make to the data at hand seems to have solved the problem for him. He is content to hold that one can *truly say* that a creature is, but not that it is *truly*. But this left a deeper problem: if the being of a creature is not to be truly, is it a creature at all in the tenuousness of its shadow-consistency?

Mediaevalia

I. The Round Table and the Council of Rheims, 1049.

THE first mention of the Round Table and its institution was made by Wace in his *Gestes des Bretons* or *Brut* about the year 1155. There it is stated that Arthur's purpose in constructing the Round Table was to prevent quarrels among his proud and famed knights concerning precedence:

Pur les nobles baruns qu'il out,
Dunt chescuns mieldre estre quidout.
Chescuns se teneit al meilleur,
Ne nuls n'en saveit le peiur,
Fist Artur la Roïnde Table
Dunt Bretons dient mainte fable.
Illuec seeient li vassal
Tuit chevalment e tuit egal;
A la table egalment seeient
E egalment servi esteient;
Nul d'els ne se poeit vanter
Qu'il seist plus halt de sun per,
Tuit esteient assis meiain,
Ne n'i aveit nul de forain.¹

Writing some fifty years later, Layamon makes specific reference to the quarrel and bloodshed occasioned by pride and emulation that preceded the institution of the Round Table.² At a Yuletide feast in London, seven kings' sons had been present with seven hundred knights. When the banquet was served, they began to quarrel about precedence.³ Words passed to blows until finally the son of Rumareth of Winetland, there as a hostage, advised Arthur to arm his native knights. Meanwhile he himself seized three knives and killed seven men including the knight who had begun the disturbance. At this, bloodshed became general until Arthur returned with his knights, quelled the tumult, punished those who were the cause of it, swore an oath and caused those present to swear that never would such a scene recur. Layamon goes on to say that a tale tells how Arthur went to Cornwall and that there a carpenter came to him and boasted of his craftsmanship. He had heard of the fight and of its cause. He would make a table whereat sixteen hundred or more knights might sit in perfect equality so that none might be considered to sit at the head or at the foot of the table.⁴ Arthur might carry such a table with him wherever he went

¹ Arthur made the Round Table, concerning which Bretons tell many a tale, for his noble barons, each of whom considered himself better (than the other). Each one looked upon himself as the best, and none admitted himself to be the worse. There sat his vassals all in knightly fashion and all in equality; they sat at table in equal wise and were served equally. None of them could boast that he sat at a place higher than his peer. All were seated next to each other and there was no one who was at the exterior position. *Li Romans de Brut de Wace* 9747-9760. Ed. Ivor Arnold II, (Paris, 1940), pp. 513-4.

² Layamon's *Brut*, 22736 ff. Ed. Sir Frederic Madden II (London, 1847).

³ Aelc hafede an heorte
leches hege,
and lette bat he weore
bettere ban his ivere;
bat folc wes of feole londe
ber wes muchel onde,
for be an hine talde haeh
be oðer muche herre. *Ibid.*, 22751-8.

⁴ Ah ich be wulle wurche
a weorc swibe hende,
bat ber mazen sitten to
sixtene hundred and ma,
al turn abuten
bat nan ne beon wið uten;
wið uten and wið inne,
mon tozenes monne. *Ibid.*, 22913-20.

and therefore need not be afraid of a recurrence of the quarrel.⁵ In four weeks the table was completed. Arthur called his knights to table and when they were seated and at meat, each spoke with the other as if to a brother. Each knight was exceedingly well disposed, all were on an equal footing, none could boast that he was served differently or more slowly than his peer.⁶

In the two accounts, one an outgrowth of the other, the Round Table was made by Arthur or for Arthur to prevent quarrels arising among his knights on the question of precedence or to prevent a recurrence of such a quarrel. The Round Table was designed to equalize the knights, thereby moderating their pride and desire of emulation. At such a table, each knight would be *meiain*, *wið inne*, that is between two comrades who, each in his turn, would be *medi-anus*. No one would be *forain*, *wið uten*, that is at the exterior or end position of the table.

In 1049, over a hundred years before Wace's account of the institution of the Round Table, Pope Leo IX used the same device at the Council of Rheims to prevent a quarrel over precedence between the clergies of the Archbishops of Treves and Rheims.

Before his election to the papacy and while still Bishop of Toul, Pope Leo had promised Hérimar, Abbot of the Monastery of St. Remi at Rheims, that he would make a pilgrimage to the tomb of St. Remi. A few months after his assumption of Peter's throne and while in Germany, Hérimar recalled to the Pope the promise that he had made and entreated him to consecrate at the same time the new basilica that had been erected. Pope Leo assented and seized upon the occasion to plan a Council to be held at Rheims of the French King and hierarchy with a view of reforming the Church and righting the abuses rampant at the time among clergy and laity.⁷ King Henry I of France sent his regrets that he would be unable to attend the Council with his prelates, regrets occasioned by the suggestion of certain prelates that in attending the Council under the jurisdiction of the Pope the royal prestige might thereby suffer. The King proposed that the Council be postponed until a more propitious time. The Pope replied that his promise to consecrate the Church of St. Remi would be religiously kept and that he would be at Rheims on the day fixed to hold the Council with those friends of religion who would be assembled there. Certain bishops and abbots left with the king on a military expedition against 'rebelles'. A group of others, possibly under royal influence or in fear of the consequences of reform, sent their written regrets. Still others obeyed the Pope's command.⁸ The Archbishop of Rheims was the sole archbishop, properly speaking, of France to attend since Treves. Lyons and Besançon lay in Germany and Burgundy reunited in a single kingdom by Conrad II.

On the 29th of September, 1049, therefore, Pope Leo IX left Toul, his former episcopal see, accompanied by an entourage of civil and ecclesiastical dignitaries

⁵ and ne dert bu navere adrede;
to bere worlde longen,
baet aevere aeni modi cniht
at bine borde makie fift;
for ber seal be hehze
beon aefne ban loxe. *Ibid.*, 22924-9.
⁶ bo alle weoren iseten
cnihtes to heore mete,
ba sræc aelc wið oðer
also hit weore his broðer.
alle heo seten abuten,
nes ber man wið uten.
Aeverealches cunnes cniht,
bere wes swiðe wel idhiht.
alle heo weoren bi ane,
be hehze and ba lage.
ne mihten ber nan zelpen

for oðere kunnes scencken
oðer his iveren

be at ban beorde weoren. *Ibid.*, 22939-52.

⁷ A detailed description of the background of the Council, the dedication of the Church of St. Remi, the preliminaries of the Council and the enactments of the Council itself is given by Anselm, a monk of St. Remi and an eyewitness to the events. This description was written at the demand of Hérimar, Abbot of the Monastery of St. Remi. *Historia Dedicationis ecclesiae s. Remigii apud Remos auctore Anselmo eiusdem loci monacho et aequali*: PL 142, 1411-40.

⁸ Cf. Augustin Fliche, *La Reforme grégorienne I* (*Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense*, 6, Louvain, 1924), pp. 136-7.

from France, Germany, Burgundy and Italy. He was received by Guy, Archbishop of Rheims, and celebrated Mass at the Cathedral. On October 1st, the Feast of St. Remi, the relics of the saint were translated with solemn ceremony from his tomb at the Monastery of St. Remi to the Cathedral and there placed on the altar of the Holy Cross. Meanwhile the Archbishop of Treves had consecrated the oratory of the Holy Trinity in the Church of St. Remi. The following day, October 2nd, the body of St. Remi was borne about the city. During the procession the Pope consecrated the new church and the relics of St. Remi were left exposed on the main altar in order that during the Council they might be seen by all and might be an inspiration to well-doing. The Pope then said Mass, preached a sermon and imparted the Papal benediction. At the same time, he invited the bishops and abbots to be present the next day in the new church to celebrate the Council.

On the 3rd of October, 1049, twenty bishops, about fifty abbots and a great multitude of clergy responded to the appeal. Present also were ambassadors of Edward of England come to bring to His Holiness their monarch's oath of fidelity. Scarcely had the capitulants entered the Church when the old dispute between the clergy of the Archbishop of Rheims and that of the Archbishop of Treves broke out anew.⁹ Those of Rheims claimed that their Archbishop was

⁹For the historical background, political and ecclesiastical, to the dispute, for the relationship between Rheims and Treves, for the controversy itself, cf. Herman Schmidt, "Trier und Reims in ihrer verfassungsrechtlichen Entwicklung bis zum Primatsstreit des neunten Jahrhunderts," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte* 49 (1929), kanonistische Abteilung XVIII, 1-111, especially section VI, "Der Streit zwischen Thietgaud von Trier und Hinkmar von Reims um den Primat in der Provinz Belgica und die Beziehungen zwischen Trier und Reims bis zum Jahre 869," 77-107.

Apparently, on the occasion of the Council, the quarrel between Treves and Rheims concerning the title of Primate of the Province of Belgium, dormant since the ninth century (Schmidt, *art. cit.*, p. 109), had broken out afresh. It was a quarrel of precedence and jurisdiction that had come to the fore in the struggle between Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, and Thietgaud, Archbishop of Treves. It stretched back to the very founding of the Churches and had its ultimate roots in the political and ecclesiastical division of the old Roman provinces of the Western Empire. What had been Gallia Belgica had been divided into four new provinces, two Germanias close to the Rhine, and two Belgicas called Belgica Prima and Belgica Secunda. Basically it was because Treves was the capital city of Belgica Prima that it claimed precedence over Rheims. It was of course a claim unacceptable to the latter. On the contrary, when occasion arose, the Archbishops of Rheims defended their right based on papal authority to the Primacy of Gallia Belgica. Cf. Guillaume Marlot, *Histoire de la ville, cité et université de Reims* I, xxxiii-iv (Reims, 1843), pp. 171-9; especially II, v: "Que l'église de Reims n'a jamais relevé du primat de Treves, ny d'autcun autre qui soit en France avec la resrone aux objections qu'on lui oppose," vol. I, pp. 203-8.

The champion of the Primacy of the Archbishops of Rheims was Hincmar. He based their claim on the Bull sent to Saint Remi

by Pope Hormisdas: Attamen, velis nolis, sanctus Hormisda papa tibi ostendet primatum esse hujus provinciae illum qui in sede beati Remigii apud Rhemorum metropolim est ordinatus episcopus (*Opuscula et epistolae qui spectant in causam Hincmari Laudunensis*; PL 126, 338). After quoting the Bull in full, Hincmar strengthens his case by referring to ancient privileges confirmed by Pope Hadrian I to Tilpin his predecessor, that he be recognized as Primate of the Province with authority over the cities formerly dependent on his jurisdiction and that he be not subject to any power except that of the Holy See: Sed et Adrianus papa Tilpino praedecessori nostro talia suae auctoritatis privilegia, et sibi commissae Ecclesiae dedit (*op. cit.*; PL 126, 339). Moreover Hincmar asserted that claim of supremacy in a letter against Thietgaud Archbishop of Treves who had claimed the title of Primas Belgicae Primae (Cf. Mansi, *Concilium XV*, 645): Teutgaudio Treverensi de primatu quem deferri ab eo debere scripserat ille sedi Treverorum, insinuans id eidem sedi a sede Remorum nunquam fuisse delatum (*Flodoardi historia Remensis ecclesiae* III, 21; ed. M. Lejeune II [Reims, 1854], p. 206). Furthermore in a letter to Pope Leo IV, as reported by Flodoard, Hincmar recalls to the Holy Father the antiquity of the privileges extended to Rheims from the very time when privileges were conceded to episcopal sees, that the Archbishop of Rheims has always had first rank among primates as one of the most ancient primates of Gaul and that he has none above him except the Pontiff, successor to the Apostles. He asks him to confirm and to amplify such privileges: Item in eodem de privilegiis hujus Remensis ecclesiae, quae habuit ab initio, quo privilegia sedes habere cooperunt; et quia Remorum episcopus primas inter primatas semper, et unus de primis Galliae primatibus exstitit, nec alium se potiorem, praeter apostolicum praesulem, habuit: ut scilicet ea, quae tanto tempore ab antecesoribus ipsius huic sedi sunt concessa et conservata, conservare et augmentare digne-

Primate of Gaul and as such had the right to arrange the seating plan of the Synod. Those of Treves, on the other hand, maintained that that dignity belonged to their Archbishop and that he ought to have the first place in the Council after the Pontiff of the Roman Church. The Pope did not think it opportune at that particular moment to put an end to the dispute and feared rather that a controversy of this kind might end in contention and become a cause of scandal. He proposed therefore that the thrones of the bishops be arranged in the form of a crown or circle and that his own throne be placed in the centre. He determined further that such an arrangement be carried out under the direction of the Archbishop of Rheims. The latter then called his archdeacons and some of the more prominent of his clergy and conformable to the Pope's order arranged the episcopal thrones in the form of a circle and placed in the midst of them the insignia of the Apostolic throne.¹⁰

tur (*op. cit.*, III, 10; *ed. cit.*, II, pp. 44-5).

Fulco, Archbishop of Rheims and successor to Hincmar, writing to Stephen V in 885 derives the primacy of Rheims from the mission of its first bishop Saint Sixtus by Saint Peter who gave him the primacy of all Gaul as well as the appointment of St. Remi by Pope Hormisdas as his vicegerent: *Uti concedet Rhemensem, quem antecessores vestri, prae omnibus Gallicanis pensi habentes, primatu donarunt in Sexto Primo totius regionis praesule a beato Petro apostolorum principe huc destinato, etiam Hormisdas papa Remigium per omnem Galliam vices suas obire voluit* (*Fulconis archiepiscopi Rhemensis epistola. Epistola prima ad Stephanum Pontificem Maximum*; PL 131, 13. Cf. also an analysis of the letter made by Flodoard: *sedem vero Remensem notum habeat ab antecessoribus suis potius Gallianis omnibus Ecclesiis semper fuisse honoratum; utpote quam primas apostolorum beatus Petrus primum destinaverit huic urbi sanctum Sextum, et totius Gallicanae regionis dederit ei primatum; Hormisda quoque papa sancto Remigio vices suas in Galliarum partibus commiserit* (*op. cit.* IV, I; *ed. cit.*, II, p. 413).

Thus, although Treves at the time of the Empire had been the seat of the Prefect of Gaul and although its archbishop was the metropolitan of Belgica Prima and for those reasons laid claim to Primacy, Rheims never conceded it to her. Indeed it was felt that from the time of their institution, there was an equality between them, an equality based on ecclesiastical authority and ancient custom and that precedence of their respective metropolitans arose not from the dignity of the locale but from the date of consecration: *Inter quas, Rhemensem scilicet et Trevirensim ecclesiam (hae enim duas tantum provincias Belgica regio habet), haec semper distinctio fuit, sicut in ecclesiasticis monumentis invenimus, et vetustissimam consuetudinem semper obtinuisse comperimus, ut isdem episcopos non loci, sed dignitate ordinis prior secundum sacras regulas haberetur, qui foret in qualibet istarum Ecclesiariarum metropoli antea ordinatus* (*Hincmaris epistola ad Nicolaum papam*; PL 126, 40). It was probably to prevent jealousy and such quarrels as eventually did arise that five years later, on the occasion of a sermon preached at Metz in 893 at the crowning of Charles the Bald, Hincmar repeated the

same thing and referred to the Churches of Rheims and Treves as sister and co-provincial churches: . . . Rhemensis et Trevirensis Ecclesiae in hac regione Belgica, cum sibi commissis ecclesiis, sorores et comprovinciales habentur, sicut auctoritas ecclesiastica et antiquissima demonstrat consuetudo; ac per hoc unanimi consensu et synodolici judicia exercere, et quae a sanctis Patribus constituta sunt, debent concorditer custodiare, hac privilegii conditione servata, ut qui prior de Rhemensi et Trevirensi episcopis fuerit ordinatus, prior etiam habeatur (*Annuntiatio Hincmari archiepiscopi in ecclesia Sancti Stephani I*; PL 125, 805).

The proximate occasion of the contention at the Council of Rheims was likely the result of Pope Leo IX's action at the Council of Rome. There in the preceding April, the Pope had renewed to Eberhardt, Archbishop of Treves, the privilege of primacy over all Gallia Belgica. On Passion Sunday, March 12, he had invested him with the primacy by imposing on him the Roman mitre in St. Peter's and by pledging him to organize henceforth divine service in his diocese conformable to Roman usage. In the Council the Pope with universal consent had confirmed the privileges bestowed in ancient times on the Church of Treves: the Archbishop always had the right to the first place after the papal legate; in the absence of the latter, he was to take his seat immediately after the King. Cf. Mansi, *Concilia XIX*, 723 and Hefele-Leclercq, *Histoire des conciles IV²* (Paris, 1911), p. 1008.

¹⁰ Die vero altera, quae est quinto Nonas Octobris, congregati sunt in memorata basilica episcopi videlicet numero viginti, cum quinquaginta fere abbatibus, et aliis ecclesiastici ordinis compluris. Ubi statim vetera querela inter Remensis et Trevirensis archiepiscopi clericos est renovata; his astrenibus quia Remensis primas esset in Gallia, ideoque illi dispositio competenter synodica; e contra vero illi archiepiscopo Trevirensi eamdem dignitatem conabantur ascribere, primamque sedem post Romanae Ecclesiae praesulem in celebrando concilio acquirere. Dominus autem papa non arbitratus oportunum tempus quo his rationibus imponi valeret congruens finis, sed potius metuens hujusmodi controversiam prorumpere ad scandalum contentions, in modum coronae sedilia episcoporum disponi, et in medio eorum suae sedis suggestum praecepit locari,

After the opening prayer, all took their seats in the order fixed by the Archbishop of Rheims. The Pope sat in the midst of the choir facing west towards the tomb of St. Remi. Facing him and a bit to the right was Guy Archbishop of Rheims and a little to the left Eberhardt Archbishop of Treves. Next to the Archbishop of Rheims sat Berthold Bishop of Soissons, then Drogo Bishop of Térouanne, then Frollard Bishop of Senlis, then Adalberon Bishop of Metz. South of the latter was Aylenard Archbishop of Lyons, then Hugh Bishop of Langres, then Josfrid Bishop of Coutances, then Ivo Bishop of Séez, then Herbert Bishop of Lisieux. Beginning the left segment of the circle and in a northerly direction sat Hugh Bishop of Bayeux, then Hugh Bishop of Avranches, then Thierry Bishop of Verdun. North of the latter was placed Hugh Archbishop of Besançon, then Hugh Bishop of Nevers, then Eusebius Bishop of Angers, then Pudicus Bishop of Nantes, then Duduc the English Bishop of Wells, then finally John Bishop of Porto.

Behind these bishops and again in the form of a circle sat the abbots of various monasteries to the number of fifty. Among these were Hérimar of St. Remi, Hugh of Cluny, Foulques of Corbie, Robert of Prüm, Geoffrey of Vézelay, Wilfric of St. Augustines in Canterbury, Alwin of St. Benedict in England, etc.¹¹

It is true that the seating arrangement at the Council of Rheims in 1049 was not about an actual table nor was there question of festive eating and drinking as there is in the institution of the Round Table. Rather at the Council, there was question of arranging the episcopal thrones in circular form from which the hierarchy might discuss as equals the matters brought up at the Council. There is this, however, that the Council of Rheims and Arthur's Round Table have in common: a seating arrangement to prevent or at least to put a stop to contention over precedence. As in the institution of the Round Table where Arthur's purpose was to prevent contention concerning precedence by preserving equality among his knights so that none could claim a more honorable position than his fellow, so at the Council of Rheims Pope Leo IX determined on a circular arrangement of episcopal thrones to put a stop to contention concerning precedence of one archbishop over the other. It is the circular seating arrangement, not the table itself, that they have in common together with the purpose of that arrangement: the prevention of quarrels concerning precedence.

Both Wace and Layamon assert that tales concerning the Round Table were current among the Bretons.¹² It is generally conceded that Layamon's story of

cujus ordinationis modum ex arbitrio Remensis archipraesulis sanxit administrari; qui convocatis archidiaconis, et quibusque cleri sui praecipuis, cum eorum consilio, in modum, ut dictum est, coronae, pontificum sedilia, et in medio eius apostolicae sedis apparari fecit insignia. PL 142, 1430. Also in Joannes Dominicus Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* XIX (9 ed. Venice, 1774), 736.

¹¹ Post haec considerunt omnes, ordine quo Remensis archipraesul dispositus, dominus quidem papa in medio, ut dictum est, chori, verso vultu ad sepuchrum beati Remigii, ante oculos autem ejus, ad orientalem plagam, (Wido) Remensis in dextera, (Eberhardtus) Trevirensis vero in parte resedit sinistra. Post Remensem deinde secundum subnotatum ordinem resederunt Beroldus Suessionensis, Drogo Morinensis, Rollandus (al. Frollandus) Silvanectensis, Adalbero Metensis; ad meridionalem plagam, Aylenardus archiepiscopus Lugdunensis, Hugo

Lingonensis, Joffridus Constantiensis, Ivo Sagensis, Herbertus Lisoensis, Hugo Bajogacensis, Hugo Avringensis, Theodericus Virdunensis; ad septentrionalem vero plagam, Hugo archiepiscopus Vesontiensis, Hugo Nivernensis, Eusebius Andegavensis, Pudicus Nannetensis, episcopus Anglorum, et Johannes Portuensis. Post quorum terga in modum similiter coronae resederunt abbates hoc ordine: dominus scilicet abbas sancti Remigii Herimarus, dominus Hugo Cluniaciensis . . . Folco Corbiensis, Robertus Prumiensis . . . Godfridus Verzelliacensis . . . Wilfricus sancti Augustini Cantuariensis, Alwinus sancti Benedicti de terra Anglorum; deinde ceteri, qui, ut superius relatum est, simul furerunt numero fere quinquaginta. PL 142, 1430-1; Mansi, *Concilia* XIX, 737.

Dom Leclercq has reconstructed graphically the scheme of the seating arrangement at this Council. *Histoire des Conciles IV^e* (Paris, 1911), p. 1018, n. 1.

¹² *Li Romans de Brut de Wace*, 9752: Dun

the institution of the Round Table derives from Celtic tales.¹³ Stories concerning quarrels over precedence, based on the motif of the Champion's Portion, are of frequent occurrence in Celtic tradition¹⁴ and are exemplified in Irish literature by the *Fled Bricend* and the *Scel Mucci mac Datho*.¹⁵ It is commonly acknowledged, too, that Celtic elements underlie the concept of Arthur's table.¹⁶ Posidonius describes a circular seating arrangement among the early Celts¹⁷ and in the *Fled Bricend* we are told that in the house that Ericriu caused to be built for King Conchobar and his Ultonians 'in the foremost of the palace a royal couch was erected for Conchobar high above those of the whole house . . . Around it were placed the twelve couches of the twelve heroes of Ulster'.¹⁸ It may well have been good common-sense that prompted Pope Leo IX to devise the stratagem to put a stop to the conflict of two rival Archbishops for precedence at the Council of Rheims. On the other hand, there is every chance that it was suggested to his mind by stories current among the Celts of a circular seating arrangement in a banquet hall as exemplified in the *Fled Bricend* and by another motif of Celtic tradition, the Champion's Portion.

There is no evidence of specific Celtic contacts in Wibert of Toul's biography of Leo IX. On the other hand, Bruno Dagsbourg, born in Egisheim in Alsace in 1002, was educated as a boy and as a cleric at the Cathedral School of St. Stephen's at Toul. At the age of twenty-four he was elected bishop of the diocese of Toul and ruled for more than twenty years (1026-48) before his election to the Papacy at the Diet of Worms in 1048.¹⁹ The diocese of Toul was contiguous to centres of Irish learning and studies such as Rheims and Laon and lay in country in which Celtic influence had been strong from the seventh century on.²⁰ The city of Toul was situated just to the north of the great influential monasteries founded by St. Columbanus: Annégray, Fontaine and Luxeuil. In the tenth century Adso of Moutier-en-Der was able to write of the latter: 'And

Bretons dient mainte fable.

Layamon's Brut:

bis was bat ilke bord
bat Bruttes of zelpeb,

and seggeb feole cunne laesinge. 22953-5.

¹³ Cf. R. S. Loomis, *Arthurian Tradition and Chrétien de Troyes* (New York, 1949), pp. 61-7. Cf. also J. D. Bruce, *The Evolution of Arthurian Romance I* (Baltimore, 1928), p. 87: there is hardly room for doubt that Arthur's Round Table belongs to the paraphernalia which attached itself to him in Celtic tradition . . . The Irish parallels, moreover, render it probable that the conception obtained, also, among the insular Celts, as we know from Wace that it did among the Britons.

¹⁴ Cf. Jean Marx, *Le légende arthurienne et le graal* (Paris, 1952), pp. 97-8, and A.C.L. Brown, 'The Round Table Before Wace', *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature VII* (1900): it appears then from sources so widely separated as classical antiquity and Irish saga, that a tendency to quarrel about precedence at feasts was a universal Celtic failing, and that the use of a round table, presumably to obviate these disputes, was widely known and probably also Pan Celtic, p. 197.

¹⁵ *Fled Bricend*, ed. and tr. George Henderson (London, 1899); *An Early Irish Reader*, N. K. Chadwick (Cambridge, 1927). Cf. the latter, *Introduction* pp. 6-8, for a review of the Celtic motif of the Champion's Portion.

¹⁶ Cf. Lewis F. Mott, 'The Round Table', *PMLA* 20 (1905), pp. 238 ff.

¹⁷ The Celts placed food before their

guests, putting grass for their seats, and they serve it upon wooden tables raised a very little above the ground . . . But when many of them sup together, they all sit in a circle; and the bravest sits in the middle, like the coryphaeus of a chorus; because he is superior to the rest either in his military skill, or in birth, or in riches; and then on each side the rest of the guests sit in regular order, according as each is eminent or distinguished for anything. Athenaeus, *Deipnosophos* IV, 36; tr. C. D. Yonge I (London, 1854), p. 245. Cf. Carl Müller, *Fragmента III* (Paris, 1849), p. 259.

¹⁸ *Fled Bricend*, ed. and tr. George Henderson, pp. 3, 5.

¹⁹ *Sancti Leonis vita auctore Wiberto*; PL 143, 466-84. Guibert was an archdeacon of Toul and a contemporary of Leo IX. He began his biography while the Pope was still alive in 1054. Book I contains an account of the birth, youth and education of Bruno, his election to the episcopacy of Toul in 1026 and his work until his election to the papacy in 1048 at the Assembly of Worms. Book II relates the events of Bruno's life as Leo IX and was composed after the Pope's death. It is considered an authentic and veracious biography and is the source of later biographies, such as Eugène Martin, *Saint Léon IX* (Paris, 1904) and Odon Delarc, *Un pape alsacien* (Paris, 1876).

²⁰ Cf. Louis Gougaud, *Christianity in Celtic Lands* (London, 1932), p. 302 ff.; James F. Kenney, *Sources for the Early History of Ireland* (New York, 1929), pp. 569-94, p. 605 ff.

now what place, what city does not rejoice in having for its ruler a bishop or an abbot trained in the discipline of that cloister? For it is certain that by virtue of its authority almost the whole of the land of the Franks has been for the first time properly furnished with regular institutions.²¹ Almost during the lifetime of the Alsatian Pope we know that Adalbero II, Bishop of Metz (984-1005), held in high regard the Irish and other holy pilgrims that assembled at his episcopal city.²² His biographer relates that Adalbero entrusted the restoration of the monastery of St. Symphorian to an Irishman Fingen, abbot of St. Clement in Metz,²³ and that Fingen after the restoration of the monastery won it for Celtic influence.²⁴

It is indeed quite likely that Bruno had opportunities for contacts with the Irish in his own city of Toul, where he spent more than thirty years. Less than twenty years before he was sent to school there by his parents, Toul had been a centre of hospitality for Irish clerics and pilgrims. On the authority of Abbot Widric of Toul, the biographer of St. Gerard, Bishop of Toul (963-994), we know that the saintly bishop had sheltered and entertained such exiles and wayfarers.²⁵ Widric relates how these clerics assembled at different altars in the chapel where they offered prayers of supplication and praise to God after the manner of their homeland: *more patrio*.²⁶ The biographer's story of the Irish cleric's presentiment of the saint's death, his warning and its fulfilment testifies to the high regard in which St. Gerard was held by the Irish that he maintained there.²⁷ Thus, it is not impossible that Pope Leo IX as a boy, as a cleric, as bishop of Toul knew the story of the Round Table current among the Celts from Irish clerics of the locality or from the Irish *peregrini* with whom he came into contact. If he did, then it is not surprising that he adapted the story to his own needs when faced, at the Council of Rheims, with a problem such as Arthur had faced and resolved: contention over precedence.

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II. *Sub Umbris Arborum.*

LE très regretté Dom Wilmart a restitué à saint Bernard une lettre, où l'abbé de Clairvaux enjoint à Aelred de Rievaux de composer un traité sur la charité.¹ Cette lettre répond manifestement à une autre, où Aelred, ayant déjà reçu la même injonction, s'était excusé sur son manque de culture littéraire de la tâche que Bernard voulait lui imposer. Le texte de l'abbé de Clairvaux semble nous rapporter à peu près littéralement les termes mêmes de cette excuse. "Tu t'es excusé," dit-il en substance à son disciple, "et tu as bien fait. C'était un acte d'humilité. Mais n'est-ce pas aussi de l'humilité que d'obéir? Donc, plus d'excuses!" Et il continue:

Fecisti utique quantum debuisti, si non plus quam debuisti. Quousque licuit processisti. Causa tuae impossibilitatis ostendisti, dicens te minus gram-

²¹ V. *t. s. Bercharii auctore Adsone*, 6; PL 137, 673-4.

²² Scotti et reliqui sancti peregrini semper sibi dulcissimi habebantur. Constantini vita Adalberoni II; MGH, *Scriptores* IV, 668.

²³ Cf. Kenney, *op. cit.*, no. 432, p. 611.

²⁴ Cf. Louis Gougaud, *op. cit.*, p. 155 and Kenney, *op. cit.*, no. 433, p. 611.

²⁵ Moreover he collected no small crowd of Greek and Irish and fed this mixed body at his own expense. *Widrici vita s. Gerardi*,

19; ed. G. Waitz, MGH, *Scriptores* IV, 501. On the *peregrini* at Toul, Cf. Eugène Martin, *Histoire des diocèses de Toul, de Nancy et de Saint-Dié* (Nancy, 1900), pp. 176-7.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.* Cf. Kenney, *op. cit.*, no. 431, p. 611.

¹ A. Wilmart, 'L'instigateur du *speculum caritatis* d'Aelred abbé de Rievault.' *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique*, XIV (1933), 369-395.

maticum, immo pene illiteratum, qui de coquinis, non de scolis ad heremum ueneris, ubi, inter rupes et montes agrestis et rusticus uictitans, pro diurno pane in securi desudes et malleo, ubi magis discitur silere quam loqui, ubi sub habitu pauperum piscatorum coturnus non admittitur oratorum.

Sur quoi saint Bernard déclare qu'il accepte volontiers cette excuse, mais qu'il ne lui demande pas d'écrire sur ce que l'on apprend à l'école des grammairiens. "Elle me plaira davantage," lui dit-il, *si id proferas quod non in cuiuslibet grammatici, sed in scola didiceris spiritus sancti.*" Et pourquoi le Saint-Esprit ne tiendrait-il pas école dans la solitude? Saint Bernard du moins n'en doute pas:

Sed nec ardua montium nec aspera rupium nec uallium concava perhorresco, cum in diebus istis montes stillent dulcedinem et colles fluant lac et mel, in quibus ualles abundant frumento, in quibus mel sugitur de petra, oleumque de saxo durissimo, et in rupibus et montibus sunt pascuae ouium Christi. Unde arbitror quod malleo illo tuo aliquid de rupibus illis excuderis quod sagacitate ingenii, de magistrorum scriniis non tulisses, et nonnunquam tale aliquid in meridiano feroore, sub umbris arborum senseris quale nunquam didicisses in scolis.³

La dernière phrase de ce texte est remarquable. Celle qui la précède est un véritable tissu de formules scripturaires, dont on sent assez la présence, et que Dom Wilmart a d'ailleurs identifiées, avec sa précision coutumière, dans les notes de l'édition qu'il a donnée de ce texte.³ Pour emprunté qu'il soit, ce langage n'en est pas moins exact, puisqu'il décrit les fruits spirituels que recueillaient les religieux cisterciens, grâce au travail manuel pratiqué dans les solitudes où se construisaient leur monastères. Mais la dernière phrase n'évoque à la mémoire aucune source scripturaire, et l'expression n'y est pas moins personnelle que l'idée même qu'elle exprime. Seul, le maillet que tient Aelred vient encore d'une allusion antérieure à l'Ecriture,⁴ mais ce que Bernard nous donne à entendre mérite d'être noté. Des pierres qu'il casse à coups de maillet, le moine peut extraire ce qu'il n'aurait pas tirées des écrins des maîtres, et parfois, dans la chaleur de midi, on ressent à l'ombre des arbres ce que l'on n'aurait jamais appris dans les écoles.

Ne faisons pas dire par saint Bernard ce qu'il ne dit pas. Son idée n'est pas que la science de la grammaire ou la culture des Lettres puisse s'acquérir à l'ombre des arbres aussi bien et mieux que dans les écoles. Ce n'est pas de savoir qu'il s'agit ici, ou, si c'en est un, c'est d'un savoir tout particulier. L'opposition même des formes dont il use est éloquente: *sub umbris arborum senseris quale nunquam didicisses in scolis.* D'une part, éprouver; de l'autre, apprendre. Si l'on songe à l'usage habituel de ce terme chez saint Bernard, on ne peut douter qu'il pense ici à une expérience religieuse et mystique, telle que celle de la présence du Verbe ou, sur un plan moins exalté, la suavité de la charité divine. Ainsi précisée, la pensée qu'exprime saint Bernard assume toute son importance. Elle suppose en effet que la vie cistercienne est en contact permanent avec la nature, et que les sites habituellement choisis pour les monastères cisterciens, dans une de ces vallées solitaires chères de saint Bernard, aient été comme intégrés par lui à la vie mystique même. Sur le coup de midi, après le dur travail manuel d'un matin d'été, le disciple de saint Bernard rencontre Dieu à l'ombre des arbres, et il éprouve dans cette rencontre ce que nul lettré ne lui enseignera jamais. Lorsque Bernard loue Aelred de s'être instruit à cette école, c'est de savoir spirituel qu'il parle: *Dominus . . .*

³ Wilmart, p. 390.

⁴ Wilmart, p. 390, notes.

⁴ *III Reg.*, vi, 7. Wilmart, p. 389 note 3, indique vi, 6, par erreur.

indoctum erudituit, docuit imperitum, c'est-à-dire, le Seigneur l'a instruit à l'école de la charité.

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III. Chaucer's Hende Nicholas.

In *The Miller's Tale* the poor scholar of Oxford, 'hende' Nicholas, dwelling with the carpenter and his young wife, is the character Chaucer created to fit the part of the accepted suitor and the object of the branding. Nicholas and his room are described briefly yet in sufficient detail to make him thoroughly individual: though a student of the arts he is more interested in astrology than in his studies and has acquired a local reputation as a weather prophet which serves him to good purpose in deceiving the carpenter; and he is a lover, sly and secret, although externally as meek as a maid. It would seem that Chaucer compensates for further detail, however, and gives us the key to the character and action of Nicholas by using the word *hende* with his name as an epithet eleven times¹—often enough, indeed, to call attention to the word, especially since he is not accustomed to use epithets. In the sense of 'pleasant in dealing with others; courteous, gracious, kind, gentle, "nice"' the word *hende* according to the *New English Dictionary*² was 'a conventional epithet of praise, very frequent in Middle English poetry.' This is, no doubt, one of the meanings which Chaucer attaches to the word. But as the poet repeats *hende* while the story unfolds, other meanings become appropriate to Nicholas at the same time; and it would seem that Chaucer chose *hende* as characteristic of Nicholas rather than *curteys* or something similar, because it does have several meanings which would occur to the audience as the tale is told. Things happen because Nicholas is 'hende'.

The first meaning which the *NED* gives for *hend* or *hende* is 'near, at hand,' but it points out that in this sense the word is used in Middle English only as a predicative and is hardly distinguishable from an adverb. Everyone, however, would have been familiar with this meaning because of its frequent occurrence in such a phrase as 'fer and *hende*.' Nicholas, being a boarder in Alisoun's house, is 'hende'—always near. This placing of the seducer in the household of the married couple, which apparently is original with Chaucer, is a good stroke. It gives Nicholas an advantage over his rival, Absolon, in proximity to the lady of their fancy—an advantage which is forcefully stated as follows:

Ful sooth is this proverbe, it is no lye,
 Men seyn right thus, "Alwey the nye slye
 Maketh the ferre levee to be looth."
 For though that Absolon be wood or wrooth,
 By cause that he fer was from hire sight,
 This nye Nicholas stood in his light.³

Proximity to Alisoun overpowers Nicholas; he must act. Proximity also makes it practically impossible for Alisoun to avoid 'this nye' Nicholas and is thus an extenuating circumstance calculated to diminish censure of her conduct; in other

¹ *Canterbury Tales*, I(A), 3199, 3272, 3386, 3397, 3401, 3462, 3487, 3526, 3742, 3832, 3856 ('The Reeve's Prologue'). The text used is *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* edited by F. N. Robinson (Boston, 1933). There are no variant readings in John M. Manly and Edith Rickert, *The Text of The Canterbury Tales* (Chicago, 1940), which

affect the discussion.

² James A. H. Murray *et al.*, ed. *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles* (Oxford, 1888-1928). Judging from the dates of the quotations cited, all meanings of *hende* discussed in this paper were current in Chaucer's time.

³ CT, I(A), 3391-3396.

words, it makes it possible for her to act the part which the plot of the *fabliau* source demands without a comparable deterioration of her good character. And finally, the situation of the jealous old husband and the lover living under the same roof affords Chaucer many opportunities to display dramatic irony.⁴

Not only is Nicholas always at hand but he is also 'hende' in the sense of 'ready or skilful with the hand, dexterous'. Indeed, he is very ready with his hands, as four lines of Alisoun's protest in action and word are sufficient to show:

And she sproong as a colt dooth in the trave.

.

"Why, lat be," quod she, "lat be, Nicholas,

Or I wol crie 'out, harrow' and 'allas'!

Do wey youre handes, for youre curteisye."⁵

Professor Shelly writes: 'In love, as his actions show, he is master of the attack direct, and his technique is that of the country, not of the court.' But neither is Alisoun's technique of resistance that of the court. The simile of the colt in the trave—'i. at a forge' according to the gloss in *Ms Harley 7333* for this line —⁶ is one of the most brilliant action similes Chaucer ever wrote. From the truncated definition of *trave* in the glossaries of Chaucer texts⁷ a careless reader might conclude that the poet is speaking of a colt in the shafts of a cart; but with the definition of the *NED* in mind—'A frame or enclosure of bars in which a restive horse is placed to be shod'—one can easily picture the leaping and kicking, the twisting and turning of a frightened colt being shod for the first time, and one can imagine the vigor and the futility of Alisoun's resistance to the superior strength of Nicholas. Moreover, the simile is appropriate because Chaucer has already said of Alisoun that

Wynsynge she was, as is a joly colt.⁸

and he will have use for a smith and a forge before the story is over.

Upon the threat of Alisoun to call for help, however, Nicholas immediately changes his technique and becomes 'hende' in the polite sense of the epithet 'pleasant, gentle, courteous,' and thus

This Nicholas gan mercy for to crye,
And spak so fair, and profred him so faste,
That she hir love hym graunted atte laste.⁹

It is to be noted that when Nicholas cries 'mercy' he is not asking pardon for having offended Alisoun; he is acting like the courtly lover, who declares his love to his lady by uttering the word 'mercy'!¹⁰ Since this procedure is successful, nothing remains now for Nicholas except to contrive an assignation so that the husband will be never the wiser. Because he is 'hende' in still another sense, 'expert, skilful, clever', he plans the whole flood episode in great detail as a means to his end. He does not depend merely on his reputation as a student of astrology and a forecaster of weather to convince the carpenter of the imminence

⁴ See Germaine Dempster, *Dramatic Irony in Chaucer* (Stanford University Publications, University Series, Language and Literature, vol. IV, no. 3 [1932]), pp. 36-38.

⁵ CT, I(A), 3282, 3285-3287.

⁶ Percy Van Dyke Shelly, *The Living Chaucer* (Philadelphia, 1940), p. 245.

⁷ Manly and Rickert, *The Text of The Canterbury Tales*, III, 490.

⁸ Robinson: 'wooden frame for holding horses.' Skeat: 'a wooden frame for holding unruly horses.' R. M. Lumiansky modernizes the simile as follows (*The Canter-*

bury Tales of Geoffrey Chaucer [New York, 1948], p. 57): 'She sprang aside like a colt in the traces.'

⁹ CT, I(A), 3263.

¹⁰ CT, I(A), 3288-3290.

¹¹ Speaking of courtly lovers Nevill Coghill writes in *The Poet Chaucer* (London, 1949), p. 16: . . . even after long service of which she may be quite unconscious, mercy is as much as he can ask, and to say that one word "Mercy!" is in Chaucer the characteristic form of a lover's declaration of his passion.

of a worse flood than that of Noe, but he prepares an elaborate setting for his prediction by remaining locked in his room for two days before the carpenter with deep concern shakes him from his feigned trance and revives the glibness of his tongue with his share of a large quart of mighty ale.¹² Then his prophecy and his plan for the salvation of the carpenter, Alisoun, and himself come pouring out. Such contriving is worthy of the brain of the Pandarus who planned the dinner party of Trojan royalty at the house of Deiphebus so that Troilus might have an opportunity to speak for a short time with Criseyde without arousing suspicion of their love. The NED gives still another meaning for *hende*, 'pleasing to the sight, comely, fair, "nice."' Since Chaucer does not describe the appearance of 'hende' Nicholas, perhaps one is also expected to infer from the epithet that he is pleasing to the sight. At least Alisoun finds neither his person nor his plans repugnant.

The climax of *The Miller's Tale* takes place when Nicholas is 'hende' once too often. Bent on avenging Alisoun's insult to his dignity, Absolon returns from the smithy of Gerveys with a hot colter. By this time, however, 'hende' Nicholas has risen and is *at hand*, and being *clever* he thinks he will improve upon the coarse trick performed by Alisoun. He does 'amenden al the jape,' not in the way he had anticipated, but by bringing about crude and effective poetic justice.

Thus, by giving Nicholas the epithet 'hende,' Chaucer keeps the character of this 'nye slye' always before the attention of his audience; and from the time that the Miller first uses it until the Canterbury Pilgrims laugh at the end of the farsical adventures of Absolon and 'hende' Nicholas¹³ the word grows in meaning and importance. No modern word has all the facets of *hende* which Chaucer utilized.

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IV. A Brief Historical Comment on St. Thomas, *Summa theol.* III, qu. 67, a. 5: *Utrum non baptizatus possit sacramentum baptismi conferre.*

THE fact that St. Thomas raises the question whether an unbaptized person can confer Baptism reveals that he was keenly aware of a difficulty which is almost unknown to most later theologians preoccupied as they seem to be with intention, matter and form in judging the valid administration of Baptism. St. Thomas mentions that St. Augustine failed to come to a decision on this problem.¹ As his first objection proves, St. Thomas also realized that the primary difficulty was based on, or caused by, the principle: *Nullus dat quod non habet*. Moreover, St. Thomas saw that the question was not whether an unbaptized person could apply matter and form with the proper intention, but whether he had to be a member of the Church in order to be able to impart or communicate something that he had received from the Church. For his own solution of the problem, the author of the *Summa* claims the support of a decision made by Pope Nicholas I (858-867) who declared valid the Baptism of a great many people conferred by a Jew of whom it was unknown whether he had been previously

¹² Germaine Dempster writes (*Dramatic Irony in Chaucer*, p. 37) that none of the extant analogues offers the least parallel to the trance scene and that 'such a long, careful, and humorous introduction to the account of a few coarse tricks suggests no other hand but Chaucer's.'

¹³ CT, I(A), 3199 and 3856.

¹ *Contra Ep. Parmenianum* II, 13, 30; CSEL 51, 81: Et haec quidem alia quaestio est: utrum

et ab his. qui numquam fuerunt christiani, possit baptismus dari. Nec aliiquid hinc temere affirmandum est sine auctoritate tanti concilii, quantum tantae rei sufficit. It is worth noting that, by the word *paganus*, St. Thomas means an unbaptized person, including the Jews. In this article, the word "pagan Baptism" is used to designate Baptism administered by any unbaptized person.

baptized or not. "They are not to be baptized again", the Pope had stated, "if they had been baptized in the name of the Holy Trinity or only in the name of Christ".² St. Thomas also claims that a decretal of Pope "Gregory II to Bishop Boniface" is to be understood in the same sense, although this document, issued by Pope Gregory III about the year 732, seems to advocate the very opposite doctrine: *Quos a paganis baptizatos esse asseruisti, si ita habetur, ut denuo baptizet in nomine Trinitatis mandamus.*³ According to St. Thomas, however, one has to suppose that they had not been baptized "in the form of the Church". In addition to these texts, St. Thomas cites a passage from "Isidore", copied either from Lombard's *Sentences* or Gratian's *Decretum*,⁴ which reads: *Romanus Pontifex non hominem judicat, qui baptizat, sed Spiritum Dei subministrare gratiam baptismi; licet paganus sit qui baptizet.*

If we examine the history of the objections and the sources cited by St. Thomas, we shall find that they are the result of a long doctrinal conflict based on the idea that, in baptizing, the minister imparts something that he once received and now possesses. At the end of the second century, Tertullian demanded a revision of the stand concerning Baptism conferred by heretics and his view that it should be rejected⁵ as invalid found an ardent follower in St. Cyprian. Needless to say, all those in both East and West who opposed the validity of trinitarian Baptism conferred by heretics, *a fortiori* rejected trinitarian Baptism conferred by pagans. In voicing his opinion on Baptism administered by baptized laymen, Tertullian sanctions such Baptism on the strength of the principle: "For that which is received alike by all, can be by all alike conferred."⁶ In other words, they confer something that they have received. When St. Cyprian refused to recognize the validity of heretical Baptism, exclaiming: *Qui autem potest dare quod ipse non habet,*⁷ he had a similar thought in mind. In the next century, the Donatists turned the same axiom against the validity of Catholic Baptism saying: *Qui non habet quod det, quomodo dat?* Although St. Optatus retorted that this principle "had not been read in a book, but had been brought in from the street",⁸ he was influenced by it and defended only Baptism conferred by schismatics, since they were not entirely separated from the Christian communion: "In part of the garment we are still one, but we hang on different sides."⁹

St. Augustine did not question the principle. In fact, his difficulty concerning Baptism conferred by non-Christians was caused precisely by his belief that even heretics and laymen give something that they have previously received in Baptism: *Nulla jam quaestio est, quod et habeant et dare possint.*¹⁰ This did not seem to him to be true in the case of pagans and he felt that only a Council could settle the problem.¹¹ Later on, he professed that, if he were called upon to state his view at a General Council, he would advocate the validity of trinitarian Baptism, no matter where and by whom it was administered, provided that men whose decision he would prefer to follow did not voice a contrary opinion.¹² We need not doubt that, if a custom of accepting trinitarian Baptism conferred by pagans had existed in his time, St. Augustine would not have considered it "rash" to proclaim or disclaim its validity. His readiness to deny its validity if men whose learning he respected denied it, is eloquent proof

² *Responsa ad consulta Bulgarorum*, 104. Mansi, *Concilia XV*, 432. Date: November 866. The text is found in Gratian, *Decretum* D. 4, qu. 24 de cons. and in *Sentences* IV, d. 3, c. 3: ed. Quaracchi (1916), p. 756.

³ Gratian, *Decretum* D. 4, qu. 52 de cons. Mansi, *Concilia XII*, 278B and MGH, *Epp.* 3, 279.

⁴ *Sent.* IV, d. 5, c. 2; *ed. cit.*, p. 774. Gratian, *Decretum* D. IV, qu. 23 de cons.

⁵ *De Baptismo*, 15; CSEL 20, 213 f.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 17; p. 214.

⁷ *Ep. LXX*, 2: CSEL 3^o, 769. Applied to Holy Orders conferred by heretics, the Cyprianic argument was often repeated during the Gregorian Reform movement.

⁸ *Ilibri Septem* V, 6; CSEL 26, 132.

⁹ *Ibid.* III, 9; p. 93.

¹⁰ *Contra Ep. Parm.* II, 13, 30; CSEL 51, 81.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *De Baptismo* VII, 53, 102; CSEL 51, 373 f.

of his doubts and the non-existence of a tradition of accepting pagan Baptism. At any rate, he thought that, to be valid, Baptism administered by a pagan had to be received seriously and "with some faith".¹³

No wonder that later generations shared St. Augustine's doubts, even if they did not openly deny the validity of such Baptism. The uncertainty expressed by him lasted for many centuries. When, in the eighth century, St. Boniface sent his enquiries to Pope Gregory III, he must have been faced with trinitarian Baptism conferred by unbaptized ministers. Otherwise he would not have raised the question. He was not told by the Pope to investigate if the proper form and matter had been used; the papal order reads: . . . ut denuo baptizas in nomine Trinitatis mandamus. In the following century, similar enquiries reached Rome from Bulgaria. The enquirers did not know what to do about a great number of people who had been baptized by a certain Jew of whom they did not know if he had been baptized or not. To those who, in later years, read only the excerpt of the decretal in Ivo's *Panormia*,¹⁴ Abelard's *Sic et Non*,¹⁵ Gratian's *Decretum* or Lombard's *Sentences*, the answer given by Pope Nicholas I must have appeared quite clear, with the possible exception of the recognition of Baptism conferred "in the name of Christ". However, the full text of the papal reply reveals unmistakable signs of uncertainty. Instead of suggesting that the enquirers examine the intention and whether the proper form and matter were used, Pope Nicholas tells them to investigate first whether the Jew himself was a Christian or a pagan or whether he became a Christian afterwards. Somehow, it seems obvious, Pope Nicholas did not wish to make a definite decision. Rather than indicate to his correspondents for what purpose or reason the enquiry into the Jew's own Baptism was to be made, he refers them to St. Augustine,¹⁶ although these texts do not show St. Augustine's thought on Baptism conferred by a non-Christian.¹⁷ The papal decretal is by no means a firm recognition of pagan Baptism, because it was probably known in Rome that, particularly in the North, there were strong currents against the recognition of its validity.

Definitely opposed was the view attributed to Theodore of Canterbury who is supposed to have declared: *Baptizati a presbytero non baptizato iterum debent baptizari.*¹⁸ In an enlarged form, the same doctrine is found in the *Canones* circulated under the name of either Theodore or Pope Gregory, where we read: *Si quis ordinatus sit per ignorantiam antequam baptizatus, debent baptizari qui ab illo gentili baptizati fuerunt. Et ipse non ordinetur.*¹⁹ While this canon forbids the unbaptized "priest" to be ordained again, another canon which belongs to the same school of thought orders that he be baptized and that both his Ordination and all Baptisms conferred by him be repeated: *Si quis presbyter ordinatus deprehendit se non esse baptizatum, baptizetur et ordinetur iterum. Et omnes*

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 374. In *De Unico baptismio*, 4, 4; CSEL 53, 5, St. Augustine explicitly recognizes the validity of Baptism conferred by Jews.

¹⁴ *Panormia* I, 29; PL 161, 1052.

¹⁵ Cap. 110; PL 178, 1505BC. See also Alger, *De Sacramento* III, 6; PL 180, 838C.

¹⁶ *De Baptismo* IV, 15, 22 and V, 27, 38; CSEL 51, 247 and 295.

¹⁷ The significant part of the decretal reads: . . . constat eos non denuo baptizandos, sed primum utrum christianus an paganus ipse Iudeaus extiterit vel si postmodum factus fuerit christianus, investigandum est, quamvis non praetereundum esse credamus quid beatus de baptismo dicat Augustinus: Jam satis, inquit, ostendimus . . .

¹⁸ *Judicium de poenitenti Theodori epis copi*, 64; ed. P. W. Finsterwalder, *Die Canones Theodori Cantuarensis* (Weimar, 1929).

p. 275. Perhaps in dependence on this teaching, the Venerable Bede, *Expositio Actuum Apostolorum* XIX, 5; ed. M. L. W. Laistner (Cambridge, Mass., 1939), p. 70, rejects the validity of such Baptism because its minister is "without the succession" of Christ. Bede's text was copied by Smaragdus, *Collectiones* (PL 102, 322D), and by the author of the *Glossa ordinaria* (PL 114, 462B). Hrabanus Maurus (PL 110, 252C) knew but ignored the text. Apparently it was never quoted or discussed by later authors.

¹⁹ *Canones s. Gregorii*, 23; ed. Finsterwalder, p. 254. H. Wasserschleben, *Die Bussordnungen der abendl. Kirche* (Halle, 1851), p. 195. Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and eccl. Documents* III (Oxford, 1871), p. 185. J. T. McNeill, *Medieval Handbooks of Penance* (New York, 1938), p. 193.

*quos prius baptizavit baptizentur.*²⁰ Though varying in form and severity, these three canons voice the conviction that Baptism administered by an unbaptized minister has no validity. It was not a question of matter, form or intention. Ignorant of his lack of Baptism, the "priest" may have been in excellent standing, he may have performed the Baptismal rite conscientiously using the right matter and form with the proper intention, yet his Baptisms were not to be considered valid.

That this doctrine, in such definite and categorical form, was of Eastern rather than Western origin is beyond doubt, and we may safely assume that it reflects the influence of Theodore of Canterbury (d.690). On the strength of St. Augustine's attitude and influence in this matter, we may also assume that it was received with scepticism. This then may account for St. Boniface's enquiry, and we have seen that the reply given by Pope Gregory III was in line with the teaching formulated in the *Canones Theodori*.

In view of the date of Pope Gregory's decretal which was issued about the year 732, it will appear strange to read that Pope Sergius I (687-701) had already "said" that Baptism conferred by an unbaptized "priest" is valid. A capitulary, issued by Pippin at Compiègne (757) declares:

Si quis baptizatus est a presbytero non baptizato et sancta Trinitas in ipso baptismo invocata fuerit, baptizatus est sicut Sergius Papa dixit. Impositione vero manuum episcopi indiget. <Georgius episcopus Romanus et Johannes sacellarius sic senserunt>²¹

In the following century, Benedict Levita incorporated this capitulary in his collection,²² without realizing perhaps, that it conflicted with two chapters of the same work. The first is identical with the third canon quoted from the *Canones Theodori*²³ and rejects Baptism conferred by an unbaptized minister. The second also rejects it and seems to be an enlarged version of the reply given to St. Boniface by Pope Gregory III. It reads: *Praecipimus ut, qui a paganis baptizati sunt, denuo a Christi sacerdotibus in nomine sanctae Trinitatis baptizentur et postea ab episcopis chrismentur, quia aliter christiani nec dici nec esse possunt.*²⁴

The declaration of Compiègne may be the result of corrections which appeared in the *Canones Theodori* or the corrections may have influenced the declaration. It is well known that several doctrines contained in those canons were received with doubt. Thus the canon which states: "If one is baptized by a heretic who does not rightly believe in the Trinity, he shall be rebaptized", is followed by the remark: "This we do not believe Theodore to have said".²⁵ Similarly, the doctrine that anyone ordained through ignorance before receiving Baptism should be rebaptized and not ordained again and that all Baptisms conferred by him were to be repeated, received the following annotation:

This, again, is said to have been differently determined by the Roman Pontiff of the Apostolic See, to the effect that not he who baptizes, even if he is a pagan, but the Spirit of God ministers the grace of Baptism. But also the case of the pagan presbyter who thinks himself baptized and holds the Catholic faith in his works has been decided differently, (for) elsewhere these decisions state that he should be baptized and ordained.²⁶

The annotator had heard or read that a Roman Pontiff had recognized the

²⁰ *Libellus Discipuli Umbrensi* II, ii, 13; ed. Finsterwalder, p. 314.

²¹ *Capit. Com.*, c. 12; MGH, *LL* I, 28. The authenticity of the last sentence is not certain.

²² *Capit. I*, 6; MGH, *LL* II, 2, 46.

²³ *Capit. II*, 94; p. 78.

²⁴ *Capit. III*, 401; p. 127.

²⁵ *Libellus Disc. Umbrensi* I, v, 6; ed. Finsterwalder, p. 287.

²⁶ *Libellus* I, ix, 12; ed. Finsterwalder, p. 303. The translation in McNeill, *Medieval Handbooks*, p. 193 is inaccurate.

validity of pagan Baptism; he also knew that "elsewhere" these same canons of Theodore were more lenient with regard to the re-Ordination of the "priest" who was not aware of the fact that he had not been baptized.

In the second half of the tenth century, this comment or correction entered the so-called *Confessional of Egbert* as follows:

Omnis presbyter qui noverit quod non sit baptizatus baptizetur et omnes illi quos antea baptizaverat. Papa Romanus statuit: etiamsi presbyter peccator sit vel gentilis, ministerium Spiritus sancti esse nihilominus in gratia baptismi, non hominis.²⁷

At the beginning of the succeeding century, Burchard of Worms also copied two contradictory canons: the first from Benedict Levita under the spurious heading: *Ex Concilio apud Compendium, cap. 5*; the second from another source under the spurious title: *Ex dictis sancti Isidori episcopi*.²⁸ Since this false attribution explains the appearance of St. Isidore's name in the *Summa*, we may transcribe the full text:

Ex dictis sancti Isidori episcopi: Si quis per ignorantiam ordinatur antequam baptizetur, debent ab eo baptizati baptizari. Et ipse non ordinetur. Sed Romanus Pontifex judicat non hominem qui baptizat sed Spiritum Dei subministrare gratiam baptismi, licet paganus sit qui baptizet.

Who then is the *Romanus Pontifex* or *Papa Romanus* credited with the doctrine that pagan Baptism is valid? According to the capitulary of Compiègne (757), it was Pope Sergius (687-701) who gave the decision. The verb *dixit* instead of *dicit* may point to some oral statement rather than a written decree, and the capitulary would thus constitute an oral tradition. We read in the same document that Bishop George, a Roman, and John, the keeper of his purse, held the same belief with regard to pagan Baptism. They had been sent by Pope Stephen II to put Pippin on guard against iconoclasm²⁹ and were obviously well qualified to state the Roman attitude at the time of their mission. There is, in addition, some written evidence pertaining to this matter. A relatively unknown and rare canonical compilation which Maassen calls *The Collection in 400 chapters* attributes to Pope Sergius two chapters on which the declaration of Compiègne may well be based. The first chapter severely condemns a "priest" who receives Holy Orders and exercises the priestly office *knowing* that he had never been baptized. The second chapter decrees that, if a priest thought he had been baptized and then discovers and proves that this was not so, he should after due penance be baptized and ordained. It concludes with the words: *Hi vero, qui ab eo baptizati sunt, sic in ecclesia permanent.*³⁰ Since these decisions are not found in the extant decretals of Pope Sergius I, their authenticity is not entirely above suspicion, but it is safe to assume that Pope Sergius is the *Papa* or *Pontifex Romanus* credited with the recognition of pagan Baptism.

Carolingian theologians remained remarkably silent on this issue. A faint trace is found in the *Responsa canonica* attributed to Rhabanus Maurus. The case is that of a person who pretended to be a priest and conferred Baptism. He is to be asked if, when he baptized, *he himself was baptized* and if he baptized in the name of the Trinity with triple immersion. The significance of this enquiry lies in the words: *requirendum est utrum ipse baptizans baptizatus esset*, for the author must have felt the answer concerning the subsequent procedure depended on the minister's own Baptism. Like Pope Nicholas, he does not specify what is

²⁷ Ed. Wasserschleben, p. 305.

²⁸ *Decretum IV*, 74 and 100; PL 140, 741A and 748D. The first canon reads: *Si quis presbyter ordinatus deprehenderit se non esse baptizatum, baptizetur et ordinetur*

iterum et omnes quos prius baptizavit.

²⁹ Cf. Hefele-Leclercq, *Hist. des Conciles III*, (Paris, 1910), p. 942.

³⁰ F. Maassen, *Gesch. der Quellen und der Lit. des can. Recht* (Gratz, 1870), p. 972.

to be done if it can be proven that the imposter was not baptized.³¹

From the *Decretum* of Burchard our canons entered the canonical collections of Ivo of Chartres with their spurious titles. Hence we find as a capitulary of Compiègne a canon which was originally attributed to Theodore.³² The passage which Burchard ascribed to St. Isidore appears in two forms: the complete text³³ and the second part beginning with the words *Romanus Pontifex*.³⁴ From Benedict Levita, Ivo copied the authentic capitulary of Compiègne which credits Pope Sergius with the recognition of pagan Baptism.³⁵

Of these canons, the authentic capitulary of Compiègne did not pass on to Gratian's *Decretum*. The spurious capitulary of Compiègne, i.e., the canon which originally demanded re-Baptism for those baptized by an unbaptized "priest", appears in Gratian only as a *Palea* stating that an unbaptized priest should be baptized and ordained.³⁶ The canonists knew that the sentence that demanded that all those baptized by him should be rebaptized was either missing or deleted in many manuscripts and, accordingly, disagreed on the interpretation of the *Palea*.³⁷ The canon preceding the *Palea* offers the complete "Isidorian" canon, the wording of which we traced back to Burchard from whom Ivo, Gratian's source, had copied it.³⁸ From Ivo's *Panormia*, Gratian transcribed also the second part of the complete canon beginning with *Romanus Pontifex*.³⁹ It is followed by the excerpt from the decretal of Pope Nicholas I which Gratian had found in the same collection, i.e., the *Panormia*.⁴⁰ Likewise from Ivo is Gratian's canon which dates back to Pope Gregory III ordering that those baptized by pagans be rebaptized.⁴¹

The results of this study show that St. Thomas made use of three *auctoritates* available in his sources, i.e., "Isidore", the excerpt from the decretal of Pope Nicholas I and the decision of Pope Gregory III. He did not use the *Palea* and the "Isidorian" canon preceding it and one may justly wonder why he did not cite the Lateran Council of 1215 which had declared: *Baptismum . . . in forma ecclesiae a quocumque collatum proficit ad salutem*.⁴² Of the three *auctoritates* quoted by St. Thomas, both "Isidore" and (the excerpt from the decretal of) Pope Nicholas recognized pagan Baptism as valid. Pope Gregory III did not.

Since Peter Lombard did not mention Gregory's reply to St. Boniface, the theologians who found in his *Sentences* a handy, if not fully adequate, source for patristic doctrines, generally failed to discuss the decretal, though they approved pagan Baptism as valid on the strength of the other two *auctoritates*, i.e., "Isidore" and Pope Nicholas both of whom were cited by Lombard.⁴³ The solution offered by St. Thomas is taken from the canonists who had long been confronted with the task of reconciling the conflicting canons. Huguccio, whom we can consider as representative of the teaching in the last quarter of the twelfth century, affirms that Pope Gregory ordered re-Baptism "if they were baptized without the form of the Church".⁴⁴ We need not repeat that the

³¹ *Responsa canonica VI*; PL 110, 1193CD.

³² *Decretum* I, 268 and *Panormia* I, 96; PL 161, 122C and 1066B compared with Burchard, *Decretum* IV, 74; PL 140, 741A. Cf. Abelard, *Sic et Non*, 110; PL 178, 1506A.

³³ *Decretum* I, 294 and *Pan. I*, 97; PL 161, 130C and 1066C compared with Burchard, *Decretum* IV, 100; PL 140, 748D. Cf. *Summa Sent.* V, 7; PL 176, 134A.

³⁴ *Panormia* I, 27; PL 161, 1052C.

³⁵ *Decretum* I, 175; PL 161, 104A.

³⁶ Gratian, *Decretum* C. 1, qu. 1, c. 60.

³⁷ The *Glossa in Decretum* C. 1, qu. 1, c. 60; ed. Lyons (1560), fol. 522, notes: *Alii legunt causam plene et dicunt quod baptizati ab eo debent rebaptizari. Sed male dicunt. Unde illud Sed Romanus est correctivum.*

³⁸ *Decretum* C. 1, qu. 1, c. 59.

³⁹ *Decretum* D. 4, c. 23 de cons.

⁴⁰ *Pan. I*, 29; PL 161, 1052D.

⁴¹ Gratian, *Decretum* D. 4, c. 52 de cons., and Ivo, *Decretum* XI, 91; PL 161, 776A. Gratian explicitly raises the question of pagan Baptism in *Decretum* D. IV, c. 31 de cons. He cites Augustine, *De Bapt.* VII, 53, 101; CSEL 51, 372, copied from Ivo, *Decretum* I, 162; PL 161, 97D.

⁴² *Decr. Greg.* L. 1, T. 1, c. 1.

⁴³ In his *Script. super Sent.* IV, d. 5, qu. 2, a. 1; ed. M. F. Moos (Paris, 1947), p. 213. St. Thomas does not yet mention Gregory's decretal. He only cites the *Romanus Pontifex* passage from Lombard's text.

⁴⁴ *Summa in Decretum*; Ms Paris, B. N. Lat. 3892, fols. 390 and 386v.

decretal does not contain this condition or supposition. The canonical *Glossa* is just as brief and attributes to Joan(nes Flaventinus) the same statement.⁴⁶ At a later date, the difficulty was ignored.⁴⁷

St. Thomas had also learned from his canonical studies that in the question of pagan Baptism the principle *Nullus dat quod non habet* was involved. With reference to *Decretum C.* 1, q. 1, c. 1, the glossator relates that against pagan Baptism the objection was raised: *Nemo dare potest quod non habet*. His solution is based on Roman Law and not particularly convincing: *Sed creditor dominium rei sibi obligatae post biennium in alium transfert, quod tamen non habet*.⁴⁸ Huguccio had already pointed to a better answer based on the Augustinian doctrine that it is Christ who baptizes.⁴⁹ St. Thomas adopts a similar argument: Christ baptizes internally. He can impart the external ministry to any human being and the teaching of the Church shows that he does. Although an unbaptized minister may not be in communion with the Church *re vel sacramento*, he can belong to it through his intention and "the similarity of his action" by intending to do what the Church does and by observing the form used in the Church.

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V. Pseudo-Alcuin's *Liber de divinis officiis* and the *Liber 'Dominus vobiscum'* of St. Peter Damiani.

THE *Liber 'Dominus vobiscum'* of Damiani¹ attracted the attention of modern liturgists at an early date² and the little tract and its author continue to be held in esteem by liturgical scholars.³ It was written before Damiani became Cardinal-Bishop of Ostia in 1057 and while he was still prior of the hermitage at Fonte Avellana.⁴ His purpose was to explain that it was not inane for the solitary in his cell to use the customary plural forms and salutations of liturgical prayer, such as *Dominus vobiscum, Jube, domne, benedicere, Oremus, etc.*, because of the mystery of the unity of the Church (*sacramentum unitatis ecclesiasticae*). In the course of this exposition he digresses to insert a brief chapter on the hidden meaning of the rites and vestments of both Old and New Testament worship.⁵ No details, he insists, can be considered *frivola* or *levia* in these sacred offices by one who seeks in them the *virtus spiritualis intelligentiae*. He prompts the reader to consider in particular this 'spiritual meaning' in the several sacred vestments by introducing a series of questions on sandals, alb, amice, cincture, stole, dalmatic, chasuble, maniple and pallium, in that order. He does not, however, provide his reader with the answers. He either assumed that the answers would be known, or, what is more likely, that the reader would be moved to seek them out in the works of the learned expositors as Damiani himself had done.⁶

¹ *Glossa in Decretum D.* 4, c. 52 de cons; ed. Lyons (1560), fol. 1955.

² Cf. Archidiaconus, *Super Decr. D.* 4, c. 52 de cons.; ed. Lyons (1516), fol. 341.

³ *Glossa in Decr. D.* 4 c. 23 de cons.; ed. cit., fol. 1939.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*, fol. 386v.

⁵ Ed. C. Gaetani, *Opera III* (1615), *Opusc. XI: Liber qui appellatur Dominus vobiscum ad Leonem eremitam*. The Migne edition is used here, PL 145, 231-52.

⁶ G. Ferrari added the *Lib. Dominus vobiscum* in his edition (Rome, 1591) of M. Hittorp, *De divinis catholicae ecclesiae officiis*.

⁷ L. Eisenhofer, *Handbuch der katholischen Liturgik I* (Freiburg i. Br., 1932), p. 125.

comments: Aus Italien stammt . . . das schöne Büchlein über das Dominus vobiscum aus der Feder des für die würdige Feier der Liturgie durchglühten hl. Petrus Damiani. I have been unable to see A. Kolping, *Petrus Damiani. Das Büchlein von "Dominus vobiscum"* (Düsseldorf, 1949).

⁸ F. Neukirch, *Das Leben des Petrus Damiani* (Göttingen, 1875), p. 95 (num. 28), dates it ca. 1048 - ca. 1055.

⁹ *Opusc. XI, c. 17: (tit.) Quod quidquid pene in divinis officiis agitur, sub figuris mysticis disponatur* (PL 145, 245).

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, c. 18: Verum his, quae ab eruditis expositoribus expedita probantur, omissis, id quod tractandum suscepimus . . . adhuc breviter replicemus (245D).

At this date the allegorical interpretation of the sacred rites and vestments was no novelty but had been fully developed by the earlier commentators on the liturgy. Much common material had been handed down and embellished through Bede,⁷ Amalarius⁸ and Rabanus Maurus,⁹ to mention only the more widely read commentators. Indeed Walafrid Strabo (d. 849) considered it superfluous to add anything to the comments of his predecessors on the mystical meaning of the liturgical vestments.¹⁰ It may safely be assumed that Damiani, who was widely read, was familiar with this literature. Bede and Amalarius are named among the authors whose works he had acquired (and corrected!) for the monks at Fonte Avellana.¹¹

I suggest, however, that it is not to the better known liturgical commentaries but rather to the anonymous *Liber de divinis officiis* that we must look both for Damiani's inspiration in the present instance and for the answers to his cryptic questions on the details of the liturgical costume. This tenth-century treatise was erroneously attributed to Alcuin in the collection of Melchior Hittorp, first published in Cologne, 1568, but was relegated to the *Opera supposititia* in the edition of Alcuin's works.¹² It is now generally recognized, after some earlier uncertainties, as a compilation, not without its own merits, done shortly before 950.¹³ The affinity between Damiani and Pseudo-Alcuin can best be shown, I believe, by the following comparison of the texts.

DAMIANI

Lib. 'Dominus vobiscum'

c. 17 . . . cur sandalia clericorum pedes quidem a terra dividunt, pedum autem superiora ex parte tegunt, ex parte non tegunt.

. . . cur poderis usque ad talos defluat,

cur superhumeral ex lini materia semper fiat;

PSEUDO-ALCUIN

Lib. de divinis officiis

c. 39 (1) Sandalia dicuntur soleae. Est autem genus calceamenti . . . subterius quidem solea munens pedes a terra; superius vero, nil operimenti habens, patet . . . Significat autem ministrum verbi Dei non debere terrenis incumbere, sed potius coelestibus inhiare, et praedicationem suam nulli occultare.

(3) Postea sequitur poderis, quae vulgo alba dicitur. Significat autem perseverantiam in bona actione . . . Tunica usque ad talum, est opus bonum usque ad consummationem, in tali enim finis est corporis.

(2) Post sandalias in Ecclesiae vestimentis, sequitur superhumeral, quod fit ex lino purissimo. Per linum quod ex terra sumitur, et per multos labores

⁷ Bede, *De tabernaculo et vasis ejus, ac vestibus sacerdotum*; especially *Lib. III*, c. 3-8 on vestments (PL 91, 466-83).

⁸ Amalarius, *Liber officialis*, ed. J. Hanssens, *Opera II* (Studia e Testi, CXXXIX, Vatican City, 1948); especially *Lib. II*, c. 15-26 on vestments (*ibid.*, pp. 236 ff.).

⁹ Rabanus, *De clericorum institutione*; see especially *Lib. I*, c. 14-23 on vestments (PL 107, 306-9).

¹⁰ *De exordiis et incrementis quarundam in observationibus ecclesiasticis rerum*, c. 25: Addiderunt in vestibus sacris aliis alia vel

ad imitationem corum, quibus veteres utebantur sacerdotes, vel ad mysticæ significatio[n]is expressionem. Quid enim singula designant, quibus nunc utimur, a prioribus nostris satis expolitum est (MGH, Capitularia II, 2, p. 504).

¹¹ *Opusc. XIV* (1045/1050), PL 145, 334D.

¹² PL 101, 1173-1286. The Migne edition is used here.

¹³ Cf. L. Eisenhofer, *Handbuch I*, p. 121; and the earlier notice of F. Cabrol, *DACL I*, 1 (1924), 1089.

ad candorem ducitur, designatur corpus humanum, quod ex terra constat. Sicut ergo linum . . . , ita corpus humanum multis calamitatibus attritum, candidum et purum esse debet ab omni sorde peccatorum.

perpendit etiam, quid cingulum,

(4) Deinde sequitur zona, quae cingulum dicitur, qua restringitur poderis, ne laxe per pedes diffuat. Per quam designatur discretio omnium virtutum: virtutes enim sine discretione . . . vitia sunt; nam virtutes in quodam meditullio sunt constitutae.

quid designat orarium;

(5) Orarium, id est stola, dicitur eo quod oratoribus . . . concedatur. Admonet illum, qui illo induitur, ut memor sit, sub jugo Christi . . . esse se constitutum.

. . . cur in modum crucis sit quadrata dalmatica;

(6) Dalmatica . . . Est autem vestimentum in modum crucis, monens indutorem suum crucifixum esse debere mundo . . .

cur reliquis indumentis sit superponenda casula,

(8) Casula quae super omnia induamenta ponitur, significat charitatem, quae alias virtutes excellit.

cur etiam manipulus in sinistra parte gestetur, quo nimirum spiritualium potius, quam carnalium oculorum, vel narium pituita detergitur.

(7) Mappula quae sinistra parte gestatur, qua pituitam oculorum et narium detergimus, praesentem vitam designat, in qua superfluos humores patimur.

. . . cur diaconus, qui dalmatica non est indutus, casula circumcinctus legit;

Diaconus, qui non est indutus dalmatica, casula circumcinctus legit, ut expedite possit ministrare;

cur etiam ipsa dalmatica in sinistra sui parte fimbrias habeat.

Habet etiam [dalmatica] in sinistra parte sui fimbrias. Per sinistram partem praesens vita figuratur, quae diversis curis abundat; quae curae significantur per fimbrias sinistram partis;

. . . nec illa consuetudo inaniter tenuit, quod pallium pontificalibus indumentis apponitur, ut lamina in fronte pontificis ad decorum et gloriam antiquitus ponebatur (cf. *Exod.*, xxviii, 36, 40): in qua nimirum lamina nomen Domini tetragrammaton scriptum erat, quod sanctum Domini vocabatur, paucis

(9) Pallium archiepiscoporum super omnia indumenta est, ut lamina in fronte pontificis . . . Hoc etiam erat lamina illa . . . in qua scriptum erat nomen Dei tetragrammaton, id est, quatuor litterarum . . . Est autem interpretatio, *Jod*, principium, *He* iste, *Vau*, vita, et *Heth* passio, id est: Iste

quidem litteris constans, sed magni intellectus virtutem interius continens. est principium passionis vitae . . . etc. Vocabatur autem hoc nomen sanctum Domini . . .

It will be noted that Damiani does not follow exactly the order of the items in Pseudo-Alcuin (given above in parentheses). It is also quite true that similar comment on some of the items is to be found in the earlier writers, especially Amalarius, from whom Pseudo-Alcuin borrowed freely. But Pseudo-Alcuin alone, of the commentators I have examined, has all the details on the sacred vestments singled out by Damiani. A verbal concordance with some of the characteristic phrases of the *Liber de divinis officiis* strengthens the conclusion that Damiani is dependent on this compilation. This is not to say, of course, that the earlier commentaries were unfamiliar to him. Some questions, in fact, which follow the series on the vestments, suggest that he had more than Pseudo-Alcuin in mind.¹⁴

Viewed in the light of the traditional literature in these matters there is not an original or characteristic note in Damiani's whole chapter. Viewed apart from it the chapter has little meaning. For this reason it is somewhat surprising to find a recent reference to the significance of his application to the divine offices of the Old and New Law of the *allegorica theoria*.¹⁵ I am sure that Damiani intended to say no more than had been said by the *eruditi expositores*, to whom he had gone himself and in whom he would in turn excite his reader's interest.

But despite its lack of the originality so conspicuous in the rest of the work, this chapter is far from being the least interesting in Damiani's little treatise. Was the *Liber de divinis officiis* in circulation in Italy around the year 1050? Or was its chapter on the sacred vestments put to use by someone else and known to Damiani through this other medium? Such a possibility is suggested at least by the fact that the name of Damiani has already been linked, however indirectly, with the work of Pseudo-Alcuin. It was first established by M. Andrieu that the *Liber de divinis officiis* was used by the compiler of the *Ordo romanus antiquus* (ca. 950),¹⁶ which was incorporated in the celebrated Mainz pontifical to which the same eminent liturgist has given the title *Le pontifical romano-germanique du X^e siècle*. Dom Wilmart later pointed out that three of the prayers for the Adoration of the Cross, which appear in the edition of the *Preces* of Damiani (XXII-XXIV), are to be found in this same *Ordo romanus antiquus*.¹⁷ Were they added to Damiani's authentic prayers by a later hand, or, as M. Andrieu remarks: . . . est-ce S. Pierre Damien qui avait lui-même puisé dans l'*Ordo romanus antiquus*?—Je ne saurais pousser si loin les précisions.¹⁸ Now among the unpublished pieces in the Mainz pontifical, which was known in Italy from Ottonian times, appears an *Expositio octo vestium Aaron primi pontificis*, followed by three *Sermons* on the same subject of liturgical vestments.¹⁹ If any of these pieces proved upon examination to reproduce substantial parts of Pseudo-Alcuin as does the *Ordo romanus antiquus*, they would certainly invite com-

¹⁴ *Opusc.* XI, c. 17: Quid enim tota illa tabernaculi compositio (245D), is reminiscent of material from Bede, *De tabernaculo*; and quid numerus levitarum (*ibid.*) may well refer to Rabanus Maurus, *De clericorum institutione* I, c. 7: *De diaconis* (PL 107, 303).

¹⁵ H. de Lubac, "Typologie" et "Allégorisme", *Recherches de science religieuse*, XXXIV (1947), 190, comments: P. Damien s'écartera un peu de la typologie proprement dite lorsqu'il verra dans les rites de l'Eglise aussi bien que dans les faits des deux Testaments *arcanaum allegoricae theoriae sacramentum*.

¹⁶ M. Andrieu, 'L'*Ordo romanus antiquus* et le *Liber de divinis officiis* du Pseudo-Alcuin', *Revue des sciences religieuses*, V (1925), 642 ff.

¹⁷ A. Wilmart, 'Les prières de S. Pierre Damien pour l'adoration de la croix', *Rev. des sciences religieuses*, IX (1929), 517 ff.

¹⁸ M. Andrieu, *Les Ordines romani du haut moyen age I: Les manuscrits (Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, études et documents*, XI, Louvain, 1931), p. 524.

¹⁹ M. Andrieu, *op. cit.*, p. 196 (Ms Monte Cassino 451, fol. 73^v ff.); and p. 45 (Ms Bamberg, Lit. 53, fol. 56^v ff.).

parison with Damiani's chapter to determine whether or not the material from Pseudo-Alcuin, as well as the three prayers for the Adoration of the Cross, could have come to Damiani through the medium of *Le pontifical romano-germanique du X^e siècle*.

On the other hand, if Pseudo-Alcuin is to be numbered among the commentators who were used by Damiani, then the fact itself that he used his work is as noteworthy as what he borrowed from it. The *Liber de divinis officiis* is frequently cited as a witness of some value for liturgical praxis at a time when witnesses are not numerous.²⁰ Its own history remains obscure.²¹ It will undoubtedly be clarified by a study of the manuscripts, which Dom Wilmart deemed they deserved,²² and by such other traces of its later use as may subsequently be brought to light.

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²⁰ Cf., e. g., L. Eisenhofer, *Handbuch II* (1933): *Personenregister*, s.v. Pseudo-Alcuin. On the dearth of writers for this period A. Franz, *Die Messe im deutschen Mittelalter* (Freiburg i. Br., 1902), p. 407, comments: Nach der reichen Entwicklung der liturgischen Literatur in der Karolingerzeit nimmt sich das 10. Jahrhundert ärmlich aus. Die einzigen auf uns gekommenen Leistungen sind die Pseudo-Alkuinsche Schrift 'De divin. off.' u. eine für Schulzwecke bestimmte Messerklärung.

²¹ The author's reference to his homeland as *Gallia Braccata* in c. 38 (PL 101, 1240A) is not clear. M. Andrieu, *Les Ordines romani* I, p. 546, places him among the commentators on the liturgical praxis of the Rhenish regions with Amalarius, Rabanus M., and Walafred Strabo. A. Wilmart *DACL* V, 1 (1922), 1027, considers it not improbable that the compilation belongs to the school of Auxerre.

²² A. Wilmart, *loc. cit.*

Boethius' *De Consolatione* by Jean de Meun V. L. DEDECK-HÉRY

THROUGH the generosity of Mme. L. V. Dedeck-Héry, the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies is privileged to publish her late husband's unpublished text of Jean de Meun's translation of Boethius' *De Consolatione philosophiae*. Just prior to his sudden and tragic death on the 27th of December, 1945, Professor Louis Venceslas Dedeck-Héry had completed his critical edition of the text and was in the process of writing an introduction to it. The typed manuscript of the text and variants, together with the hand-written material of the introduction—morphological, semantic and syntactical in character—were presented to the Pontifical Institute by his widow. Thus it is that Mediaeval Studies is able to make available to scholars and students of Old French literature and language and to Chaucerians in general the fruit of twelve years of zealous, unremitting and painstaking study and work. My task has consisted simply in preparing the manuscript for the press and in seeing it through to its final form. It has been an honor to associate myself with the late Professor Dedeck-Héry in this capacity and to share with him, however humbly, the distinction of making public so important a contribution to mediaeval letters.

Born in Prague August 25th, 1883, Louis Venceslas Dedeck-Héry was graduated from the Gymnasium of that city in 1902 and from its University in 1908. Between 1905 and 1914 he taught Latin, Greek and French at the Gymnasium of his native city and later in Caslav. After spending several summers of study in Paris, he established himself there permanently in 1914 and until 1923 followed courses at the Sorbonne, the Ecole des Hautes Etudes and the Collège de France, devoting himself mainly to mediaeval French literature and philology under such masters as Joseph Bédier, Antoine Thomas, Alfred Jeanroy and Ferdinand Brunot. He came to America in 1923, entered the graduate school of the University of Pennsylvania and two years later obtained his Doctorate there.

On his arrival in Philadelphia in 1923, Professor Dedeck-Héry accepted a position at the Central High School of that city. He remained there until 1928 when he left to become Professor of Latin, French and German at the College of Saint Theresa at Winona, Minnesota. Three years later, he joined the faculty of the College of the City of New York. He was made Assistant Professor of Romance Languages in 1940, a position that he held when his brilliant career was cut short by a fatal heart attack on December 27th, 1945.

It was never my privilege to know Professor Dedeck-Héry except professionally as the author of a brilliant thesis: *Li hystore de Julius Cesar de Jehan de Tuim*, as the editor of a critical and definitive edition of *La vie de Saint Alexis* and as a contributor of learned articles to *Speculum*, *PMLA*, the *Romanic Review* and several French periodicals. The charm of his personality, the solidity of his character, his competency as a teacher, the proficiency of his patient and conscientious scholarship, the greatness of the Christian virtues that were the admiration of his associates and intimates are well set forth in a tribute to his memory by Dr. Gaston Gille, a colleague at the City College of New York.¹

In an article written in 1940,² Professor Dedeck-Héry enumerated, described and classified the seventeen manuscripts of Jean de Meun's translation. There he justified his choice of Ms Paris, BN, fr. 1097 as the basis of his critical edition as

¹ *The French Review*, XIX (1946), 466-7.
Cf. also John L. Haney, 'A Tribute to a Scholar', *The Mirror*, XCV (1947), 31-2.

² 'The Manuscripts of Translation of Boethius' *Consolatio* by Jean de Meung', *Speculum*, XV (1940), 432-43.

being a prior text and closest, in his judgment, to the original.² The variants, fully given from the other sixteen manuscripts, make the critical apparatus more bulky than is ordinarily the case for editions of Old French texts. The editor deliberately included all variants, however minute, to provide the machinery for one day determining the definite Latin manuscript and French commentary that Chaucer used in his translation. Professor Dedeck-Héry indicated the path that is to be followed in that connection in a further article in 1944.⁴ He was working his way purposefully along that path when an untimely death struck him down the following year.

The basic manuscript then of this edition is P¹ (Ms Paris, BN, fr. 1097). Clerical errors, mistakes in readings, elisions and omissions, are corrected by the twin of the basic manuscript C² (Ms Chantilly 284), the fragmentary F² (Paris, BN, Lat. 8654B) and, when these fail, by the other members of group a. Within the body of variants, corrections of the basic P¹ are derived from these, and when these fail, from other manuscripts indicated in parentheses. Within the text in italics are printed words, phrases and sentences that have no corresponding Latin equivalent in the original. In general these are tautological in character, doublets to reinforce or explain the meaning, explanatory notes and glosses. References from the text are not indicated. These have been sufficiently indicated in editions of the Latin text and are sufficiently well known to warrant their omission. In editing, the following generally accepted rules for the edition of prose texts in Old French have been followed: no trema is used; in polysyllables, final e and es are atonic unless accented, any final consonant other than s implies in general that the preceding e is tonic; in the case of monosyllables, when e is final it is presumed to be atonic and is unaccented unless tonic, if followed by s it is not accented.

ALEX. J. DENOMY C.S.B.

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THE MANUSCRIPTS⁵

1. P¹ Paris, B.N., Fr. 1097, fourteenth century. French text only. 44 folios.

2. P² Paris, B.N., Lat. 18424, fols. 1-166, formerly of Notre-Dame, fourteenth

³ Manuscripts A³ and P⁴ have to be discarded since they occupy a special place: they only concern the metres. Moreover they are very poor. B and R are also very poor, they suffered considerably by their association with A³ P⁴. Besides they seem to give, according to what we said above, the priority to P¹ C². So does F³. Ms C¹ is too inconstant, one might say that it floats between the two branches. F¹ which is the oldest and contains hardly any errors, would be quite appropriate for our purpose. Unfortunately it gives only a small portion of the text. There remains only Ms P¹ (and C², its twin). Although copied by a mediocre scribe, it however does not show such carelessness as Mss B and R. If P¹ is not always superior to the other Mss, it certainly avers its priority. The remarks on the succession of the Mss demonstrated that P¹ permits us to deduce the original more easily than the others. Certain glosses, embodied into the text in P¹ without logical connection while in the other Mss they are already transformed and adapted to the text, give evidence of it. If once P¹ is disengaged of its clerical errors with the help of the fragmentary F² or, for want of the latter's completeness, with the help of the other members of its group, we shall then be able

to establish a good text as close to the original as possible. *Art. cit.*, 443.

⁴ 'Le Boëce de Chaucer et les manuscrits français de la *Consolatio de J. Meun*', *PMLA*, LIX (1944), 18-25.

⁵ Reprinted from *Speculum*, XV (1940), 432-3, with the gracious permission of Dr. Charles R. D. Miller, Editor.

MANUSCRIPTS:

P¹ Paris, B.N., Fr. 1097.

P² Paris, B.N., Lat. 18424.

P³ Paris, B.N., Fr. 1098.

P⁴ Paris, B.N., Fr. 809.

F¹ Paris, B.N., Lat. 8654B.

A¹ Paris, Arsenal, 732.

A² Paris, Arsenal, 733.

A³ Paris, Arsenal, 2669.

B Besançon, 434.

C¹ Chantilly, 283.

C² Chantilly, 284.

F² Dijon, 525.

D Donai, 765.

R Rennes, 593.

S St. Omer, 661.

M New York, Morgan Library, 332.

F³ Oxford, Bodleian, *Rawl.* G41.

a=P¹C²BR or P¹C²BRF¹ or P¹C²-

BRF² or again P¹C²BRF¹F².

b=P¹DSP³A¹A²M or P²DSF³P³A¹A²M

- century. Latin text, translation and Trivet's commentary.
3. P^v Paris, B.N., Fr. 1098, first half of fifteenth century. Bude's copy. Latin text, translation and commentary. 116 folios.
 4. P^r Paris, B.N., Fr. 809, fols. 27-96, fifteenth century. Glossed; the numerous glosses are sometimes indicated in red, but are generally commingled with the text without any indication.
 5. F^r Paris, B.N., Lat. 8654B, fol. 48 (fragment), end of the thirteenth century or early fourteenth. French text only.
 6. A^r Paris, Arsenal 732, fourteenth century. From the library of M. Paulmy. Text and translation with Latin commentary. Parchment, 159 leaves and fol. A. 227.
 7. A^r Paris, Arsenal 733, fifteenth century. From the library of Grands-Augustins of Paris. Latin text and translation on the opposite page with a Latin commentary. Parchment, 161 folios.
 8. A^r Paris, Arsenal 2669, fifteenth century. Ex dono Guerin. Paper. 99 leaves and fol. A. 287; traces of clasps. Translation only. Incomplete.
 9. B Besançon 434 (collection), fols. 293-338, fourteenth century (1372). French text only. Collection made for the King of France, Charles V.
 10. C^r Chantilly 283 (658), fourteenth century. Arms and monogram of Antoine Chourses and Catherine Coëtivy. On vellum, 37 leaves. French text only.
 11. C^r Chantilly 284 (627), fourteenth century (script somewhat more modern than in the preceding). The same arms. Vellum, 36 leaves. French only.
 12. F^r Dijon 525 (collection), fols. 201 (anc. paging 230)-221 (anc. 252); copied in Paris from 1358 to 1362. Parchment, 221 leaves. Up to metre II of book v, translation belongs to group II (without preface); from prose III of book v J. de Meung's translation (fol. 217, anc. pag. 248, to the end). French text only.
 13. D Douai 765, fols. 20-115, fourteenth century. One can read in fol. 1 the following note written by the librarian of Marchiennes, Dom Charles Godin: "Apporté par l'abbé Chrétien au XIV^e siècle." Parchment. Latin text and translation, no commentary.
 14. R Rennes 593 (collection), fols. 471-509, early fourteenth century (date indicated on p. 1: 1303). Parchment, 538 leaves of 3 columns; leather clasps. French text only.
 15. S St. Omer 661 (collection), fols. 1-68, fifteenth century. Abbey of Saint-Bertin. Paper. Latin text, and translation on the opposite page.
 16. M New York, Morgan Library 332, fifteenth century. Arms of Antoine, called the Grand Bâtard de Bourgogne with the device "Nul ne s'i frotte." Vellum, 161 folios. A Latin text "cum commento et expositione Sti Thome de Aquino" accompanies the translation.
 17. F Oxford, Bodl. Rawl. G41, fols 1-13. The Latin text and the commentary are of the twelfth century; the French version interpolated later, is used as an additional commentary.

Li Livres de Confort de Philosophie

[PREFACE]

A TA royal majesté, tres noble prince, par la grace de Dieu roy des François, Phelippe le Quart, je Jehan de Meun qui jadis ou Rommant de la Rose, puis que Jalouzie ot mis en prison Bel Acueil, enseignai la maniere du chastel prendre et de la rose cueillir et translatay de latin en françois le livre Vägece de Chevalerie et le livre des Merveilles de Hyrlande et la Vie et les Epistres Pierres Abaelart et Helyoys sa fame et le livre Aered de Esperituelle Amitié, envoie ore Boece de Consolacion que j'ai translaté de latin en françois. Ja soit ce que tu entendes bien le latin, mais toutevois est de moult plus legiers a entendre le françois que le latin. Et por ce que 5 tu me deis—lequel dit je tieng pour commandement—que je preisse plainement la sentence de l'aucteur sens trop ensuivre les paroles du latin, je l'ai fait a mon petit pooir si comme ta debonnaireté le me commanda. Or pri touz ceulz qui cest livre verront, s'il leur semble en aucuns lieus que je me soie trop eslongniés des paroles de l'aucteur ou que je aie mis aucunes 10 fois plus de paroles que li aucteur n'i met ou aucune fois mains, que il le me pardoingnent. Car se je eusse espous mot a mot le latin par le françois, li livres en fust trop occurs aus gens lais et li clers, neis moienement letré, ne peussent pas legierement entendre le latin par le françois.

Et si comme dit li philosophes ou premier livre de Politiques, (1rb) tou- 20 tez chosez tendent a bien. Et ce n'est pas prouvé tant seulement par l'auctorité du philosophie, mais par raison et par experimant apparant. Or di je ce par raison, car comme touz naturex desiriers se port en son semblable, si comme en son sauvement et en sa perfection, et fuie son contraire, si comme son corrumpeinent et sa destruction, il s'ensuit que, 25 comme toutesz les chosez qui sont soient bonnes, que toutesz chosez desirent ce meismes qui est biens, si comme leur perfection ou le sauvement de leur perfection, et fuent son contraire, si comme chose discordant et nuisible. Et ce meismes veons nous apertement et par experimant es chosez vivans et par une semblance trouverons nous ce meismes en toutesz 30 les chosez qui sont. Car se une herbe ou un arbre est plantés entre deus terres, dont l'une soit grasse et bonne et l'autre meigre et mauvaise, nous trouverons que il metront toutesz leurs racines en la bonne terre et fuiront tant comme il porront la terre mauvaise. Nous veons neis les petis arbres nessans desouz les grands que il se enclinent a la claré du soleil si comme 35 a bien, car li soleil est peres des plantes, si comme il est escrit ou livre des Plantes, et fuent l'ombre comme chose nuisant. Es bestes veons nous ce meismes: que par bien que on leur fait, s'aprivaisent les sauvages bestes et

1-2 des François: A³P⁴ de France.

5 Hyrlande: DSR Illande B Islande.

6 la Vie: P²P¹A¹A²C² le livre; Abaelart: S²A¹A²M¹ Abailart P² Abaelart D¹ Abaelart S² Abayellart A² Abaalart RC¹ Aboielart; Aered: P²A¹A²MP²SC¹ Aelred D¹ Adret R² Aelered B¹ Aelaref A²P¹ Clarot.

7 Esperituelle: P²DSA¹A²M espirituell; j'ai: bBRC¹ je te ai.

8 le latin: P¹C²R¹A² latin.

9 de moult: bBR moult.

11 plainement: R¹ plenierement.

12 je l'ai: P¹ j'ai.

13 s'il: P¹C²R¹ si.

14 ou que je: P¹C²B² ou je.

15 de: P¹ des.

15-6 il le me: P¹C² il me.

16 espous: R¹ espont A² respont P²P¹A¹A²

expose.

17 en fust: P¹ eust este; lais: P²DA¹A² laies; moienement: P¹C²BRA³P⁴ meismement S¹ lacuna.

19 premier livre: P¹ inverted P²A¹A²M¹ premier.

21 experimant apparant: b experimens.

26 son: bBC¹ leur.

28 et par experimant (F¹): P¹C² om. b par experimens (P² after veons nous).

29 et par une: P¹ par bonne C² et par bonne.

33 terre: bC¹ om.; les: b C²C²F¹ des.

34 nessans: DS qui croissent; claré: BRP¹A² chaleur.

35 plantes: A³P⁴ planettes.

35-6 si . . . plantes A³P⁴P¹ om.

37 que: bF¹C²R car MB et.

par le mal qu'on leur fait, les bestes privees s'en assauvagissent. Ou lignage neis humain est ce meismes tout apert, car par benefices en-
 40 trechangiez aime li uns l'autre et le suit, et par les maulz et par les tors que il s'entrefont, (1va) fuient li un les autres et toutesz leurs amitiez et les compagnies en sont depeciees. Es autres chosez neis qui sont peut l'en aussi ce meismes veoir, car en toutesz est nee inclinacion qu'elles se meuvent a bien, si comme il apert es elemens qui par leurs natureles proprietes se
 45 meuvent a leur propre lieu comme a leur sauvement, et fuient estrange lieu comme corrupcion. Dont il apert que toutesz les chosez qui sont tendent a bien.

Mais toutevois ja soit ce que il soit ainsi, li lignages humains en ce se descorde molt des autres chosez qui sont, car les autres chosez qui sont
 50 requierent determineement et sens erreur et ensuivent leur bien. Mais hom sens determinance, par confusion et sens ordre, se meut et queurt a son bien. Car divers hommes se meuvent et adrecent leurs euvres a divers biens dom l'erreure humaine et li defaus de leur perfection est ici touz apers. Dont entre les autres chosez qui sont, seu homme a mestier de
 55 usage pour prestement ouvrir, et de doctrine pour sagement eslire a ce que il se meuve droitement et sens erreur a son propre bien. Et certainement la cause de ceste erreur et de ceste faute de perfection vient de ce que li biens de homme est biens entendibles, a la cognoscence du quel hom vient premierement par sens, et pour ce que li biens sensible sont maint et
 60 divers, il delesse legierement son propre bien et eslit le bien estrange, et cuide que ce qui est bon selonc aucune chose soit bon simplement, et juige que ce soit propre (1vb) qui est commun, et que ce soit bon par soy qui est bon par accident en nature. Car long temps est homs norris es sensibles biens avant que il soit eslevéz a la cognoscence des biens entendibles.
 65 Par quoy il convient que il soit menés par doctrine et par mainte experiance a ce que il viegne a la discretion et au devisement des biens et que dejouste les biens apparans et non parfait il sache eslire le bien vray, souverain et parfait. Et quand il sera parvenus a ce, il se esjoira et se delitera es chosez ou il se doit deliter et esjoir et ne se courrosera pas ne ne se deudra des
 70 chosez dont raison ne diroit pas que il s'en deust douloir. Et pour ce que li pluseurs des hommes defaillent en ce—ne nous ne les veons pas venir a ceste discretion—avient il souvent que il se deulent des chosez dont il se deussent par raison esjoir et aussi, du contraire, que il se esjoissent de ce de quoy raison se deult. Dom la vie de telz gens est arrousee et raemplie
 75 de maintes amerturnes. Car il sont demenés et deboutéz par les biens sensibles es quiez nule chose n'est joieuse sens tristee n'il ne demeurent pas

38 privees: $P^1C^2 om.$

40 et le suit: A^3P^4 s'entrefuent DS om.;
 tors: P^2DS torfais.

42 ncis: P^1C^2 neis aussi.

43 se meuvent: P^1C^2 s'esmeuvent R se mainnent A^3 s'esmement.

44-5 se meuvent: P^1C^2B s'esmeuvent C' se mainnent R se meinnett.

48 en ce: after molt in bBR.

49 chosez: $P^1C^2 om.$; des autres ch. qui sont: $P^3A^1A^2M om.$

50 requierent: A^3P^4 requiert leur bien.

51 se meut et queurt: B se esmuet a venir A^3P^4 s'ensuivent a venir.

52 se meuvent: P^1C^2B s'esmeuvent R si mainnent A^3P^4 s'esforcent

53-4 touz apers: $P^3A^1A^2M$ bien apparent; les autres chosez: b toutes les ch.

54-5 de usage: A^3P^4 du saige.

56 se meuvent: P^1B se meuvent C'R A³P⁴ se mainne.

57 ceste err.: b (except M) celle err.; faute:

P^1C^2B defaute.

58 entendibles: b (except M) F^1C^1BR entendables A^3P^4 entendible.

61 cuide: A^3P^4 delaissent (delaissent ce qui est bon selon auc. ch. et jugent); est bon: P^1C^2 est bien; cuide . . . simplement: P^4 delaissent ce qui est bon simplement pour ce qui est bon selon auc. ch.; simplement: C^1R simple.

63 en: A^3P^4 de.

66 mainte: A^3P^4 droite.

68 parvenus: b venus A^3P^4 pourveu.

69 deudra: C^2M deudra BRP^3A^1 doudra F^1 doura P^2A^2 dieudra S deurra D diurra C' daura $A^1P^1 om.$

70 raison: P^3 nuls homs; s'en: $P^1C^2A^1$ se.

73 aussi: P^1B ainsi R ainssint C² ainssin C' ensi:

74 de quoy: DSA^3P^4 dont; arrousee et raemolie: DS inverted.

75 maintes: DS pluiseurs.

touz jours uns, meismes comme leur bonté soit continualment en mouvement.
A telz gens est doncques profitable la translacion de cest livre et meisme-
ment a ceulz qui n'entendent pas le langage des Latins. Et ja soit ce que
80 Boeces l'eust fait en confort de soy meismes, toutevois les chosez qui
dedens sont despuitees enseignent apertement comme chascun hom peut
avoir discretion et cognoscience de la diversité des biens et as quieux biens
li hom- (2ra) me doivent adrecier leurs cuers et leurs pensees et se li
autre bien viennent habondamment aus hommes, cist livre enseigne
85 comment on doit user de ces biens. Dom cist livre n'est pas de petit profit,
mais de tres grant, car entre touz les livres qui onques furent fais, cist
est souverains a despire les biens vilz et decevables qui demonstrent le
signe de la fausse beneurte et a eslire les biens pardurables qui nous
adrecent et enforment a la vraie beneurte.
90 Cist Boeces ama moult le commun profit et fu haiz de Theodoric qui lors
estoit roy des Romains. Dom comme cil Theodoric en guise de tyrant fist
plusieurs crualtéz contre le profit du pueple et touz jours trouvast Boece
contraire a ces felons establissemens, il, par sa grant felonnie esmeus,
estudia a trouver cause par quoy il peust Boece destruire. Et comme il ne
95 peust a ce cause trouver, il faint que li empereur de Constantinnoble avoit
envoié lettres a Boece es queles il estoit contenu que li empereur escrivoit a
Boece que il ert prest de aidier aus Romains en toutes chosez contre les
crualtéz Theodoric. Dont li felons roys, faingnans par ces lettres achoison
de traision contre Boece qui de ce riens ne savoit, fist que Boece, innocent
100 et non sachant, sens estre presens fu juigiéz et envoiéz en essil et fu mis en
chartre en la cité de Pavie. Et ainsi, par vice mauvaiselement faint, sueffre
tourment vraie vertu. Mais pour ce que cil qui est vraiment bons, si
comme dit li philosophes ou premier livre de Eti- (2rb) ques, il souffrera
105 toutes fortunes tres bien et du tout sagement, cist Boeces qui tous jours
avoit esté bons fist illeuc en la chartre cest livre qui est intitulé Boece de
Confort de Philosophie ou quel il demonstre que il sueffre tres bien et du
tout sagement sa douleur comme homme fort et de grant cuer avecques
110 tout ce que il sentoit la grant mescheance, si comme il apert en sa maniere
de parler.
110 Or est doncques bon de ramener a memoire ce que nous avons touchié
et dit ci dessus, ce est assavoir que homme premierement et par moult de

77 continualment en mouvement: b tous
jours en mouv, continualment C'R contin-
uelment mouvable et en mouv.

81 despuitees: P¹B⁴ deputeez A³ depputeez
A¹M² dispuitees; comme: bBRC¹ comment;
peut: A³P⁴ doit.

82 as quieux biens (BR): P²DS a quels b.
C¹ en quels b. P²A¹A²M aus q. b. A³ aux
quelz P¹C² a quel.

83 de (petit): P¹ om.

87 a despire: P⁸ pour despriser.

88 biens: P¹C² om.; et a eslire . . . be-
neurte: C'R om.

90 commun profit: A³P⁴ inverted and fol-
lowed by a long gloss.

91 Romains: A³P⁴ gloss follows; en guise:
P² a la maniere.

92 pluseurs: b moult de.

93 contraire: C'R contraire a ces felonnies
et; sa: P¹C²B om.

94 par quoy: P¹C²P²M comment A¹A²
comme; ne: P¹B om.

95 faint: C'DS faint R feinst P⁴ faingni
P⁸ faignist A² faingnist M feigny; empereur:
P¹C² emp. de Constantinnoble.

96-7 es queles . . . a Boece: P² om.

97 ert (C¹C²): P¹B est R iert b estoit.

98 Dont: P¹C² dont ainsi; li felons roys:
P¹C² om. C¹ li roys; faingnans: BRA³P⁴
faignoit C¹ signoit; achoison (BR): P¹C² en
maniere all other manuscripts occoison
occasion.

100 non: DS nient; et envoiéz: P¹C² a en-
voier.

101 par: D sus RA³P⁴ sans (B Et ainsi sanz
vice par vice); mauvaiselement . . . sueffre:
A³ mauvaise faintise fait souffrir P⁴ mau-
vaises fait faire souffrir aucune fois; faint:
P¹ om.

104 du tout: A³P⁴ tres; tous jours: P¹
corrupt.

104-6 cist Boeces . . . sagement: BC¹ om.

105-6 de Confort: bR du C.

106 tres: DS trop.

107 douleur: bBR fortune C¹ om.; homme
fort: C² invertis b fors.

108 tout: b om.; que: RC¹ om.; la grant
mescheance: bBR la douleur de sa m.

109 de: C¹ du b de son; sa: bC¹ la.

111-2 par moult de temps: C¹ om. B par
moult; premierement . . . norris: order
according to bBR.

temps est norris es biens sensibles forains et fortunies, dont il appartient
moult a homme sentir et doloir des mescheances qui li avienent entour
telz biens. Mais cil qui est ellevé es biens entendibles seufre tres bien et
115 sagement les fortunes de telz biens et trespassé en vie divine. Donc selonc
ce est homme devisé en deuz, ce est a savoir en homme tourmenté et
demené par passions sensibles et en homme devinement ellevé es biens
entendibles. Et pour ce que seule philosophie nous ellieve par le don de
dieu aus biens entendibles, Boeces establist et represente soi en partie de
120 homme troublé et tourmenté et demené par passions sensibles et establist
philosophie en partie de homme ellevé et ensuivant les biens entendibles.
Si que en la partie de soy il demonstre ses douleurs et les causes qui ses
douleurs esmeuvent, et en la partie de philosophie il amene les causes qui
aneantissent ses douleurs et demonstre (2va) le confort qui l'oste de ses
125 douleurs. Et por ce est apeléz cist livres Li Livres de Confort de
Philosophie. Si que deuz personnes sont ici senefies, c'est a savoir li
malades et li mires, car douleur et troublement de cuer pour biens temporex
sont en homme de faible et de enferme pensee, mais soy conforter et
constreter a telz douleurs ce apartient a homme de noble et de parfait
130 entendement.

Et commence Boece son livre dolereusement comme il afiert a homme
qui represente ses douleurs, si comme il apert aus liseurs.

[BOOK I.]

[METRE I.]

Halas! Je, qui jadis parfis jolies chanconnetez en mon estude flurissant,
sui maintenant constraint a commencier en plourant a faire vers de dolereuse
matiere. Veéz ci que les desordenees Muses des poetes me ditent chosez a
escrire et mi chetif ver arrousent mon visage des vrais pleurs. Toutevois
5 ne pot nule pour icestes parvaincre que elles ne me fussent compagnes et
poursuissent notre airre. Cestes qui jadis furent la gloire de ma jeunee
beneuree et vert confortent maintenant les destines de moy dolereus
viellart, car viellece m'est venue plus tost que je ne cuidoie, hastee par
mes maulz, et douleur a commandé que ses aages me soit venuz. Chenes
10 sont espandues par ma teste avant leur temps et tremble li lache cuirs en
mon corps affoibli. Beneuree est la mort des hommes qui ne s'embat pas

114 tres bien et: *P'C² om. A¹* tres bien *A²*
bien et *B* tres.

115 vie divine: *A³P⁴* medicine.

117 et en homme: *C'R om.*

118 don: *P²A¹A²M* bien *R* dom.

119-8 Et pour ce . . . entendibles: *P²DS om.*

119 Boeces: *P¹* cist *B.* *C²* cil Boec. *P¹*
l'auctor *B* Boece tout corroucie.

120 et demené: *BR* ou dem.; establist: *P³*
ordonne.

122-3 causes . . . amene: *P²DS om.*

123 amene: *P²A¹A²M* enduit et amene.

124 aneantissent: *DS* amenuissent *BA³P¹*
atisent *R* enticent *C²* enquierent.

124-5 et demonstre . . . douleurs: *P³A¹A²M*
om.

126 benefices: *RA³P¹* figures.

126-7 li malades et: *P'C² om.*

127 pour: *P'C²* des *C'R A³P⁴* pour les.

128 soy: *P¹* en soy.

129 a: *P'C²* en; noble: *A³P⁴* fort; de (par-
fait): *P¹ om.*

131 et commence: *P'C²* et pour ce com.;
comme: *bB* si comme; afiert: *A³P⁴* appar-

tient; homme: *A³P⁴* hom. de entendement.

132 si comme: *A³P⁴R* et si com. *DS* ensi
que; liseurs: followed by a gloss in *A³P⁴*.

METRE I.

1 je qui: *A³P⁴ om.*; parfis: *F'* fis; jolies
(*P'F'BA'A³P⁴*): *bC'C'F'R* jolives.

3 Veéz ci: *F'BR* vez ci *A¹A²* vesci *D* veschi
S vechi *F³* veci *M* veey; desordenees: *P²*
ordenees *A¹* ordonnez.

4 mi: *P³A¹A²M* mes *A³P⁴* ung; ver: *P²A¹-*
A²M vers.

6 poursuissent (*C²B*, etc.); *P¹* pourssuissent
C'R poursuissent *P²* -siv- *DS* -siev- *F³* -seu-
M -suiv- *F¹* -sius- *A²* poursuissent; airre:
P²D oirre *S* orre *BRC'F'P³A¹A²M* erre;
cestes: *P¹* certes cil *C²* certes ceulz; furent:
P'C² furent.

7 et vert confortent: *C¹* est et reconfortent
A² et bien confortant.

9 ses: *A³S* cest *P¹* ceste *P²B* son; chenes
(*P'C²F¹*): *P²* chienes *BF'P³A¹A²* chanes *R*
channes *DSM* chaines *C¹* caines *A²* chesnes.

10 cuirs: *P'BR* cuers *A³ om.* (*A⁴*: et tremble
et les lasches en mon corps affoiblist).

es doulz ans, ains vient aus dolereus apelee souvent. Helas! Helas! comme elle destorne de soy les chetis (2vb) a sourde oreille et est si crueuse que elle refuse a clorre les yeux plourans. Quant fortune malfiable m'otroiooit
 15 sa grace en ses biens legiers et fuitis, par pou que une dolereuse heure ne mi fist mon chief plungier et naier. Orendroit pour ce que ele, oscure, a mué son decevable voulx, ma felonnesse vie m'aloigne la desagreable demeure *de mort*. O vous, mi ami, pour quoi deistes vous tant de fois en vantant que je estoie bneuréz? Cil qui est cheus n'estoit pas en estable
 20 degré.

[PROSE I.]

En dementiers que je, tesibles, recordoie ces chosez a moi meismes et senefiaie ma plorable complainte par office de greffe, je vi sus mon chief ester une fame de moult redoutable voulx. Yeux avoit ardans et regardables oultre la commune puissance des hommes; vive couleur ot et vigueur que
 5 nulz ne pot onques espusier, ja soit ce que elle fust plaine de si grant aage que on ne crooit en nule maniere que ele fust de notre temps. L'estature de li estoit de douteus jugement, car elle s'apeticoit aucune fois jusques a la commune mesure des hommes et aucune fois sembloit que elle hurtast le ciel par la longuesce de sa tres haute teste; et quant elle
 10 levoit plus haut son chief, elle perçoit neis le ciel meismes et decevoit la veue des hommes regardans. Ses robes estoient de tres deliez filz et de soutille ourvaingne, de matiere pardurable parfetes, les queles ele avoit tissues de ses mains, si comme je cognu après par li meismes demonstrant et *recognoissant*; la biauté des queles une occurté de ancienneté despite
 15 avoit occurcie, si comme elle seult occurcir les images en- (3ra) fumees. Ou derrenier oule de ces robes *et ou plus bas* lisoit l'en tissue une letre grezesche, *tele II qui senefioit la vie active*, et *pardesus ou plus haut oule une autre letre, tele θ qui senefioit la vie contemplative*. Et entre ces deuz lettres estoient veus illeuc unz degrés fais a maniere de eschieles par
 20 lesquieix l'en peust monter de la plus basse letre a la plus haute. Et

12 ains: *bCF¹* et *A²* mes; aus dolereus:
C¹ en doleureuse.

13 est si: *A²* ainsi *A¹P²* en si; crueuse: *F²*
 crueuse *P¹C²M* cruele.

14 m'otroiooit (*PF¹*): *C²* me octroiet *BF²*
 me moustra (*superscript*: fu favorable) *b*
 me moustroit *C¹R* moustre a gent *A²* moustre
 aux gens *P¹* moustra aux gens.

15 grace: *A²P²* g. en moi; en: *P¹C²* ou
A³P⁴ de.

16 mi (*P¹F¹C²RA³*): *bCF²B* me; orendroit: *A²* or des maintenant; a: *A³P⁴ om.*

17 m'aloigne (*P¹C²C²F²RP²P¹A¹*): *F¹* aloigne
M alongside *DS* m'alonge *A²* ma longue *P³*
 esloigne.

17-8 la desagreable demeure (*P¹C²F²*):
BR³ desagreable d. *P⁴* de sa desagreable d.
P³ desagreables demeures *F¹C¹* des agreables
 d. *b* (*except P³*) par desagreables demeures.

18-9 en vantant: *b om.*

19 est cheus: *P¹C²* encheus.

PROSE I.

1 a moi meismes: *P¹C² om.*

2 greffe: *P¹C²* grace.

3 redoutable: *F²* doutable; regardables: *b*
 regardans.

5 onques: *b om.*

6 crooit (*P¹R*): *BP²A¹A²* creroit *C¹C²DSM*
 croiroit *F²* croirrot.

7 de li: *P¹A²* de lui *P¹P²M* de elle;
 judgement: *P¹* jugemens; s'apeticoit: *F¹S*
 s'apetissoit *D* s'apetichoit *C²* se apetissoit *B*

se apetissoit *C¹* sa petissoit *R* sa tapissoit *P²M*
 se monstroit *A¹* se demonstroit s'apeticoit.

8 sembloit: *F²* sembloit.

9 longuesce (*C²RP²*): *B* largesce *b* (*except P²*)
 longuesce *F²* longece *C¹* laguece *P¹*
 longueze.

10 perçoit: *P¹* per soit.

12 ourvaingne: *C²R* ourvaingne *P²* ourvaingne *b* (*except P²*) *BF²* ouvrage *C¹* ouvrage
soutille (*P¹V²R*): *bBC¹F²* soutil (*and soutibil*); queles: *BR* quieux.

13-4 demonstrant et: *b om.* *C¹* recognissant
 demonstrant.

16 oule: *C¹P²A¹A²MD* oulle *S* olle *F²RP²*
 ourle; de ces (*P¹F²*): *C¹C²BR* de ses *b* des.

17 π: *C²b* (*except P²*) *om.*; grezesche: *P²A¹*
 grecce *C¹* grecce *A²MF²* grecce *P²BD*
 griesche *S* griesce *R* greechiche.

17-8 vie . . . senefioit: *P² om.*

17 qui . . . contemplaytive: *P² om.* *A¹M*:
 qui senefioit la vie contemplative et ou plus
 haut orle (*A¹*) une letre qui signifioit la
 vie active; *DS*: qui signifioit la vie contem-
 playtive et ou plus haut oule (*S*: liu en) avoit
 une qui signifioit la vie active; *P¹=C¹C²BRF²*
Chaucer.

19 illeuc: *C²* illeuc *bBC¹F²* *om.* *Chaucer*
 there.

toutefois les mains d'aucunes gens avoient tranchié cele robe par force et par violence, et en avoient porté chascuns tele partie comme il pot. Elle portoit en sa main destre livres et en la senestre un ceptre.

Et quant elle vit les Muses des poetes estans entour notre lit et dictanz 25 paroles a mes pleurs, elle en fu un petit esmeue et enfambee de cruelz eulz et dist: "Qui a lessié aprochier a ce malade ces communes putereles abandonnees au peuple qui tant seulement ne li assouageront pas ses douleurs par quelques remedez, mais enseurquetout les li norriront de doulz veninz? Car ce sont celles qui par painturez de entalentemenz qui 30 ne sont profitables ne fructueuses ocient le blé planteureuz des fruiz de raison et tiennent les pensees des hommes en coustume et ne les delivrent pas de maladie. Mais se vos blandices me fortressent aucun homme rude et non profitable, si comme l'en le seult communement trouver ou peuple, je cuidasse que je le deusse souffrir mainz dolereusement; ne ce n'est pas 35 merveille, car nos ententes ne fussent de riens bleezees en celui. Mais vous me toléz cestui qui a été norris es estudes eleatiques et academianz. Mais alés vous en anceiz, vous qui estes Sereines douces jus- (3rb) que a destruction, et le me laisséz a curer et a guerir avec mes sciences".

Cele compaignie des Muses, blasmee par ces chosez dites, geta plus 40 courrouciee son voulz a terre et monstranz sa vergoigne par roigeur passa triste le sueil de l'uis et ala hors. Mais je, de cui la veue plungiee en lermes estoit occurcie, ne ne peusse pas cognoistre qui fust ceste fame de si emperieble auctorité, m'esbahi et, mon regart en terre geté, commençai tesibles a atendre que elle feroit des ore en avant. Lors vint elle plus 45 pres et se sist en la derreniere partie de mon lit et regardanz mon voulz pesant et grief de pleur et par pleur en terre degeté, s'est complainte par ces vers de la perturbacion de notre pensee.

[METRE II.]

"Ha lasse! comme la pensee de cestui, plungiee en trebuichable parfondece, rebouche et, sa propre clarté delaissée, tant a aler en foraines tenebres et sa nuisible cure, par quantes foiz demenee par les vens terriens, craist elle sens fin. Cist jadis delivrés, a cui li cielx iert ouvers et cognuez et 5 ert acoustuméz d'aler es celestiez trespassamens, regardoit les lumieres du

22 tele partie (P¹C²BF³): C¹R tieus parties b tant; comme: P¹DS que; pot. Elle: R pouoit et le F³ pouoit. Et si (F³ continues: portoit la devant dite fame un livre en sa main dextre).

25 petit: P² poi P⁸ peu A¹MS pou A² po D pau; enfambee: P²A¹A²R, etc. flambee DS enfabbee.

27 assouageront: C¹ assouageroient P⁸A¹A²M alegeront.

28 norriront: P¹C²F³R norriroient B nourriront.

29 painturez de entalentemenz: P⁸ pointures d'affectiones.

30 sont: bC¹F³ sont pas R sont mie; fructueuses: F³ fructifieuses.

31 a long lacuna in S: et tiennent . . . esté (prose III. l. 4).

32 fortressent: P⁸A¹A²M fortraissent BF³ fortraissent P² fortraissent C¹ fourtrai-sissent D fourt'isissent R fortressent.

33 le: bC¹BR om. C¹ les.

35 bleezees: P²P⁸A¹A²F³ blecies C¹ blechies RM blecées B blecées; en celui: P²D om. P⁸A¹A²BR en celi (celi or celly) C¹ en ce.

36 cestui: P²B cesti.

37 Sereines: M serenes BRC¹A¹A²D seraines P² saines F³ se'nes P⁸ femmes (abbr. fe'nes).

37-8 a destruction: P¹C² a la mort a destruction F³ a la mort en quiez a destruction B a la mort et quel est destruction.

38 avec: b a BF³ par.

39 dites: bC¹R om. B devant dites.

40 a: b en; par: P¹ om.

41 je de cui (R): b (except P⁸) C¹BF³ je de qui P¹ je cuite que C² je cuide que.

42 fust ceste fame: P¹C² ceste f. fust.

43 emperieble: D emperial B emperialee P²A¹A²M imperieuse; m'esbahi: P¹ mais bahi; commençai: P¹ commensay A¹A² commence.

44 a atendre: P¹C² a entendre A² a atendre P²D atendre.

45 se sist: D sasist C¹ sa sist P⁸P⁸A¹A²M s'assis.

46 grief: P¹ grief; degeté: C¹ degypte C² giete b gete.

METRE II.

1 en: A¹D est.

2 rebouche: P¹C¹A¹ et rebouche b (except A¹; M et corrected to est) C²BF³ est r. R et est r. D est reoingnie (o corrected to b).

4 sens: P¹RF³ et sens; li cielx: R liseus; iert: P² est P⁸P⁸A¹A²C¹B est D estoit; ert: F³ iert B est b estoit.

5 lumieres: P¹P² luminaires; rouge soleil: P¹C² inverted.

rouge soleil et veoit les estoilles de la froide lune; il vainquierres avoit compris par nombres quelconque estoille, flechie par divers avironnemens, hante foloiables recours, et enseurquetout neis les causes dom ce vient que li vent sonnable esmeuvent les planices de la mer, et quelz esperiz tournoie
 10 le firmament estable, et pour quoy se lieve du rouge oriант l'estoille a choair es undes de occident; et ert acoustuméz a encerchier quele chose atrempe les plaisans (3va) heurez de printens pour ce que il aorne la terre de fleurs vermeillez et blanches, et qui a donné que aoust plenteureus en plain an dequeurre des grapes grossez; et iert acoustuméz a rendre les diverses causes de nature reposte. Helas! or se gist, avuglee la clarté de sa pensee et son col chargié de chaenes pesans, et portanz son voulut enclin pour le faiz est contrains a regarder la fole terre.

[PROSE II.]

Mes ore est", dist elle, "temps de medecine et non mie de complainte". Lois elle, entendanz en moy o touz les regars de ses yeulx, dist: "Ne es tu pas cil qui, jadis norris de notre let et peus de nos viandes, estoies eschapéz et venuz en courage de homme parfait? Certez, nous t'avions donné telz 5 armes que, se tu ne les eusses premiers getees, elles te deffendissent par fermeté qui ne peust estre vaincue. Ne me cognois tu pas? Pour quoy te tes tu? Est ce pour honte ou pour paour? Je vaudroie miex pour honte mais, si comme il me semble, paour t'a surpris." Et comme elle m'eust veu non mie tant seulement tesibles, mais du tout sans langue et mu, elle
 10 ajouta souvement sa main a mon piz et dist: "Ci n'a point de peril; il est cheuz en letargie; c'est commune maladie de pensees deceues. Il s'est un petit oubliéz; legierement certes se raccordera s'il nous a cogneu avant. Et pour ce que il le puisse, terdons li un petit ses yeux occurcissanz par la nublece des chosez mortiex." Ce dist elle et par sa robe pliee en
 15 fronce secha mes yeux ondoianz de pleurs.

[METRE III.]

Lors, la nuit chaciee, me laisserent tenebres et a mes yeux repairent leur (3vb) premeraine vigueur. Ainsi comme li souleuz se repont quant les estoilles sont envelopees et couvertez par Chorus qui est un vent ineaus et li airs s'est arrestéz occurs par nues pleuieuses ne ne viennent pas ou

6 de la froide: P⁴BF³ del estrange.

7 compris: P⁴ surpris; nombres: bP⁴BF³ nombre; quelconque (F³P⁴A¹M): P¹C²BR-C²P⁴D quelconques; par divers avironnemens: F⁸ par d. mouvemens et a. B mouvemens et a.

8 hante foloiables recours: B du ciel et les retours de li.

8-9 ce . . . vent: BF³ les vens; que li vent: A³P⁴R om.

9 sonnable (P¹C²RA³P): C¹ sonnaule BF³ sonans b mouvable; esmeuvent: b meuvant A³ esmouvement P⁴ esmovant; planices (bC²R): A³P⁴ planetes P¹C² plaineites D plaines B ondes F³ undes; tournoie (P¹BR-F³C): P² tournaie C²P³A¹M tourne A² corrupt D tornioile.

11 choair: C² choair bBRF³ cheoir C¹D ceoir; ert acoustuméz (BF³): P¹C² est coustumez bRP⁴ acoustuméz C¹ a coustumes; a: P²A¹A²M om.

13 a donné que (P¹C²RF³A³P): b a donne de + inf. B fait.

13-4.aoust . . . grapes (C¹RF³): P¹C² om. plenteureus A³P⁴ de cuelillir pour desgueure B aoust plenteureux de grain et octobre de

grapes P²D aoust plenteureus de abunder de trapes (D crapes) P³A¹A²M autompne plenteureus de habunder de grapes.

14 iert acoustuméz a: added from F³.
 5 se: R se geist b gist; avuglee la clarté (P¹C²R): C¹ avulee la c. BF³ avugle la c. P¹ avuglee clarte b avugle (D avules) de la c.

16 portanz: RF³ portant A² portent P²A¹M pour tant.

17 fole: P⁴ folie BF³ om.
 PROSE II.

2 en moy: P²P³A²BRF³ a m.; o: P¹ ou P³ a.

5 se: P¹ ce.

9 mie: P¹ mis.

10 mon piz: P² ma poctrine.

12 cogneu: P² cogneue DR conneue.

METRE III.

1 repairea: F³ repera b retorna.

2 premeraine: b premiere.

3 et couvertez: b om.; est: P¹ om.

4 pleuieuses: C²P²P³D pluvieuses C¹RA¹A²M pluieuses P⁴ plongiees F³ plongeuses B plongeus.

4-5 ou ciel les estoilles (P¹C²): bC¹BRF³P⁴ les e. ou cu.

5 ciel les estoilles et desus la terre est espandue la nuit—se bise mise hors de la fosse treicienne bat celle nuit et desqueuvre le jour clos, li soleuz raianz resplendist et fier par soudaine lumiere les yeux merveillanz.

[PROSE III.]

Ainsi et non pas autrement les nubleces de tristece dissolues, je pris le ciel et reçui ma pensee a cognostre la face de ma mirgece. Si que, puis que je oi mis mes yeulx en li et fiché mon regart, je regardé ma norrice es mesons de cui avoie esté conversanz de ma jeunesce, c'est a savoir 5 Philosophie, et dis: "O tu mestresse de toutes vertuz, descendue du souverain cardinal, pour quoy es tu venue en ces solitaires lieus de notre essil? Es tu donques pour ce venue que tu soies ainsi demenee coupable avec moi des faus blasmes?" "O", dist elle, "tu li miens norri, te laissoerie je donques ne ne partiroie avecques toy, par commun travail, la charge 10 que tu as soufferte par l'envie de mon nom? Certes, il n'estoit pas avenant *ne chose laissable* a philosophie laissier sans compagnie le chemin de toy innocent; redouteroie je doncques mon blasme et craindroie je ainsi comme se aucune chose nouvelle fust avenue? Car juges tu que philosophie 15 soit ores premierement assaillie par perilz envers les meurs mauvés? Ne estrivasmes nous ainsi par grant estrif envers les anciens, neis devant l'aage de (4ra) nostre Platon, encontre le hardement de folie? Et puis que Platon fu remés vis, deservi, moi presente, Socrates ses maistres victoire de mort non mie droituriere? Du quel comme le peuple epicuriens et stoiciens et plusieur autre s'aparaillasset a aler ravig l'eritage, 20 chascun pour sa partie, et detressissent, moi reclamant et efforçant encontre, ainsi comme en partie de pracie il me depecierent ma robe que je avoie tissue de mes propres mains; et les girons arrachiéz, en cuidanz que je m'en alasse toute a euz, se departirent de moy. Et en yceus pour ce que aucunes traces de notre habit i apparoient, la folie des hommes cuidant 25 que cil fussent mi familier, *deçut* et perverti pluseurs, par l'erreur de la fole multitude, de ceus. Mais se tu n'as pas cogneu la fuite de Anaxagoras ne le venim de Socrates ne les tourmens de Zenon pour ce que il sont estrange, au mains as tu peu savoir les Caniens et les Seneciens et Seranz dont la

5 mise (b): *a mis.*

6 treicienne (b): *P¹C²* tercianne *C¹* treicienne *F³* traicienne *P¹* traiciante *B* traciante *R* traissant.

7 merveillanz: *P¹C²* vermeillanz.

PROSE III.

2 mirgece: *P¹* phisiienne.

2-3 Si . . . mis: *BF¹* si que je mis.

3 et fiché: *F²* et y fichai *B* et fichai *D* et figuier *P²R* et fichie: regardé: *P²* etc. regardai.

4 de cui: *b* de la quele; de: *P²D* des; jeunesce (*C²*): *P¹* jeunesce *B* jenesce *P²P³* jeunesse *C¹* jonece *F¹A¹* jonesce *S* jonesse *R* joense *A²* jomeste *D* jouece *M* juenesse. *R*

7 tu (soies): *P¹* *om.*; ainsi: *b* aussi *R* aus-sint.

8 avec moi des faus blasmes (*P¹C²*): *bC¹-BRF³* de f.b. avec moi: tu: *b om.*

8-9 te laissoerie je (*F³*): *C¹* te laisseroi je *B* te laisserai je *b* te leroie (lairoie) je *C²* comment te laissoerie *R* com te lessorio je *P¹* comment laisserioie.

10 soufferte: *P¹C²* souffert.

11 laissable: *P¹* li sable *C²* lisable; sans compagnie: *b om.*

12 juges: *F³* crois.

14 ores: *b om.*; assaillie: *b om.*; meurs mauvaises: *b mauvaises m.*

15 nous: *b* nous pas; ainsi: *R* ainssint *BF¹C¹P²D* aussi *b* (*except P²D*) *om.*; envers les: *P³A²M* ou temps des.

16 de nostre: *b om.*; Et puis que: *P¹* et puis et puis que *P³M* et que.

17 presente: *P¹* presentes; Socrates: *P¹* Socrates.

18 epicuriens (*F³C¹*): *P¹C²* esperitureus *R* esperituans *B* epituriens *P²* epicuriens *D* epicarijens *P³A¹A²MS* epicurien.

19 stoiciens: *F³* stoijens *B* scortiaus *C¹* scortians.

20 efforçant (-ssant, -chant): *P¹* efforcent.

21 encontre: *b* au contraire *C¹* encontre auls; en: *P³A¹A²M* est.

22 propres: *b om.*

22-3 les girons . . . de moy (*aP²D*): *P³A¹A²MS* d'icelle osterz (*S* osterent) petit morceaulx croyant moi du tout leur estre avenue s'en alerent.

23 en yceus pour ce: *R* aincois.

26 ceus: *P¹* seu *F³* sens.

28 Caniens (*F³P²P¹A¹A²M*): *P¹* Tanieus *C²* Canieus *C¹* Caniaus *B* Sanieus *R* Sanians; Seneciens (*P¹C¹BF³*): *C¹* Senecians *R* Eſſenetiens *D* Seracyens *P³A¹A²MS* Senecues; Seranz: *P²* Seraus *R* Senans *B* *om.* DS Sorans

memoire n'est pas moult ancienne ne non moult celebrible, les quiex nule
 30 chose ne trest onques a mort fors ce que il, enformés de nos meurs,
 apparoient estre dessemblable aus estudes et aus meurs des mauvais. Si
 que neanz est que tu te merveilles ou doies merveillier, se nous en ceste
 amertume de vie sommes demené par tempesles decouranz entour nous
 aus quiex meismement li propos est itiex, c'est a savoir desplaire aus tres
 35 mauvais; des quiex ja soit ce que li osz en soit grans, toutavoiz doit il
 estre despiz car il n'est gouverné par nul duc, ainçois est ravis seulement
 par erreur follement et communement (4rb) courant comme eau. Et se cil
 osz ordenans sa compaignie nous assaut aucune foiz plus fort, certes
 40 notre duchesse assemble ses habundances en sa tour et cil sont ententif
 entour les sarpillieres neant profitables a prendre. Mais nous par desus,
 asseur de tout le tumulteis forsené et de tel paliz garni que folie engresse
 et nuisant n'i puet avenir, escharnissons iceus ravisseurs des chosez
 totez les tres vilz."

[METRE IV.]

Quiconques hom, renommés de aage bien ordené, mist souz ses piez
 orgueilleuse destinee et, regardanz touz droiz l'une et l'autre fortune,
 pot son voulx tenir sans estre vaincu, la rage et les menaces de la mer
 demenant, sa bouture tornee du fons jusques en hault, n'esmoutra pas
 5 celui; ne Vesevus, foloiable montaigne, totez les foiz que il tornoie fues
 fumans par ses cheminees rumpues, ne voie de foudre ardant acoustumee
 de ferir les hautes tourz, ne le mouvra pas. Li chetif pour quoy merveillent
 il tant les tyrans felons forsenanz sans forces? Ne esperes riens ne ne
 craimes pas, tu auras desarmee l'ire du non puissant. Et quiconques
 10 tremblables crant ou desire, ce que il ne soit pas estables et de son droit,
 il a geté son escu et, remués de son lieu, il lace la chaene dont il puisse
 estre trainéz.

[PROSE IV.]

"Sens tu," ce dist elle, "ces chosez et entrent elles point dedens ton

P¹A²M Sorains F³ Soreins nons de philosophes.

29 memoire: BRF³ renommee; non: P¹C² non moult; celebrible (a): D chelable P²S celable P³ celebree A¹A²M celebre.

30 trest: P³ trahit; enformés (P¹C²P²A¹A²M): DSR enfourme C¹ en fourme P³ enfourniz BF³ forme.

32 tu: P¹ om.; te merveilles: DS t'esmerveilles; doies: P¹C²A² dois.

32-3 en ceste amertume de vie (a): b en l'amertume de ceste vie.

34 aus: P¹ a; aus tres: C² au tres BF³ entre.

35 osz: BS oz P¹A¹A²M ost P²DF³ ols R ols.

36 despiz: P³ despise; duc: F³ duitre.

37 courant (a): b decourant; eau: D ayuu C¹ yaull S yaue BRF³ air (F³: courant contre air).

39-40 sont . . . prendre (a): b entendent a aquerre les biens terriens.

41 asseur: F³ seurs; tout le tumulteis forsené: F³ touz les tumultes forseniez DS toute le tumulte foursenee; tel: P²R cel; paliz: P¹A² pali DS peril BF³ seurte.

41-2 que . . . n'i: BF³ a qui . . . ne A² que . . . en.

42 puet: C² peut C¹ pot b peust; ravisseurs (BF³): P¹C² ravissement bC¹R ravissants.

43 les tres: R letres P³ les plus.

METRE IV.

1 renommés (and renommé): P¹ nommes; bien ordené: A² desordonne A³ b. renomme.

2 touz droiz: bP¹F³ tout droit A² om.

4 demenant (bC¹C²F³): P¹ dement R demenant bA²P⁴ demenant; bouture: B bonne cure A¹ voute: bC¹-mouvra: C¹C²BRF¹P²P⁴A³ n'esmouvera A⁴MDS ne mouvra P³A¹ ne mouvra F³ n'esmouva.

5 Vesevus: F³ veseus BRA³P⁴ veez vous C¹ ve seuls C² ve se + lacuna; fues: bC¹ ses f.

6 fumans: F³C¹R⁴ fumeus; cheminees: P³ chaynes; voie: P⁴ voy le A² vie R envoie (for: ne voie).

7 le mouvra: F³ l'esmuura; merveillent (a, except BF³): bBF³ se m. S esmerveillent A³P⁴ s'esmerveillent.

8 il: P¹P²A¹A²M om.; les: b des; forsenanz: BF³ forsenez (corrected in F³ to forsenanz) R forsseneus P⁴ forcenneux A³ forceneulx; riens: P² om.

9 craimes: BRC¹ cremes P²P⁴F¹F³ criemes P³A²M craing DS crieng C² crains A¹ crain.

10 craint: C¹F¹P²DS creint R creint; ce que (C²): P¹F³B si . . . the rest que; et: b om.

11 il lace (P¹C²BF³): P³P⁴ om. F³R¹A²M lace P² lasche C¹ lachie S sache D saice.

corage, ou es tu donques li asnes de la harpe? Pour quoy pleures tu, pour quoi dequeurs tu de larmes? Se tu atens l'entente de ton mire, il convient que tu descueuvres la plaie."

- 5 Lors je qui oi (4va) concueilli forces en mon courage li dis: "Est il doncques encores mestiers de amonnestemens ou de demonstremens et n'est pas assés apparant par soy meismes l'aspresce de fortune forsenant encontre nous? Ne te esmeut nient la face meismes de cest lieu? Est ce ci l'aumaire des livres que tu meismes avoies esleué tres certain siege a toy en nos
 10 mesons, la ou tu desputaies souvent avec moy de la science des chosez humaines et devines? Estoit telz notre habit, estoit telz notre voulx, quant je encerchoie avec toy les segrés de nature, quant tu me escrivoies par ta verge les voies des estoiles, quant tu enformales nos meurs et la raison de toute notre vie a l'exemplaire de l'ordre celestial? Emportons nous, a toy
 15 obeissans, yces loiers? Certes tu juigas et deis ceste sentence par la bouche de Platon, c'est a savoir que les chosez communes fussen beneurees, se cil qui sont estudians en sapience les gouvernassent ou s'il fust avenu que li gouverneur d'yceles s'i estudiassen. Tu meismes amonnestas par la bouche de celui meismes homme que necessaire chose estoit d'enprendre
 20 aux sages hommes de gouverner la chose commune, pour ce que li gouvernement des citéz delessiéz aus mauvais angres et tourmenteurs citeiens n'aportassent pestillance et destruction aus bons. Je donques ensivanz ceste auctorité desirai metre en fait de commune administracion ce que avoie apris de toy entre nos oiseuses secrees. Tu et diex qui te mist
 25 es pensees des sages estes a moy consachable et savés avecques moy que nule chose ne me porta onques (4vb) a mestrie *ne a dignité* fors que li commun estude de touz biens. De ce me vindrent avec les mauvais desecordes grieves et qui ne pooient estre fenies par prieres et encore autre chose que franchise de conscience tient, c'est a savoir li courrouz des plus
 30 puissans hommes tous jours despiz par moy por deffendre droit.

Quantes foiz, alans encontre, reçui je Congaste fesant assaut contre les biens de chascun homme *pouvre et foible?* Quantes foiz osté je Triguille, prevost de la maison le roy, du tort que il avoit commencé et ja neis du tout parfait? Quantes foiz couvri je, par l'auctorité de moy contremise aus
 35 perilz, les chetis que l'avarice neant punie des estranges travailloit touz jours? Nus horn ne me detrest onques de droit a tort. Quant je veoie les fortunes du peuple des provinces estre *grevees et misez au desouz, ou par privees rapines ou par communs paages,* je m'en doului non pas autrement que cil qui ce souffroient.

- 40 Comme (*le roy Theodoric qui par un chier temps avoit ses greniers plains*

PROSE IV.

2 de: *F³S a.*
 2-3 pour quoi dequeurs tu: *P¹C² om. BRF³*
 decours tu:

3 atens: *P¹C²F³P²* entens; l'entente: *P³A¹SR latente BF³* l'aide.
 7 assés: *P²DS om.*; aspresce: *BF³* poeste.
 8-9 de cest . . . meismes: *A² om.*
 8 est ce ci (*C¹BRF³*): *P¹* est ce o *C²* est ce + space for a single letter *P²P³A¹M* est ce DS est ce le.

12 segrés: *bBC¹* secrecs.
 13 enformoies: *BR³* me enformoies *RC¹b* (except DS) me formoies DS fourmoies moy; nos (a): b mes.

14 exemplaire: *P³A¹A²M* exemple R es-sample.

14 Enportons: *P³A¹A²M* apportons *C¹R* en aportons *BF³* et aportons.

14-5 a toy obeissans: *P²P³A¹A²C¹R* o. a toi.

18 s'i estudiassen: *P³S i estud.* *A²* estud.

P¹C² s'estudiassen en sapience.

21 angres: *C¹F³* engres *C²R* augres b aigres

B angelz; tourmenteurs: *S* convoiteux.

24 oiseuses secrecs (*C¹B₀*, except *P¹*, Chaucer): *P¹C²RF³P²* oiseus secrecs; Tu: *P¹C²* et tu.

25 sages: *BRF³* gens.

26 fors: *P¹* fos.

28 fenies (*P¹C¹RF³*): *C²* finies b finees (*P²* feniees) B fermes.

30 hommes: *P²DS om.*; tous jours: *P¹* tor-jors.

31 alans encontre: *P¹* alai en. *C²* alai je enc. *S* alons a l'enc.

32 osté: *P¹D* ostay *S* ostai *C¹* ostai *A²* este.

35 punie: *C¹R* pugnie *B* pignie b privee.

36 detrest: *F³* traist *P³* detrahit.

38 doului: *BP³A¹A²M* dolu DS dolut.

40-4 le roy . . . cognosant (gloss): b om. in *C¹* the gloss is placed after Comme co-memption.

- de bles commanda que cist blé fust chierement vendu et fist crier ban que
nus n'achetast blé fors que le sien jusques a tant qu'il eust tout vendu, je
Boece alai contre cest establissement et le vainqui, le roy meismes sachant
et cognosant) coemption, c'est a dire communs achéz griéz et non mie
desploiable commandéz et establiz seur le peuple ou temps de la fain eigre,
fust veuz a degaster et a tormenter par souffreté et par mesaise la province
de Champaigne, je requi l'estrif encontre le prevost de pretoire pour la
raison du commun profit. Je, le roy cognosant, estrivé (5ra) et vainqui que
la coempcion ne fust requisite ne ne passast.*
- 50 Paulin, homme conseilleur, de qui li chien du palés eussent ja devoré les
richesses par esperance et convoitise, fortrés je des joes meismes de ceus
qui les ouvroient. Et pour ce que la paine de l'accusacion devant juigiee ne
surprist Aubin, homme conseilleur, je me contremis aus haines de Ciprien
accuseur. Ne voit on bien donques asséz que je ai ensemblés grans
descordes encontre moy? Mais envers ces autres dui je estre plus seurs.
qui pour l'amour de droiture ne gardé onques riens a moy vers ceus du
palais roial par quoy je fusse plus seurs. Ainqois sommes dampné par eus
meismes accusans, du nombre des quiex Basiles, qui jadis fu chaciez du
servise le roy, a esté constrains en l'accusement de nostre nom par la
necessité de l'estrangle avoir. Aussi certes m'accuserent Opilion et
Gaudences comme la justice roial les eust juigiez a aler en essil pour leurs
tricheries montepliablez sans nombre et comme il ne vousissent pas obeir
et se deffendissent par la deffense de saintes mesons et ce eust li roys
aperceu, il commanda que se il ne se partissent de la cité Ravanne dedens
60 jour assené, qu'il en fussent bouté hors, seigniez en leur frons de certaines
empraintes. Quelle chose est avis qui puisse estre pareillé a ceste craulté?
Certes en celui jour meismes fu receue l'accusacion de notre nom par eus
meismes accusanz. Quelle chose donques puet ici estre dite? L'avoient
donques ainsi deservi les notres ars? Ne fist donques la devant dite
65 dampnacion droituriers yceus accuseurs? (5rb) N'ot donques ici fortune
point de honte? Se elle n'ot honte de l'innocence accusee, au meins deust
elle avoir eu honte de la vilté des accusanz.
- 70 Mais demandes tu la somme de quel blasme nous sommes accusé? On
nous met sus que nous avons voulu sauver la compagnie des senateurs.

45 After peuple BF³ read comme au temps
de l'aigre fain fust establie ou crieé grieve
et male a espondre coemption la quele si
comme l'en veoit bien devoit trop domagier
et tormenter la province de Champaigne je
pris l'estrif encontre le prevost du pretoire
et le roy sachant je estrivoi . . .

46 veuz: P³A²M veue A¹ venue; a degaster
et a torm.: b inverted.

46-7 la province de Ch. (according to BF³):
C'R ch. et la prov. the other manuscripts
Champaigne and Province.

47-8 pour (P²C² par) la raison du: BF³P³.
A¹A²M pour le.

48 estrivé: RA¹DS estrivai F³ estrivoi B
lestrif.

50 li: P⁴C² du.

51 joes (P²A¹A²M): P³F³ joues Chaucer
jowes P⁴C² joies D yeux S euls C¹ yex B yci
R jours.

53 aus (as): P¹C¹C² en R es.

54-5 Ne voit . . . moy: P² om.

54 ensemblés: P¹C² anegri ensembles (anegri
suppressed by editor) BRF³ en aigri et
assemble C¹ assamblees anegri D en agri S en
egri A¹A² aegri P¹M aigry.

55 du je estre: P¹ du e. je.

56 gardé: the other manuscripts gardai.

57 palais: P¹ paliz.

60 Aussi: P¹ ainsi C² ainssin.
62 tricheries: P¹C² richeces; montepliablez:
R monteplaees et monteplaables; sans: P¹C²
en; et: P¹C² om.

63 la deffense: P²DSBF³ les deffenses A²
les deffense (sic); saintes mesons: b inverted.

64 se partissen (P¹RP³): C¹C²P¹A¹ se de-
partissen A²MDSF³ se deparoient B par-
toient; Ravanne (-enne): P¹C² Ramene.

65 jour: F¹I. jour P¹C² rout; assené
(P¹C²R): A² asse P²A¹MSBF³ assigne D
assifie; frons: P¹C² fons; certaines: P¹C² ter-
riennes.

66 est avis: P¹C² est ains C¹BRF³ est il avis
b te est il avis.

67 celui: DS celi.

68 ici estre (a): b inverted (S: estre).

69 les notres: BP¹M noz F³ nous.

69-70 Ne fist . . . accuseurs: F³B ou la
dampnation devant dite les fist ele justes
accuseurs.

70 accuseurs (accuseurs): P²DSA² accu-
sants.

71-2 Se . . . honte: P¹C² om.

71 se elle n'ot: M om. P³ se eslevoit.

73 demandes: P¹C² demande.

74 sus: P¹C² assus; avons voulu: P¹C² vou-
lons.

75 Desires tuoir la maniere? Nous sommes blasmés d'avoir empeschié l'accuseur que il ne portast les letres par les quelles il feist coupable le senat contre la majesté du roy. O tu maistraise, que juiges tu donques de ce? Nierons nous le blasme pour ce que honte ne te viengne par nous? Certes je le volz, ne ja par nul temps ne cesserai du vouloir. Nous le 80 recognoistrons? Mais l'entente de l'accuseur empeeschier cessera. Appelerai je donques felonnie et pechié ce que je ai desiré le sauvement de celle ordre? Certes si avoit fait cil ordres, par leur juigemens que il firent de moi, que ce fust felonnie. Mais folie touz jours mentanz a soi meismes ne puet muer les merites des chosez, ne je ne cuide pas, par le juugement 85 Socrates, que je deusse avoir repost verité ne avoir acordé a mençonge. Mais ceste chose, comment que il en soit, je la laisse a preisier au juugement de toy et des sages. De laquelle chose l'ordenance et la verité, pour ce que cil qui vivront après nous la peussent savoir, je l'ai baillié neis a escriture et a remembrance. Car des letres faussement faites par les 90 queles je sui accusé d'avoir esperé la franchise romaine, que m'en apartient il a dire? Des queles li baraz eust apparu touz apers, se nous peussions avoir eu lesir d'user de la presente confession des accuseurs meismes, car ceste chose a tres grans forces en toutes besoingnes. (5va) Car quelle franchise autre puet l'en esperer? Certes je voudroie que aucune 95 autre peust estre esperee! Je eusse respondu par la parole Canius qui comme il fust accusé de Gaius Cesar, filz de Germain, que il eust esté consachable de la conjuracion faite contre lui, il dist: "Se je l'eusse seu, tu ne l'eusses pas seu." En la quelle chose nostre pleurs n'a pas si nos sens avuglez que je me complaingne de ce que li mauvais et li felon appareillent 100 felonies contre les vertueus, mais trop forment me merveil de ce que il ont parfaict ce dom il orent esperance. Car vouloir mauvaistiéz c'est par aventure de notre defaut, mais semblable chose est a monstre et a merveille comment, ou present regart de dieu, puet estre parfait ce que chascuns felons a conceu en sa pensee contre les innocens. Dom un de tes amis et de 105 tes familiers demanda et n'ot mie tort du demander: "Se diex est," dist il, "dom viennent li mal? Et se diex n'est pas, dom viennent li bien?" Mais or soit licence otroié que li felon homme qui desirent et requierent le sanc et la mort de touz les bons et de tout le senat aient voulu aler destruire neis nous meismes les quiez il avoient veus bataillier pour les bons et pour

75 oir: b (except P¹) C¹BF³ a oir (S: P¹A¹A²M trop.
avoir).
76 ne: P¹ om. C² nous.
77 senat: P¹ senal.
78 pour ce que: P³ afin que.
79 volz (RF¹P²A²): C²P³M voulz (voulz)
A¹ voil C¹DS voel B uô P¹ veulz; par: b om.;
temps: DS jour.
80 l'entente: P¹C² la sentence; empeeschier
(empeschier): P¹C²M empeschie A² empesche
D empachiet.
81 celle: P²DSP²A¹A² cel C¹ cest.
82 ordre: A¹ orde D ordene; leur: F³ son
(corrected to leur) b le; firent (a; F³ corrected to fist): b fist.
84 cuide (P¹C²RF³): bC²B cuidoie (A² cui-
doi).
84-5 juugement Socr.: F³ j. qui deffendi a
celer le bon et a dire le faus Socrates.
85 ne: P¹C² om.; acordé a menç.: C¹ men-
coigne a acorde P³A¹A²M acorde m. F³ ac-
menconges B mensonges.
86 en: P¹C² om.
91 Des queles: F³ des queles lettres.
92 peussions: P¹ peusoms.
93 ceste: P¹ cest; chose: b om.; tres:

94-5 Certes . . . esperee: P²DS om.
96 que il (quil): P¹C² qui.
97 eusse seu: F³ e. consenti.
100 vertueus (a): b virtus; il (ont): P¹C²
om.
102 est a monstre et a merveille (C¹P²-
DS): F³ est a m. et a (superscript: est) merv.
P¹ a monstre et est a merv. et C² a m. et est a
merveillier BR est a mostrar et a mer-
veillier P³A¹A²M est a mostrar et a merveille.
104 sa: P¹ om.
104-5 de tes (fam.): P¹ des.
105 n'ot . . . demander: BF³ sanz tort.
105-6 Se . . . Et: P²DS om. (order inverted
in P³A¹A²M: se diex n'est pas . . . se d. est).
106 pas: P¹ om.
107 otroié (P¹C¹C²F³DS): P²P³A¹A²MBR
octroiee; et requierent: P¹C² om.
108 aient voulu aler: B ains volu a. C²
aint v. a. R aient voulu P²P³A¹A²M aient ale
voulu.
109 avoient veus (DS; a. veu BF³): P¹C²P²-
A¹A²M voient R soient C¹ voelent P³ vou-
loient.

110 le senat. Mais deservions nous donques aussi ce meismes des peres et des senateurs?

Tu te remembres bien, si comme je cuit, que quant je vouloie dire ou faire aucune chose, tu meismes touz jours presente m'adrecoies, et bien te remembre comme li rois glous et convoiteus de la commune destruction appareillast (5vb) a transporter seur toute l'ordre du senat le blasme de la royal majesté mis sus a Aubin, par com grant seurté de mon peril je ai deffendu l'innocence de tout le senat. Tu sces bien que les chosez que je di sont vraies et que je ne me vantai onques en nule loenge de moy, car toutes les foiz que aucun reçoit precieuse renomme en soy vantant de son fait il amenuise le secré de la conscience loant soy meismes. Mais tu vois a quele fin je sui venuz de notre innocence; nous recevons paines de fausse felonnie pour les loiers de vraie vertu. Et de quele felonnie ot onques la confession aperte juigies si acordables en justice a juigier que ou l'erreur de l'engin humain ou la condicion de fortune a touz mortiex hommes douteuse n'en abessast aucuns? Se nous fussions acusé de avoir voulu énflamber les sacrees mesons ou de estrangler les prestres de glaive felon ou de avoir appareillié la mort a touz les bons, toutevois la sentence me deust avoir puni presant et recognoissant et convaincu. Mais nous, ores remeu loing de la cité de Rome presque par l'espace de cinc cenz mile pas, sommes sans defense dampné a mort et a essil pour l'estude que nous avons plus forment mis ou senat. O, moult sont ore de bonne merite, onques nus hons ne pot estre convaincu de semblable blasme. Du quel forfait cil meismes qui m'accuserent en virent la dignité et, pour ce que il la feissent oscure par la commixtion d'aucune felonnie, il me mistrent assus et mentirent que j'avoie ordaï (6ra) ma conscience par sacrilege pour couvoitise de dignité. Et certes tu neis, entee en nos, boutaies hors du siege de notre courage toute couvoitise des choses mortiex ne sacrileges n'avoit pas congé d'avoir lieu souz tes eulz. Car tu degoutoies chascul jour en mes oreilliez et en mes pensees icest commandement de Pitagoras: "L'en doit servir a dieu, non pas a diex." N'il ne couvenoit pas prendre aidez de tres vilz esperis, moy que tu ordenoies en ceste hautece que tu me feisses semblable a dieu. Outre cela, secree chambre nette et pure de notre maison, la compagnie de nos tres honnestes amis, et mis socres sainz et redoutables par son fait meismes,

110 le senat. Mais (a; in R a space is left blank for mais): b les senateurs; deservions . . . peres: BF³ ce meismes n'avions nous pas desservi des peres.

112-3 dire ou faire: P²A¹M faire ou d.

113 presente m'adrecoies (b): P¹C²R presentement adrecoies C¹BF³ presente men adrecoies; comme: BP³MD comment S quant.

114 glous: P²DS glorieus.

115 appareillast: P²DS appareilla.

116 sus a: P¹C²BR sus; com: P²DSA¹M ton A²P³ ta B si.

117 innocence: P²S ignorance; senat: BF³ senat et le blasme de la roial majesté; les chosez: b toutes les ch.

118 je (ne): P¹C² om.; nule: P¹C² nule maniere.

120-1 tu vois: P¹C² om.

121 je sui: P¹ inverted; paines: B paine F³ peine R poignes P²A¹M paiemens.

123 acordables: b acordans.

124-5 a touz m. h. douteuse: b douteuse a t. m. h.

125 n'en abessast aucuns: B nen sousmeist aucuns F³ nen s. auc. a pite.

126 sacrees (P¹C² secrees) mesons: b inverted F³ les eglises sacrees m.

127 avoir appareillie:P¹ appareillier.

128 et (rec.): b om.: et (conv.): b (except P²) ou; remeu (according to DS and Chaucer): C¹ est meu the other manuscripts esseus; loing (according to F³): the other manuscripts de loing.

129 pas: P¹C² om.

130 defense: B deffaute F³ deffaus; dampné: P¹C² om.

130-1 pour . . . senat: F³ pour le bien que j'ai fait au senat (superscript: pour l'estude que nous avons plus formant mis au s).

131-2 onques nus hons ne pot estre (corrected by editor): a onques nus (R: mes) d'eus ne p. e. F³B onques (B: o. mais) ne pot estre hons b nus homme ne pot onq. estre.

134 j'(avoie): P¹ om.

135 ordaié: S ordoiet R ordoilee BF³ conchicée.

133 toute: P² contre BF³ toutes (couvoitises).

137 des choses: P¹ de chose C² de choses.

133 souz: C² sus DS sur F³ devant; tes: P¹C² om. D tels; chascul jour: b tous les jours.

139 L'en . . . diex: P²DS om.

142 nos: P¹ nous.

143 honnestes: P¹C² h. et vrays; mis socres:

nous deffendent de toute soupeçon de cestui blasme. O, mes ceste felonnie,
 145 que il prennent de toi fai et creance de si grant blasme et leur est avis que
 nous avons esté *voisin* et conjoint a malefice, par ce meismes que nous
 sommes abevré de tes deceplines et de tes meurs enformés! Et ainsi il ne
 soufist pas que ta reverence me ait niant profité, se tu de ton gré ne soies plus
 puissament blasmee par mon courrouz. Mais certes a nos malz *s'aproiche*
 150 et se conjoint cist acrassement de malz que *li pris* et li juigement de pluseurs
n'atent pas ne ne regarde les merites des chosez, mais l'avenement de
 fortune, et juge celles choses tant seulement estre pourveues de dieu que
 bneureté recommande, c'est a dire que tant seulement sont faites bien et
 155 pourveablement les chosez que *li riche home loent et font*. Dom il avient
 que bonne presompcion, devant toutes chosez, delaisse les maleurés, c'est
 a dire que *nulz ne croit que pouvres homs soit preusdom*. Il me poise de
 remembrer quiez sont ores sus moy (6rb) les nouvelles du peuple et comme
 leur sentences en sont diverses et montepliees. Mais tant en di je que li
 derreniers fessaus de fortune perverse c'est que quant aucuns blasmes est
 160 mis assus as chetis, l'en croit que il aient deservi ce que il en seufrent.
 Et je qui sui boutéz hors de touz biens, despouillié de dignitéz, conchiéz de
 renommee, ai soufert tourment pour bien faire. Certes il m'est avis que je
 voy les pensees felonnesses et les cuers des felons hommes habundans de
 165 joie et de leesco, et voy que chascuns tres mauvais se appareille a trouver
 nouviaux baraz pour acuser les bons, et voy que les bons gisent acravanté
 pour la paour de notre peril, et voy chascun tourmenteur estre esmeu a oser
 felonnie par quittance de paine et a faire la pour loiers, et voy que li innocent
 ne sont pas tant seulement despouillié de seurté, mais neis de defension. Et
 pour ce me plaist il ainsi a escrier:

[METRE V.]

"O tu feseur de la roe qui porte les estoiles, que es apuiéz a ta chaere
 pardurable et tournoies le ciel par estourbillons ravissables et contrains les
 estoiles a soufrir leur lai si que la lune, aucune foiz luisant o ses plaines
 cornes contremise a toutes les flambes du solail, repoingne et occurcisse les

R mis ocores *P¹C²* mi socres *P²A²* mes s. *A¹*
 mes secrecs *S* mes sacres *D* secrecs *M* neis s.
 (neis *erased and corrected*) *P³* mon socre
BF³ mon outro (*F²*; et Simacus li peres ma
 fame qui est sainz hons et de grant rever-
 ence et mon outro sainz et redoutables par
 son fet meismes nous deffendent toute soupe-
 çon); son fait (*a*): b ses fes.

144 deffendent: b deffendoient.

144 O, mes ceste (accordng to *C¹*: o mais
 ceste): *P¹C²* o met ceste R ho mes ce est
B o mais cest *F³* o mes ce est *P²D* mes o ce
 est *P³A¹S* mais (*A¹:* mez) cest *M* mes
 ceste.

146 avons . . . nous: *P³A¹A²M om.*; malefice
 (*P¹C¹C²*): *BF³* mal office R mal fice *P²DS*
 malice *P³A¹A²M om.*.

147 de tes meurs enformés: b enfourmez de
 tes m.; ainsi (*a*: *C¹* ensi *C²* ainssin): b aussi.
 148 me ait: *F³* ne maist *D* ne me ait *S* a
 moy ne *P²M* n'ait *P²* ait.

151 atent (*a except BR*: atent): b entent.

151-2 mais . . . que: *P²* *om.*

151 avenement: *P¹* avement.

152-3 celles . . . recommande: inserted in
 the text according to b.

153 c'est a dire: added by editor.

153-4 que . . . font: b *om.*

154 pourveablement: *BRF³* profitablement;
 et: *F¹F³* ou.

155 delaisse: *P¹C²* laisse; maleurés: b ex-

cept *P²* maleureus (-eux) *B* maleurtez.

154-5 avient que . . . maleurés: *F³* av. que
 ce qui premierement lesse les maleureus ce
 est bonne opinion, que bonne presumption,
 etc.

157 sus: *F¹F³* seur *BP²DS* sur; comme:
P³A¹M comment.

158 leur: b*BF³* les.

159 fessaus: *F³* fessiaus *C²* faisiaus *F¹* fais-
 saus *P³A¹A²M* faissel (fessel); c'est que:
F¹DS c'est.

160 assus as: *P³A¹A²MS* sus aux *C¹BRF³* sus
 au *F¹* au.

161 conchiéz: *P³* ordoye.

163 cuers: *R* cours *P* tors *C¹* coers: des: *P¹*
om.; habundans: *P²DS* habunder *P³A¹A²M*
 habondez.

167 de paine: *P¹C²B* *om.*; la pour: *DS* le
 paour pour.

METRE V.

1 feseur: *A³* faiseurs *A²C²* faisours *P²P¹D-*
C¹F³R faiserres (fe-) *F¹* li fesirres *S* faiser-
 res *B* faiserresse; apuiéz: *P¹* espries *F¹P²S*
 apoiez *C¹* apoijes; a: *P¹F¹* en.

3 o: *P¹* a.

4 contremise: *P¹B* contremisez; repoingne
 et occurcisse: *B* repont et obscurcist *F³* res-
 ponu et obscurai ((wo d'ores sun 'est n' a)
 rescont respone b) resconde et obscurcisse
P⁴ reponra et obscura.

5 estoiles meneurs, et que elle, aucune foiz pale o ses cornes obscures quant est au plus pres du solail, perde ses clartez, et que l'estoille journal qui est apelee Hesperus quant elle nest au soir qui ou temps de la premiere nuit maine ses froides naissances en esté, mue derechief ses acoustumés cours et palist au matin en la naissance du soleil et lors est appelee Lucifer et c'est en yver. Tu restrainz le jour par plus brieve demeure en temps frot de yver qui (6va) fait cheoir les feueilles. Tu devises et eslongnes les ineles heures de la nuit quant li chaus estez est venus. Ta puissance atrempe le divers an si que Zephirus, li debonnairez vens, rapport en printemps les feueilles que li vent de bise tost en autompne et que les semences que Arcturus vit deviengnant haus bles que Sirius eschaufe et seche. Nule chose n'est desliee de sa loy ancienne ne ne laisse l'œuvre de son propre estat.

Tu gouverneur, gouvernanz toutez chosez par certain terme, refusez seulement *a gouverner* et a refrener par maniere bonne et digne les fez des hommes. Car pour quoy sueffres tu que fortune escoulouriable tourne si grans entrechangemens de chosez? Je voy que paine coupable, qui devroit punir les felons homes, punist les innocens et li mauvais, qui les meurs ont pervers, sieent en haulte chaere et li nuisant marchent a tort seur les colz des sains hommes. Vertu resplendissant naturellement en soy se tapist reposte en tenebres oscurez et porte li droituriers le blasme et la paine du felon. Ne li perjurement ne li baraz couvers de mençongiere couleur ne nuisent riens aus mauvais, mais quant il leur plaist a user de leurs forces, s'esjoissent il metre souz eus les souverains rois que tuit li peuple redoubtent.

O tu, quiconque tu es qui les alliances des choses anlaces, regarde doncques ja les chetives terres; nous hommes, qui sommes non mie vilz partie de si grant euvre, sommes tourmenté par la mer de fortune. Tu gouverneur, retrain et refraingne les ravissables floz et ferme les terres estables par celle alliance par quoy tu gouvernez le ciel grant sans mesure." (6vb).

5 pale: $P^1BRA^3P^4$ parle.
6-7 qui est apelee: $BRF^3A^3P^4$ om. DS que on appelle.

7 Hesperus: A^3 Espart; nest: F^3 nait P^2 vait the rest naist; soir: A^3BF^3 jour.

8 maine: DS fait P^3A^3 om.; naissances: P^1C^2 necessances A^1A^2 naistenses; en esté: A^3C^1 en ceste b et; mue: A^3 vie S remuet.

9 en: R a b par; naissance: P^1 necessance A^1 naistense P^3M naissance; apelee: P^1D apele.

9-10 et . . . yver: A^3P^4R et naist en i. B et va en yver F^3 et vait devant b om.

10-11 Tu . . . yver (according to F¹): P^1C^2 om.

11 eslongnes: $C^2F^4BRA^3P^4$ aloignes (alongnes) C¹ alonges F^3 om. b abreges.

12 ineles: C^2F^4M isneles D inieles BRP^3 vieilles P⁴ vies les F³ ignelles vielles S froides C¹ males A² om.; heures: P^1 euures C² ouures C¹ oeres D eures.

13 an si: A^3 aussi; rapport (P^1C^2R): BC^1F^1 $F^3A^3P^4$ raporte b apote.

14 tost ($P^1C^2P^2A^1$): $BRF^3P^3A^2M$ toult (tolt) C¹DS taut F¹ tout A³P⁴ om.

15 haus bles (BRF^1A^3D): P^1 haublez C²MSP⁴ haulz (-s, -x) bles $P^2F^3A^3$ haut bles P³ aux bles.

16 ancienne: A³P⁴ anciennement.

18 gouverneur: C² gouvernours BC¹F³S gouvernerez (-eres) F¹RP² gouvernières D

gouvernerez A³ gouvernes et.

20 escoulouriable ($P^1C^1C^2$): F^1F^2 escoloriable B escoulourable R escoulorgable P^2DS escoulourable A¹M estaloriable A³ escaloriable P⁴ escalouriable A² escaloria P³ si variabile.

21 coupable: $P^3A^1A^2M$ coupnable P² courable F¹R corparable B¹F²A³P⁴ commune.

22 les meurs ont: b inverted.

23 a tort: BRA^3P^4 om.

24 resplendissant: P^1 replendissant.

27 a: added according to R and according to Prose IV, l. 169; s'esjoissent il: b inverted BRF^3 si s'esjoissent C¹ s'esj.; metre (P¹C²F¹) the rest a metre.

28 les: P¹ li.

29 O tu . . . re (-garde): A² om.; tu es: D teis es S telz es; alliances: F³ aleances A³P⁴ alieches B aleges; anlaces: B enlacees A³M enlacees P⁴ enlacez C¹ en lachent; regarde: A³ regardes C¹ regardent.

29-30 doncques ja: b inverted F¹A² doncques. 30 vilz: P²DS vil P³A¹A²M vile.

32 retrain: C² retrans F¹ retrain F²S retrans P⁴ retrans P³A¹A²M retrans P² respraign B¹A² repren D reprens C¹ repreng; refraingne (P¹C²): F¹P²D refraine P⁴ refraignes R refreigne P³A¹A²M refrene B refrenes F³ refraing A³ refrains C¹ refraig S om.; ferme: P¹A³ fermes.

33 sans: A⁴P⁴ par.

[PROSE V.]

Puis que je oi dit ces chosez en breant par continuee douleur a guise de chien abiant, elle o son voulت pesible et neant esmeue par mes complaintes dist: "Comme je t'eusse veu triste et pleurant, je connui tantost que tu estoies chetis et exilliiez. Mais je ne savoie pas combien lointieus fust cist exilz, se 5 ta parole ne le m'eust monstré. Mais certes tu n'es pas moult loing boutéz hors de ton pais, mais tu as failli. Et se tu veulz mieux cuider que tu en soies hors boutéz, tu meismes t'en as boutéz hors mieux que autres, car nulz fors que tu ne peust onques avoir ce fait de toi. Car se tu te remembres de quel pais tu as esté nez, il n'est pas gouvernés par empire *ne par* 10 commandement de multitude, si comme fu jadis li pais des Atheniensiens, mais un seul en est sires, c'est *un dieu* qui s'esjoist du hanteiz *et de la demourance* de ses citeiens, non pas de bouter les hors en exil; et est souveraine franchise de estre gouverné par les frains de celui et obeir a sa justice. As *tu donques oublie ou ne sces* tu pas celle tres ancienne loy 15 de ta cité par la quelle il est jugiés que quiconques voudra mieux ileuc fonder son siege *et sa maison que ailleurs*, il n'en a pooir de estre exilliiez? Car qui ou paliz et ou garnissement de celle cité est contenuz, il n'a nul paour que il deserve a estre exilliiez. Mais qui laissera le vouloir de habiter dedens, il laisse aussi tost a deservir qu'il n'en puisse estre 20 exilliiez. Si que la face de ce lieu ne me esmeut pas tant comme la teue face ne je ne requier pas mieux les paraiz de t'aumaire *ou de ta chambre* aournees de yvoire et de voirre que je faiz le siege de ta pensee en (7ra) la quelle je mis jadis non mie livres, mes ce qui fait les livres precieus, c'est a savoir les sentences de mes livres. Et certes de tes merites mises ou bien 25 commun tu en as dit verité, mais selonc la multitude de tes fais tu en as pou dit. De honesté ou de la fausseté des chosez opposees contre toy as tu remembré chosez que tuit cognoissent. Des felonnes et des baraz de tes accusieurs te sembla il certes *bon et adroit* que tu entochasses briefment, pour ce que ces chosez sont celebrees *et loees* mieux et plus plenteureuseusement par la bouche du peuple recognoissant toutesz les chosez. Tu blasmas neis forment le fait des senateurs qui ne fu pas droituriers, et te douleus neis de nostre blasme et pleuras aussi les domages de ta renommee bleciee. Ta derreniere douleur s'eschaufa encontre fortune et te es complains que li loier ne sont pas igaument rendus aus merites. Ou derrenier de ta muse 30 forsenant, feis prieres que celle paix qui gouverne le ciel gouvernast aussi 35

PROSE V.

1 je oi: *F¹* je Boece oi *P³* j'eu *A¹A²* j'eu
M je eu S j'ay *BRF³* je t'ai.

2 o: *P¹* a.

3 et: *P¹C²* en.

4 lointieus: *S long tåps F³ loing the rest*
lointain (lointaing); fust: D ert S est.

5 moult: *DS trop.*

6 cuider: *P³A¹A²M* estre dit.

7 tu (ne): *P³A¹A²MB* toi; onques: *added*
according to F¹F³R; avoir ce fait: *P³A¹A²MC¹*
ce av. f.; de toi: *B* que toy *P¹C² om.*

8 tu (ne): *P¹C² Atheniensiens.*

9 il hanteiz: *C³ du haulteiz B du honteux*
C¹ del antis F¹ du h. et de la compagnie et.

10 ses: *P¹C² ces.*

11 franchise: b chose; les frains: R le fraing
BRF³ le frain; celui: *F³ iceluy B iceli P²P³A²-*

DS celu *F¹RC¹* cele.

12 ne sces tu pas: b non (*S om.*); ancienne:

S saintisme.

13 ne sces tu pas: b non (*S om.*); ancienne:
P¹ BRF³ il n'aura p. *P³A¹A²M* il ne puet.

14 ne sces tu pas: b non (*S om.*); ancienne:

S saintisme.

15 il n'en a pooir (*P¹C²F¹*): *P²DS* il n'a

p. BRF³ il n'aura p. *P³A¹A²M* il ne puet.

16-8 Car . . . exilliiez: *P² om.*

17 paliz: *A¹A²MC²* palaiz *C¹* pays; garnissement: b gouvernement.

18 paour: *B* pooir *F³* pouoir *P² om.* (*marginal*: honte ou doute).

19 laisse: b laissera; n'en: *P¹* ne.

20 je: *P¹DS om.*; *ou de ta chambre: b om.*

21 certes: b om.; de tes merites: *B* de tes merveilles et de tes m.; tes: *D* tels *S* ces; mises: *P¹C²* mis.

22 dit: b bien d.

23 des: *P¹* de ces; opposees: *P¹D* apposees.

24 tuit: *P¹* tu; de: *P¹C²* et de.

25 sembla il (*F³*): *C¹* sanla il *P¹C²* sembla bBR sembla il; bon: b bien; adroit: b (except *P³*) droit (*R*: bon certes et adr. *B*: certes bon seroit et adr. *P³*: c. bien adr. *A¹A²*: c. bien dr.); briefment: *P²* bonnement.

26 celebrees et loees: b inverted.

27 blasmas: *P¹C²* blasmes.

28 forment: b om.

29 aussi: *P¹* ainsi *C²* ainssin *S om.*

30 rendus: *P²* rendu.

31 gouvernast: *P¹* gouverne; aussi: *P¹* ainsi *C²* ainssin.

les terres. Et pour ce que pluseurs turbacions de desiriers t'ont assailli et douleur et ire et pleur te traignment diversement, si comme tu es ore de pensee faible, tu n'as encores mestiers de plus fors remedes. Or usons doncques d'un petit plus legiers pour ce que les plaies, qui par 40 perturbacions seurvenans sont endurcies en enfleure, se amolissent par plus souef atouchement a recevoir la force de plus aigre medecine."

[METRE VI.]

Quant li soleus est ou Cancre, cil qui lors baille largement ses semences aus chans qui les refusent a recevoir, aille s'en, deceuz de la fiance qu'il avoit en son blé, aus glans des chesnes. Se tu veulz (7rb) cuillir violettes, ne va jamés au bois vermeil quant li champ sont *roide* et hericié de froit 5 par les felons venteiz de aquilon. Se tu veulz user de grapes de roisins, ne va pas contraindre par gloute main les ceps de vingne en prin temps: Bachus *li diex des vins* a miex donné ses dons a autompne *que a yverz*. Dieux seigne les temps et les ajouste a leur propres offices; ne ne sueffre pas que les fais qu'il a refrenees soient entremellees. Ainsi ce qui delaisse 10 ordre certaine par trop isnele voie ne vient pas a bonne fin.

[PROSE VI.]

"Premierement, doncques, me souffreras tu a atouchier par pou de demandes l'estat de ta pensee pour ce que je entende quiex sera la maniere de ta curacion?" "Tu," dis je, "demande moy ce que tu voudras, si comme a homme prest de respondre". Lors dist elle: "Cuides tu que cist mondes 5 soit gouvernez par cas fols et fortuniez, ou cuides tu que il i ait nul gouvernement de raison?" "Certes," dis je, "je ne cuideroie en nule maniere que si certaines chosez fussent meues par fortunele folie; aincies sai que dieux li feseur est maistres et gouverneur de son euvre, ne jamais ne sera nus jours qui me boute hors de la verité de ceste sentence". 10 "Ainsi est", dist elle; "car ce meismes chantas tu un pou devant et pleuras de ce que li hommes tant seulement estoient hors de la cure de dieu. Car de ces autres chosez que eles ne fussent par raison gouvernees n'estoies tu de riens esmeuz. Mais forment me merveil pour quoi tu es malades puis que tu es mis en si salvable sentence. Mais encerchons plus hault; car je

36 turbacions (P¹C²R): *B* troublacions C¹t'bations b tribulacions.

37 et pleur: b om.; traignment (*corrected from craignement*): C² crainent C¹ trainent BR trainet b trahinent (*S* traient).

41 souef: b legier.

METRE VI.

1 cil: P¹C² om. B ceulz; baillie (P¹C²R): *P*¹ a baillie *B* ont baillie A³ abille b bailla.

2 aus chans: P¹ au chans; s'en: R sens D sent S sont; deceuz: A³P⁴ de ceulx.

3 aus glans des chesnes (b): P¹ ou glandes chesnes C² ou glandes de chesnes C¹ angles (i.e. au glés) BRA³P⁴ aux glandes des chesnes.

4 jamés: b pas; hericié: P¹ herite C² heritez C¹ hyreciet.

5 felon venteiz: A³P⁴B felonnetes.

7 Bachus ... yverz: P³ om.; autompne: C² amptonne M antonne C¹ antoine; a yverz (a): b au prins temps.

8 sueffre: P¹C² seust.

9 Ainsi (according to BC²): the rest aussi; ce (P¹C²BR): P²P³A² cil A¹M cilz C¹ chieuls DS que.

10 isnele (P¹C²): P² isnele (?) R uiele BC¹P³P⁴A² male A¹A²MDS mole.

PROSE VI.

1 tu: b om.

2 quiex sera: b om.

3 fois: F: foux M faux A¹ fos P¹C²P² fors (P² corrected by another hand to fois) BR felons: i: P¹C²R om.

7 meues: b (except P²M) C²B menees; fortunele folie (aP²): DS fortuneles follies A¹A²M fortune folie P² fole fortune; aincies (F¹): P¹ ainsiez BRP³A¹A²M aincois DS ainciois C² aincrois P² aincis C¹ anchrois.

8 feseur: C² faisours F¹ fesierres C¹RP²DS faisirres.

10 "Ainsi est," dist elle (a, except C¹): P² ainsi est il d. e. P²A¹A²MDS aussi dist elle est il C¹ ensi dist elle; devant: b ci d.

11 la cure: F¹ om.

13 es (mal.): P¹ gis C² yes.

14 salvable: b sauvable (A¹A² sannable) BC¹ sauvable R vaillable; encerchons: P² enquerons C¹ alons encerquier; hault: P³A¹A²M om.

14-5 car je cuide (B: cuidoie) bien savoir ce qui (B: qu'il) te faut (a): b je apercoif bien qu'il te faut je ne sce quoi.

15 cuide bien savoir ce qui te faut. Mais di moy, puis que tu ne dou- (*7va*) tes pas que cist mondes ne soit gouvernéz par dieu, aparceus neis par quiex gouvernaus il est gouvernéz?"

"Je cognois", dis je, "a paine la sentence de ta demande, si que je ne puisse pas respondre a tes enquestes". "Je ne sui pas", dist elle, "deceue 20 qu'il ne te faille aucune chose par quoy maladie de perturbacions est entree dedens ton courage, aussi comme par la forteree du palis *derompue* et ouverte. Mais dis moy, te remembres tu quiex est la fins des chosez et a quel lieu tent l'entencion de toute nature?" "Je l'avoie jadis oi", dis je, "mais douleur *et pleur* a reboiché ma memoire". "Et ses tu dom toutez 25 chosez sont venues?" "Bien le sai", dis je, et respondi que diex est commencement de tout. "Et comment", dit elle, "puet ce estre fait, puis que tu cognois le commencement des chosez, que tu mescognosse quiex en est la fins? Mais itiex sont les costumes des perturbacions; ce pooir ont elles qu'elles peuent mouvoir homme de son lieu, mais arrachier le du tout et lui tout estreper a soy meismes ne peuent elles pas. Mais je 30 voudroie que tu me respondisseez a ce: te remembres tu que tu soies hom?"

"Pour quoi", dis je, "ne m'en remembreroit il?" "Pourras me tu donques dire quel est hom?" "Me demandez tu ce: ne sai je bien que je suis beste raisonnable et mortel? Ce sai je bien et bien recognois que je le 35 sui." Et lors dist elle: "*En as tu plus seu?* Sces tu que tu soies nule autre chose?" "Nenin."

"Or sai je", dist elle, "autre cause et neis tres grant de ta maladie. Tu as laissié a cognostre qui tu es. Par quoy je ai tres plainement trouvé ou (*7vb*) la raison de ta maladie ou l'entree de recouvrer ta santé. Car 40 pour ce que tu es confundus par l'oubliance de toi meismes, pour ce es tu douluz de estre exilléz et de estre despoilliéz de touz tes biens. Mais pour ce que tu mescognos quiex est la fin des chosez, pour ce cuides tu *et juges* que li felon homme et mauvais *et desleal* soient puissant et beneuré. Et pour ce que tu as oublié par quiex gouvernaus est gouvernés li mondes, 45 par ce cuidez tu que ces mutacions de fortunes flotent sens gouverneur. Grans sont ces causez non pas tant seulement a maladie, mais certes a mort. Mais je rens graces au feseur de santé de ce que nature ne t'a pas du tout delaissié. Nous avons grant norrissement de ton salut—c'est la vraie sentence du gouvernement du monde—pour ce que tu cres que cil 50 gouvernement soit sommis non pas a la folie des cas aventurex mais a divine

15 doutes: *b* cuides.

16 aparceus (*correction of P¹C²*: et par ceus): *the rest apercois.*

17 gouvernaus (*correct'on of P¹C²*: -ans): *BP²DS* gouvernemens *C⁴R* gouvenemens *P³A¹A²M* (quel) gouvernement

19 puisse pas (*P¹C²R*): *BC¹P²P³M* puis pas *A¹A²DS* puis.

21 dedens: *DS* en.

23 jadis oi", dis je: *P¹* ja dis je oi dire *BR* jadis oi dire.

24 reboiché (*P¹C²*): *RP²P³D* rebouchiee *A¹A²M* rebouchee *BC¹* reboutee *S* reblonchie (?).

25 chosez: *b* ces ch.

27 mescognosse: *P¹C²D* mescognos *C¹* ne cognois; en: *P¹C² om.*

30 estreper: *DS* extirper *M* attraper *B* estre puet; meismes: *P³A¹A²M om.*; ne peuent: *P¹C²* ce ne p.; elles: *P¹* elle.

32 "Pourras me tu: *P¹p.* tu me *BA²* me p. tu.

33 "Me demandez tu ce: *F¹ om.* *C¹* pourquo non dis je; ce . . . sui: *F¹ Boece:* ce sai je bien que je sui *S* se je ne sai moy estre

P⁸ ce ne scai je bien et bien le recougnoiz que j. s.

33-5 que je . . . je bien: *A¹A²M om.*

34 beste raisonnable: *P⁹* homme rationnel.

34-5 ce . . . sui: *F¹P⁸ om.*

34 recognois: *P¹* cognois.

35 Et . . . seu: *F¹ om.*; Sces tu: *P⁸A¹A²M om.*; nule: *C²A¹A²MS* plus nulle *P⁸* plus.

36 "Nenin" (*P¹F¹*): *C²* nenni *C¹BRA¹MD* nennil (nenil) *A²P²* nanil *P⁸* nanil dis je *S* om.

38 tres (*F¹BRDSP²*): *P⁸A¹A²M* trop *P¹C²C¹* om.; plainement: *b* planteureusement.

40 es (conf.): *P¹C² om.*

42 mescognos: *P¹* mescogneus *S* ne cognois; est la fin des chosez: *b* (except *P⁸*) la f. des ch. est.

44 gouvernaus (*corrected from P¹C²*: -ans): *F¹BC¹PS* gouvernemens *RP²A¹A²MD* gouvernement; li *P⁸A¹A²MB* le *P¹* cist *C²* cest.

46 causez: *P²* chosez.

49 gouvernement: *P²DS* gouverneur; tu: *P¹C² om.*; cres (*corrected from P¹*: tres); the rest crois.

50 cas: *P¹* quas; divine (b): *a om.*

raison. Ne craimes donques riens; chaleur de vie sera ja luisant en toy de ceste tres petite estancele. Mais pour ce que li temps n'est pas encores venus aus plus fermez remedes et la nature des pensees est tele que toutes les fois que elles gettent les vraies opinions elles se vestent des fausses
 55 des quiex nest l'occurent de perturbacions confundans ycelui vrai regart, je assaierai a atenuraier la un petit par norrissemens soués et moiens, si que, les tenebres des decevans desiriers ostees, tu puissez cognostre la resplendisseur de vraie lumiere."

[METRE VII.]

Les estoilles repostes es noires nues ne peuvent espandre nule clarte. Se li troublable vens de ploigeau, tor- (8ra) noians la mer, y mesle l'ordure du fons, l'unde clere jadis comme vairres et semblable aus biaus jours serins, tantost ordailee par la boe resolute, empesche les veues. Et li
 5 fleuves qui diversement dequeurt es hautes montaignes s'areste souvent par l'estoupail d'une pierre cheant d'aucune roiche. Aussi se tu veulz a clers yeux regarder verite et tenir chemin par droit sentier, gar toy de joie et de douleur et de esperance et de paour. Tenebreuse est la pensee et liee de frains quant ces chosez y regnent.

[BOOK II.]

[PROSE I.]

Aprés ces chosez elle se tut un petit; et quant elle aperçut par atrempee tesance que je estoie bien ententis a li oir, elle commença ainsi a parler: "Se je ai cogneu du tout les causez et la maniere de ta maladie, tu te defaus par l'entalentement et par le desirier de ta premiere fortune. Icelle
 5 tant seulement muee, si comme tu fains a toy meismes, a mué l'estat de ton courage. Je entens les diverses *simulacions* et les couleures de celui monstre, c'est de *fortune*, et comment elle porte tres soueve familiarite et tres habondant amour a ceulz que elle s'esforce a decevoir jusques a tant que elle les confonde par douleur neant souffrable, ceulz que elle aura
 10 deguerpiz contre leur esperance. Et se tu remembres bien la nature, les meurs et la merite de li, tu cognostras que tu n'eus onques en cest siecle

51 craimes (P¹R): F¹ criemes C²B crains C¹ crieng P² doutes tu P³ te doubtes A¹M te double A²DS double; en (F¹b): a (except F¹) a.

52 estancele: *the other forms are estencele, estinchiele (DS).*

54 les (vraies): P¹C² om. C¹ leur.

54-5 des . . . per (perturbacions): b om. (S: instead of the cited passage: opinions ou).

56 assaierai: P¹C² asseliere; atenuraier (? P¹R): F¹ atenuaier A¹A²M atenurier S atenurier ou amenuisier P² attenuir P²B atennoier D atennenoier C¹ om. (C¹ je assaierai par tes voies par nourrissemens soues . . .); moiens (C¹b): P¹C²F¹ isneaus R ineus B meurs.

57 decevans: P¹C² faulz.

METRE VII.

1 repostes; A³ represent P² mucees; es: P¹C² et; noires nues: b inverted; nule: P²A¹A²M aucune.

2 ploigeau (F¹): P¹C² plaing eau B plu-
gieu R plouga P⁴ plongeu A³ plungenet et b (except P²) plugeul P² pluye C¹ pleue; tournoians (bF¹RP¹): C¹ en t. B tournans A² tournoient P¹C² detornanz; y mesle: C¹F¹ i

melle C² et mesle P² il melle R isnele BA²P¹ esveille P¹A¹A²M mesle DS merle.

3 biaus: S vrais.

4 ordaiee (-iee according to BR): P¹ ordaie

C² ordaiez F¹P²P³ ordioie C¹ ordoie et BRP².

A¹A²M ordoilee A³ il se ordit; resolute: P¹

resolute; veues: A³P⁴ vaines.

5 diversement: R durement; souvent: b om.

6 l'estoupail (F¹MS): A¹A² l'estopail

D l'estoupeil P¹C² le coupail R la copail P¹ le cöpail (*marginal:* le stoupal) BP⁴ le sous-
pirail A³ le souppiral C¹ le compas.

7 yeux: A³P⁴ jours; verite: R voiriete A³P¹
clerement et vrayment; gar (P¹F¹): *the rest* garde.

8 liee: DS loie.

BOOK II.

PROSE 1.

1 tut (C²R): P¹ tu B tust C¹F¹b (except P²) teut P² tot.

2 li: F¹ lie S lui P¹C²P³ le; commenga: P²A¹A²M en c.

3 te: DS om.

4 defaus: BRP²A²M defens; par l'ent. et: P²A¹A²M om.

5 tant seul.: b om.; si: P²A¹A²M om.

7 soueve: bC¹ souef.

nule bele chose ne riens bel n'i perdis. Mais, si comme je cuit, il ne me convient pas moult travaillier a faire toy remembrer de ces chosez. Car tu la soulaies assail- (8rb) lir par paroles de hommes *fors et roides*, neis 15 quant elle estoit presente et te flatait, et li coroies sus et *la despisiaies* par sentences tretes de nostre secré. Mais nule soudaine mutacion de chosez n'avient que li courage n'en saient aussi comme esmeu en aucune maniere; et ainsi a il esté fait que tu maismes te saies un petit departiz de la paix de ton courage.

20 Mais or est li temps venuz que il te convient boire et mengier aucune chose mole et delitable que, quant elle sera entree en tes entrailles, face voie aus plus fors medecines. Or soit donques o nous li amonnestement de la douceur de rethorique qui tant seulement vet lors droite voie, quant elle ne laisse pas nos establissemens. Et avec rethorique viegne musique, la 25 damoisele de nostre maison, qui nous chante vers aucune foiz plus legiers, aucune foiz plus pesans. Quele chose est ce donques, o tu homme, qui t'a getez en tristee et en pleur? Je croy que tu as veu aucune chose nouvelle et desacoustumee. Tu cuidez que fortune se soit muee envers toi; tu faus. Tiex sont touz jours ses meurs; tele est sa nature. Elle a miex gardé 30 envers toy sa propre estableté en ceste muance de soy meismes. Telle estoit elle quant elle te blandisoit et quant elle se joiait a toy *et te decevoit* par les allechemens de fausse beneureté. Or as tu cogneu le doubtable visage de la deesse avugle. Elle qui encore se queuvre aus autres a monstré soi meismes toute a toy. Se tu la loes, use de ses meurs et ne te complaing pas.

35 Se tu *ne la loes pas, ainçois la redoubtez et tiens* (8va) pour tricherresse, despiz la et gete loins de toy puis que elle deçoit ainsi les gens destruablement. Car elle qui est orendroit a toy cause de si grant doleur, elle meismes te deust lors estre cause de *leesce* et de pesibleté. Car elle t'a delessié n'il n'est nul homme qui puisse estre seurs que elle ne le delaisse.

40 Mais or me di, juges tu donques a precieuse beneuré qui s'en fuit? Et *cameras tu et tendras chiere la fortune présente qui n'est pas loyau ne seure de demorer et, quant elle s'en sera aleé, elle te metra en douleur?* Et se elle ne puet estre retenue selonc nostre volenté et nous fait chetis quant elle s'enfuit, quelle autre chose donques est fortune fuiable fors uns demonstremens de chetiveté a venir? Car il ne doit pas suffire a regarder ce qui est presentement assis devant les yeux; sage hom *regarde et mesure les fins des chosez*, et une meismez muableté de l'une fortune en l'autre fait et demonstre que nulz ne doit redoubter les menaces de fortune ne desirier ses blandices. Au derrenier il convient que tu seufres par igal courage toutes 45 les choses qui aviennt en cest monde, puis que tu as mis ton col une foiz souz le jou de *sa cherue*. Mais se tu veulz mettre lai de demourer et de aler a fortune que tu as prise de ton gré pour estre ta dame, ne li feras tu mie tort et la feras tu estre aigre encontre toi par ta non-souffrance, ne n'as 50 pooir de li muer?

12 riens: b onques r.; bel: BR bon; n'i:
F'C² ne.
13 moult: b trop.
14 paroles de hommes: C'R p. de homme
b parole d'omme; roides: DS roit.
18 un petit departiz: bR inverted.
21 tes: P'C² om.
25 vers aucune foiz: bB auc. f. vers.
27-8 Je . . . desacoustumee: P² om.
28 toy: P'C² moy.
29 touz jours: S' toudis.
30 de: P'C² que de.
32 allechemens: P¹ alegemens.
33 tricherresse: S' tristesse.
36 despiz: M despise C¹ despite; et (gete):
P'C² om.: gens: D grans S gñs.

37 a toy: P²P'A'A²M om.
37-8 de si . . . cause: B om.
38 te deust lors estre (C'R): P¹ te d. estre lors A¹A²MS deust lors e. D' deust lors e. a toy C¹ te deust e. P² deust e. P² lors est B om.
39 nul homme: P¹ inverted B homme.
44 donques: P'C² om.; fuiable: C' finable M feable P² variable.
45 a venir: D avoir.
47 les fins: P'C² la fins.
51 sa: P'C²P² la; cherue: C¹ kerue the rest charrue; et: b ou.
53 aigre: C¹ engre; encontre: P'C² et contre C'BR contre P² et encontre; ta: P'C² om.; as: P'C² a.

- 55 Se tu mettoies tes vaiez aus vens, tu t'en yroies non pas la ou tu voudroies, mais la ou li vens te bouteroit. Se tu gettoies es chans tes semences, tu trouveroies en ta pensee les ans entreuz plantereuz et brahainz. Tu (8vb) as donné toi meismes a gouverner a Fortune; si convient que tu t'acordez aus meurs de ta dame. Te efforces tu a retenir le cours isnel de sa roe
 60 tournant? O tu li tres fols de touz les mortiex hommes, se elle commence a estre estable, elle delaisse a estre Fortune."

[METRE I.]

Quant elle a tourné ses muances par sa destre orgueilleuse et est portee ainsi comme se porte Eurupus esboillans—c'est un naturex cours marins qui ores receipt les ondes de la mer et ores les revomist hors—elle felonnesse defoule et confont les rois redoutables jadis et est si decevable que elle acravante les vainqueurs et relieve humble voulut du vaincu. Ne elle ne veult oir ne ne cure les chetis pleurs et est si dure que elle escharnist les plains et les gemissemens que elle leur a fais de son gré. Ainsi se jeuе elle; ainsi espreuve elle ses forces et monstre grant miracle a ceulz qui l'aiment, quant aucuns est veuz beneuréz et mescheans en une meismes heure.

[PROSE II.]

Certes, je voudroie pledier un petit avec toi en usant des paroles de Fortune meismes. Regarde doncques tu meismes, savoir mon, se elle requiert droit. "O tu homme, pour quoy me blasmes tu et fais coupable chascun jour par tes complaintes? Quel tort t'avons nous fait? Quiex bien 5 t'avons nous toluz qui tiens fussent? Estrate avec moy devant quelconques juge que tu voudras de la possession des richesses et des dignitez. Et se tu pues monstrer que aucun des mortiex hommes ait riens propre en ces chosez, je te otroieré ja de mon gré que les chosez que tu requiers ont esté teues. Quant (9ra) nature te trest hors du ventre de ta mere, je te reçui 10 nu et souffreteus de toutez chosez et te norri de mes richesses et fui plus ententivement encline par ma grace a toy soustenir, par la quelle chose tu es ores rebelles et sans pacience encontre moy; je t'avironné de l'abondance et de la resplendisseur de touz les biens qui sont de mon droit. Or me plaist a retraire ma main. Je t'ai fait grace quant tu as usé des chosez 15 estranges; tu n'as pas droit de toy plaindre ainsi comme se tu eusses perdu tes chosez du tout. Pour quoi te plains tu doncques? Je ne t'ai fait nulle violence ne nul tort. Richesses, honneurs, dignitez et puissances et ces autres

55 tes: *P¹* ces *C²* ses.

56 bouteroit: *b* bouteroient.

57 trouveroies en ta pensee: *P³A¹A²M* compenseseroies; entreuz: *P²DS om.* *P³A¹A²M after* brahains.

58 si: *C'BRB il.*

60 tres: *b* plus tres; fols: *P¹C²* fors *C¹* fo s (with an erasure).

61 delaisse: *bC¹* delaissera.

METRE 1.

2 Eurupus: *A³P⁴* en rupus; esboillans (*BP²*): *D* esboillans *RS* esbouillans *P³A¹A²M⁴C* esboullant (-ans) *A³* et boulants *P¹C²* escoulanz; cours: *C³* tours *P³A¹A²MD* corps *P²* cors.

4 defoule: *P¹* deboute.

7 plains: *P¹* pains.

8 et . . . aiment: *P²DS om.*; miracle: *BP⁴*

om.; a ceulz: *A³P⁴* asseus *B* assaux (*A³P⁴*: et demostre si grans asseus qui).

PROSE II.

1 voudroie: *P¹* v. bien.

2 Regarde . . . meismes: *P¹C²* *om.*; savoir

mon: *S* s. moult *P³A¹A²M* *om.*

3 "O tu: *P¹C²* o.

6 possession: *P¹C²* puissance.

9 te (trest): *P¹* ce.

11 encline: *b* (except D) enclinee; a; *P¹C²* de.

12 ores: *P²DS om.* *B* maintenant.

16 t'ai: *P¹C²* te.

17 honneurs: *R* om.

17-8 honneurs . . . chosez: *A¹A²M* *om.*

17 dignitez: *P²DS om.*; et: *C'BR om.*; dign. et puissances: *P³* *om.*; ces autres: *P³* toutes.

chosez telles sont de mon droit. Mes chamberierez cognoissent leur dame; elles viennent avec moy et, quant je me depart, elles se departent. Je ose
20 bien hardiement afermer que, se les chosez dom tu te plains que tu les as perdues eussent onques esté teues, tu ne les eusses onques perdues en nulle maniere. Serai je donques deveee toute seule de user de mon droit?

Li cielx a bien *pooir* et lesir de faire les jours *biaus* et *clers* et de de respondre les en nuiz tenebreusez. Li ans a bien lesir de aourner le voulx
25 de la terre aucune foiz de fleurs, aucune foiz de blez et de confundre le aucune fois de pluiez et de froiz. La mer a bien droit et *lesir* de estre aucune foiz soueve et plaine et de soi hericer aucune fois de floz et de tempestes. Mais la couvoitise des hommes, qui ne puet estre accomplit, nous liera
30 elle, *moy et mes chamberieres*, a ce que nous soions *fermes et estables* comme establete soit estrange a nos meurs? Telle est nostre force; de ce jeu jouons nous continualment; nous (9rb) tournons une roe par rondece tournable, nous nous esjoissons a muer les basses chosez es hautes et les hautes es basses. Monte s'il te plaist, mes que ce soit par celle lai que tu ne cuides pas que je te face tort se tu descens quant la raison de mon jeu
35 le requerra. Ne cognoissoies tu pas donques mes meurs? Ne savoies tu pas comme Cresus, le roi des Lidians, qui fu si redoutable un pou devant au roi Cirus, qui puis tantost le prist chetif et l'envia ardoir au feu, quant la pluie descendant du ciel l'en deffendi? Et ne es tu pas remembrant comme Paulus, quant il ot pris le roi de Perse, plora piteusement pour les
40 chetivetez de celui? Et quelle autre chose pleure li cris des tragedies fors seulement comme fortune tourne les riches royaumes par coup despourveu? N'as tu apris, des lors que tu fus enfés et *jeunes*, que dui tonnel dont li uns est plains de mal et li autres plains de bien, gisent ou sueil, *c'est a dire en l'entree de la meson Jupiter*? Que pues tu plaindre se tu as pris plus
45 plenteureusement de la partie de mes biens? Et quoy avec, se je ne me sui pas toute departie de toi? Et quoy encores, se ceste moie muableté te donne droite cause de esperance de meilleurs chosez avoir? Et toutevoyes pour ce que li cuers ne te faille, tu qui es mis dedens le royaume commun a touz,
c'est ou royaume de fortune, veulz tu vivre selonc ton propre droit?

[METRE II.]

Se l'abundance, *la deesse des richeces*, donnoit aus hommes a plaine corne sans retraire sa main autant (9va) de richeces comme la mer tournoie poudres de graveles quant elle est esmeue par ravissable vent, ou autant

18 leur dame: *P¹B* leurs dames *C¹* leur dames.

19 elles se departent: *P¹* elle se depart.

19-20 Je ose . . . afermer: *B* je eusse . . . aferme.

20-1 que . . . perdues: *P¹C² om.*

22 deveee: *A¹A²M* deuee *P²DS* desvoie *P³* denye *C¹* desuable *BR* desusasse (*these latter read se je for serai*).

23 de (resp.): *b* (except *P³*) *om.*

24 respondre (DR: repondre) les: *P⁴* les nuces; en: *b* es (*B*: enuis des tenebres *C¹* enmis tenebres *M* es nues t-ses).

25-6 blez . . . de (pluiez): *DS* *om.*

25 le: *P¹* les.

27 soueve: *b* (except *M*) souef.

29 *moy et mes chamberieres*: *b om.* *B moy et mes chaierenes et mes chamberieres.*

33 mes . . . soit: *P¹C² om.*; celle (*P¹C²P²*): *b* (except *A¹P²*) *BR* tele *C¹A¹ tel*; lai: *P¹C²* *la.*

36 pas: *P¹C²* pas donques; comme: *C¹BR-P²A¹DS* comment; le . . . Lidians: *b om.* *C¹*

li roys des dyaus; si: *b om.*; redoutable: *P³* redoubte.

37 Cirus: *C¹* Cyrus *BR* Syrus *P³A¹A²M* Tyrus; chetif: *P¹A¹A²M* *om.* *B* chetif (BR: qui puis le chetif prist tantost); au feu (*BCP³A¹A²*): *P¹C²* en feus *P²DR* as feus *MS* aux feux (fus).

40 des tragedies: *b* des tragediens *R* des strange dieus.

41 riches: *P¹C²* r. et.

42 as tu: *b* as tu pas; enfés et *jeunes*: *P³A²* enfant jeune *P²enfes*; dont: *P¹C²P² om.*

43 gisent; *b* sient (*M* seent *D* sient); gisent ou sueil: *BR* *om.*

44-5 en l': *C²BADS* a l' *P³* ou.

45 de mes: *b* des.

METRE II.

1 Se: *P²* de *C¹P⁴* ne; *la deesse*: *P¹* la de laissie *DS* *om.* *P²* dame fortune (*superscript*: ou dame copie sc. habondance appellee la deesse; *marginal in another hand*: la deesse); donnoit: *P¹C²* donnant *B* donnans.

3 ravissable: *P¹* raviable.

comme il resplendist ou ciel des estoilles luisans par les cleres nuiz, ja pour
 5 ce ne laisseroit li lignages des hommes a pleurer ses chetives complaintes.
 Et ja soit ce que diex recoive volentiers leurs prieres et leur doint comme
 fol-larges moult grant moncel d'or et aourne leurs couvoitises de noblez
 honneurs, si leur semblera il que il n'ont encores riens aquis, mais leur
 10 cruele rapine devoranz les chosez aquises euvre encores sa gueule et ses
 girons et bee a plus avoir d'autre part. Quiex frains pourroient jamés
 retenir par certaine fin la couvoitise des hommes qui ne puet estre accomplie?
 Que, quant elle plus dequeurt de larges dons, de tant art plus en sus li
 desiriers de avoir. Certes nus homs n'est onques vivant riches qui tremble
 et gemist et cuide touz jours estre povres et souffreteur.

[PROSE III.]

Se Fortune donques parloit ainsi a toy pour soy, certainement tu n'auroies
 riens que tu peusses dire encontre; ou se tu as riens par quoy tu puisses
 par droit ta complainte deffendre, il convient que tu le dies. Nous te
 dorrons lieu de dire." Lors dis je: "Certainement beles sont ces chosez et
 5 sont aournees et enointes du miel de la douceur de rethorique et de musique;
 et tant dis comme elles sont oies, tant seulement delitent. Mais li chetis
 sentent plus hautement leurs maulz que leurs deliz. Si que, quant ces
 chosez cessent de sonner (9vb) en mes oreilles, la douleur qui s'est embatue
 dedens mon courage le confont et li fait le delit oublier."

10 "Ainsi est", dist elle. "Mais ce ne sont pas li remede de ta maladie, mais
 ce sont aucuns norrissemens contre la curation de ta douleur encores
 orgueilleuse. Car, quant il sera temps, je ti ajusteray les chosez qui te
 tresperceront plus en parfont. Mais toutevois, pour ce que tu ne vueillez
 15 cuidier que tu soies chetis, as tu donques oublié le nombre et la maniere
 de ta bemeurte? Je me tes de ce que, quant tu fus orphelins de pere et de
 mere, il plus noble homme de la cite te reçurent en leur garde et fus acueilli
 en l'affinité et en la priveté des princes de la cité, et leur commenças avant
 a estre chiers que prochiens, la quelle chose est la plus precieuse maniere de
 20 prochaineté qui soit. Et de rechief qui fu cil qui ne te tint et preescha pour
 tres bemeuré, quant tu fus en si grant honesté de socres et d'amis et eus
 si preude fame et si chaste, et la joie que tu eus de tes enfans malles? Et
 pour ce que il me plaist a trespasser les communes chosez, je me tais encores
 25 de ce que tu receus en ta jeunece les dignitéz et les honneurs qui estoient
 deniees aus viellars et me delite en venir au sengle comblement de ta
 bemeurte. Se aucun frui des chosez mortiex puet avoir aucun pois ou
 quelque valeur de bemeurte, pourras tu oublier, pour nulz faiz de maulz qui

5 chetives: P¹C² om.

7 fol-larges: C¹P²A³ fols larges B foulz
 larges P³ foul large A¹A² fol large S follargue
 D fas larghe P⁴ larges folz.

8 semblera il: P¹C² semblera; ont: BC¹
 aient; (b semb. il encore qu'il n'ont . . .).

10 Quiex frains: P¹C² et q. f. P⁴ quelz
 homes; pourroient (b): P¹C² porront C¹BRP¹
 pourroit (subject: quel frain).

12 plus dequeurt: b (except P³) inverted
 A³P⁴ p. decourt C¹ p. dekeure P³ dequeurt;
 art: P¹ art elle.

13 tremble: P¹C² ne tr.

PROSE III.

2 encontre: DS au contraire.

3 par droit: b om.

5 du miel de la: b de miel et de la.

6 tant dis comme: BRB (except DS) tandis
 c. DS toudis c. C¹ endemtiers que.

8 s'est: bB est C² cest; embatue: A abbatue

B enbaumee.

9 le conf. et: P² om.

13 plus: bR om.; ne: P¹B om.

15 que: P¹C² car; Je me tes: B souviegne
 toy.

16 homme: P¹C²P² om.

17-8 et . . . prochiens: B om.

17 leur: b lors; avant: C¹ avoec b plus tost.

19 ne te tint: C²P² ne tint B ne tente.

20 d' (amis): P¹C² om.

21 enfans: P¹C² deuz enf.

24 deniees: P¹ donnees C² doulices M deues
 (erasure; the letters ues are of a more recent
 hand); en: B de b (except P²) a: au sengle
 (BR): P¹C²P² en s. C¹D au sangle P³A¹M
 au singulier S a la singulere; comblement:
 S acombelement D acromblement B acomplis-
 semet.

25 puet: P²DS peust; pois (Rb): BC¹ pouir
 P¹C² pou.

t'aviennent combien qu'il soit grans, la remembrance d'ycelui jour, c'est a savoir quant tu veis tes deuz filz, faiz conseilliers, issir ensemble de ta maison avec l'asem- (10ra) blee des peres et la leesce du peuple et quant il furent assis ou lieu commun en la cort es siegez de leurs dignitéz? Tu, qui fus lors annoncierres et prechierres de la loenge du roy, deservis gloire et renommee de engin et de parole! Ce fu quant tu te sez ou milieu de deuz conseilleurs et saoulas la multitude du peuple, atendant entour toy, de si large loenge comme on seult chanter aus victores. Je cuit que tu as deceue Fortune quant elle te flaté et blandist et t'asouagé ainsi, quant elle te norrist si deliteusement. Tu en as porté de elle tel don et telle beneurté que elle n'en avoit onques presté nul tel a nulle personne privee. Veulz tu donques conter a Fortune? Elle t'a ore premierement un petit regardé de mal euil. Se tu regardez bien le nombre et la maniere de tes leescses et de tes tristeces, encores ne pues tu pas nier que tu ne soies beneuréz. Et se tu cuidez que tu ne soies pas beneuréz pour ce que les chosez qui lors te sembloient estre liees et joieusez s'en sont alees, il n'est riens pour quoy tu doies cuidier estre chetis, car les chosez qui ores te semblent estre tristes s'en vont et trespassent ainsi.

45 Es tu ores premierement venus soudainz et hostes en la cortine et en l'ombre de ceste vie? Et cuidez tu que il ait point de estableté es chosez humaines, comme souvent en une heure isnele est homme meismes depeciéz et destruiz, c'est quant l'ame se depart du corps? Car se Fortune est neis estable et loyaus au mains aus beneuréz, la quelle chose a- (10vb) vient a tart, toutevois li darreniers jours de leur vie est une maniere de mort de Fortune, neis de celle qui a esté estable et parmanant. Quelle difference cuidez tu donques qu'il ait? Car ou tu la laisseras en mourant ou elle te laissera en fuiant.

[METRE III.]

Quant li soleuz commence a espandre sa clarté par l'air, les estoilles deviennent palez et reboucheez de leurs biautéz pour la clarté du soleil qui les estaint. Quant li bois est biaus et couloréz de rosez de prin temps par le doulz vent Zephyrus, se li occurs vens Auster vente felonnessement, la biauté des espinez s'en ira tantost. La mer est souvent clere par serine pesibleté sens esmouvement de floz; Aquilo li horrible vent y esmuet souvent tempestes esbouillans et tourne la mer ce desus desouz.

Se la forme du monde est ainsi a tart estable, se elle se trestorne par tant de muances, te veulz tu fier es fortunes muables des hommes, veulz tu

28 tes: P¹ des.31 et prechierres (P¹C¹R; C² et prescheurs): bB om. (B tu qui anoncas lo loenge du roi).32 te: bBC² om.

33 atendant (bR): a (except R) en tentant.

35 blandist et t': bB om.

36 deliteusement: bBR¹ delicieusement.

36-7 Tu . . . privee: S om.

36 (de) elle: BRb (except A²M) li A²M lui.37 nul . . . privee: P¹C² om.

38 premierement: b om.

41 lors te: BR om. P² leur te; te: Cb (except P²) om.42 sembloient: C¹ ressamblient (i.e. te samb); tu: P¹ om.43 doies cuidier: C² dois c. B cuides; estre tristes: P¹ tristes estrez C¹ tristes.44 ainsi: C¹P²A¹A²M aussi.45 Es tu . . . venus: P¹ et tu . . . ueus estre C² es tu . . . estre ueuz.46 ombre: CBRb (except PD) ombrage PD ombragete; ait: P²DS y ait.47 humaines: DS mondaines; est: P¹ et; homme: P²DS un h.48 After corps there is a second gloss in P¹C²: donques se fortune qui ne dure gueres pouait demourer au meins a la mort s'enfuirroit elle.50 a tart: P¹ a tart.

METRE III.

11'air: A¹P⁴ om.2 reboucheez: P¹ -chez; leurs biautéz pour: A³P⁴R om.5 souvent clere: P¹C² inverted; par serine (RP¹A¹A²A³M): C¹C²P²DS par ferme P¹ par au ferme (P¹ is damaged at this spot).7 esbouillans (R): P¹C² om.; ee: A³ sans: desus desouz: A³P⁴ inverted C¹ desous desseure.8 forme: P¹C²P²DS fortune.

- 10 mettre ta creance es biens fuitis? Certaine chose est et estable par loy pardurable que nulle chose engendree ne soit estable.

[PROSE IV.]

Lors dis je: "Tu, norrice de toutez vertuz, racontez veritez ne je ne puis nier que ma beneurté n'ait eu cours tres isnel. Mes ce qu'il m'en remembre, c'est la chose qui plus desveement me tourmente. Car en toute la diverse contrariete de fortune la tres maleureuse maniere de toutez les maleurtéz

- 5 est avoir esté beneureus." "Mais ce que tu", dist elle, "comperes le tourment de fausse opinion, c'est que tu cuidez avoir esté beneureuz, ce ne puest tu mie par droit mettre sus aus chosez. (10va) Car se cist vains nons de fortunele beneurté te meut, conte avec moy de tes beneurtéz, tu en as bien loisir, lors verras que encors habondez tu de pluseurs beneurtéz et de tres grans. Se tu as doncques encore par la grace de dieu tout entier et sans apeticier ce que tu avoies tres precieus en tout le chastel de toutez tes richeces, te pourras tu par droit plaindre de maleurté, puis que tu retiens encors toutesz les meilleures chosez que tu eusses onques?

- Certez encors vit sains et haitiez cil qui est la tres precieuse honneur du 15 lignage humain, Simachus tes socres, hom qui touz est faiz de sapience et de vertuz. Cestui n'achateroiez tu pas moins chier de ta vie meismes; il est seurs de ces injurez—car nul ne li fait tort—it se deult des tors qu'on te fait. Encors vit ta fame atrempee d'engin et seurloee de l'onner de chasteet, et, pour ce que je encloe briefment toutesz ses bontez, elle est semblable a 20 son pere. Elle vit, ce te di je bien, haineuse de ceste vie et te garde tant seulement son esperit et default en soi meismes par lermes de corps et par douleur de cuer pour le desirier de toy, en la quelle seule chose une je meismes neis otroi que ta beneurté soit amenuisie.

- Pour quoy te diroie je de tes filz conseilleurs es quiex, aussi comme 25 encors en enfans de cest aage, reluist ja la noblece de l'engin de leur pere ou de leur ayeyl? Donques comme souveraine cure soit aus mortiex hommes de retenir leur vie, je di, se tu cognois tes biens, que tu es beneureus. Car encore te remaingnent neis ores les chosez des quiex nulz hom ne doublet (10vb) que tu ne les aies plus chieres que ta vie, car se 30 mestier leur iert, tu voudroies neis perdre ta vie pour eulz. Pour quoy te plains tu puis que tu as ta vie et chosez plus chieres que ta vie? Seiche donques ja tes lermes, car Fortune n'est pas haineuse a toi du tout ne trop fort tempeste n'est pas cheue sus toy, quant les ancrees tenables de ta nef s'aherdent encors qui ne seuffrent pas que comfort du temps present ne 35 esperance du temps a venir te faillett." "Et je pri", dis je, "que elles se aherdent; car tandis comme elles durront, comment que les chosez se

10 es biens: A³ et loyers P⁴ es forains (?) biens.

PROSE IV.

2 cours: P¹C² corps; n'ait eu cours: C² vait en corps B n'ait encor; isnel: B vilz.
2-3 Mes . . chose: P¹C² om.
2 m'en: BRP²M me; remembre: b (except P²) membre.

5 est: P¹B estre; dist elle: P¹C² om. P⁴ diz et le R dis elle.

7 mettre: C¹ avoir mis; vains nons: P¹ raeus (?) vous.

8 fortunele beneurté: P¹C² fortune beneuree B fortune de beneurté; conte: DS toute.

11 chastel: C²BRP²A¹M chatel P² chastel (s deleted).

18 seurloee: P¹ -loe; chastee: P²A¹A²M chastete S castete C'D caaste P² chaste.

19 toutesz: b om.; est semblable: b semble.

22 default: DS le deffent.

23 meismes neis: b om.; amenuisie: BP²M amenuisie.

26 comme: P¹C²P² comment.

28 remaingnent: D r. et P¹ remaingne et.

29 chieres: P¹ chier C² chiers A² chers.

30 iert: C'D ert BP²S est P²A¹A²M estoit;

Pour quoy: P¹R par q. C¹C² per q.

30-1 te plains tu: added from DS.

31 puis que: DS quant; Seiche (P²P²-A¹A²M): C¹ seucque S se ce BD sache R saches P¹C² cesse.

32 ja: S je P¹C² de C¹ om.; a: P¹C² de; du tout: b om. but replaced by: et se elle het tous les autres, ne te het elle pas; trop: b tres.

33 cheue: P¹ trop ch.; quant: P²A¹A²M car.

34 s'aherdent: P¹ se herdent.

36-7 se portent: P²A¹A²M aillett.

portent, nous noerons oultre. Mais tu vois combien il fault de honneur a nos aournemens."

Et lors dist elle: "Nous t'avons aucun pou esmeu, s'il ne te poise pas
 40 ores de toute ta fortune. Mais je ne puis souffrir tes delices qui te complains
 si pleurans et si angoisseus de ce que aucune chose defaut a ta beneurté.
 Car quiehom est de si planteureuse beneurté *qui ne se plaingne et qui ne*
 45 *tence de quelque part contre la qualité de son estat?* Car la condicion des
 biens humains est angoisseuse chose et telle que elle ne vient onques
 ensemble toute ou *se elle i vient*, elle n'i demourra jamés pardurable. Cil
 est habondans de avoir, mais il a honte de son bas lignage; cist est renommés
 50 de noblece de lignage, mais il est enclos en si grant angoisse de povreté que
 ce poise lui quant il est cogneu. Cist autres est richez et noblez, mais il
 pleure sa chaste vie, *car il n'a point de fame.* Cist est bien mariés, beneureus
 de noces; or n'a nulz enfans, si (11ra) norrist son avoir a estranges heirs.
 Li autres est liéz et joieuze de avoir enfans; si pleure dolans les forfaiz de son
 filz ou de sa fille. Pour ce ne s'acorde nul legierement a la condicion de sa
 fortune; car chascuns a quelque chose que il mescognoist pour ce que il ne
 l'a pas esprouvee ou en redoubte aucune pour ce que il l'a esprouvee. Et
 55 avec tout ce, pues tu ajuster que chascuns tres beneuréz a le sans tres
 delicieus et tres mol; et se toutes chosez ne li viennent a sa volenté, pour
 ce qu'il n'est acoustuméz d'avoir nulle adversité, il est acrevantes pour
 chascunes tres petites mescheances, si que les chosez sont moult petites qui
 tolent a très beneurés la somme de beneurté. Mes quans hommes cuidez tu
 60 qui saient ou monde qui cuideroient estre grans presque jusquez au ciel,
 s'il avoient une tres petite partie des remenans de ta fortune? Cist meismes
 lieus, que tu apelez essil, est pais a ceulz qui y habitent; si que nulz homs
 ne est chetis s'il ne le cuide estre et, contre ce, toute fortune est beneuree,
 65 mais que elle soit prise en gré, c'est a dire par l'igaulté de courage du
 souffrant.

Qui est cil tant beneuréz que, quant il a perdu pacience, ne desire a
 muer son estat? De maintes et de moult grans amertumes est arrousee la
 douceur de la beneurté humaine. Et qui neis se elle semble joieuse a celui
 70 qui en use, toutevois ne puet elle pas estre retenue que elle ne s'en aille
 quant elle voudra. Or apert donques comment est chetive la beneurté des
 mortiex chosez qui ne dure mie pardurable a ceulz qui toute fortune
 reçoivent ilgaument, ne ne delite pas toute les angoisseuz. O vous mortel
 homme, pour quoy queréz vous doncuez (11rb) hors de vous beneurté qui
 est mise dedens vous meismes? Erreur et folie vous confont.

75 Je te monstrerai briefment le commencement et la force de la souveraine
 beneurté mondaine. Est il nulle chose tu plus aimes et tiengnes pour

39 s'il: bBR si; te: P¹ om.

40 qui te: P¹C² que tu; From "complains" to
 "estre et" of line 63 A² (fol. 39^r to fol. 40^r—
 exactly two pages) has a different reading.

42 Car . . . beneurté: B om.

44 elle: bB ou elle.

45 se: P¹ ce; vient: repeated twice in P¹C².

46 a: P¹ ha; bas: P¹C² poure b. R propre
 bas.

48 quant (b): a dom (dont) C¹ quant;
 cognueu: C¹BRb cognueu ou (C¹BR) qu'il vou-
 droit miex estre mescogneus; autres: b om.
 P¹C² li aut.

49 beneureus: b om.

49-50 Cist . . . heirs: S om.

50 a: P¹C² en.

52 ou: P¹ et.

53 a: P¹C² om.

54 ou: P¹C² or; ou . . . esprouvee: R om.

55 sans: P¹ san C² sanc; tres (delic.):
 BPDS trop.

56 tres: b BR¹ trop; viennent: P¹C² ve-
 noient BC¹ avenoient.

57 n'est: b n'est pas; est: P¹C² om.

58 chascunes: P¹ chascuns.

60 saient: P¹ saies C² soies B om.; presque:
 P¹C² pres.

61 des remenans: b om.

62 pais: P¹ paix.

63 s'il: P¹C²A¹S si.

64 de courage: a om.

67-8 la douceur (R douleur) de: P¹C² om.

68 humaine: b mondaine.

70 chetive: P¹C² joieuse.

72 toute les angoisseuz: corr. from P² for
 toutes les angoissez.

73 vous beneurté: P¹ vos beneuriez.

75-6 souver. beneurté: P¹C² invert.

plus chiere que toy meismes? Tu respondras: "Nenin". Donques se tu es bien et resonnablement ordeneur de toy, tu auras ce que tu ne voudras jamés perdre ne Fortune ne le te pourra tolir. Et pour ce que tu 80 cognosse que beneurté ne puet estre en ces chosez fortuneles et temporieles, entens ce si comme je le te dirai. Se beneurté est li souverain bien de nature vivant par raison, ne ce n'est pas souverain bien qui par aucune maniere peut estre tolu—car miex vaut et plus digne chose est ce qui ne puet estre tolu—c'est chose aperte que la muableté de fortune ne puet 85 ataindre a beneurté recevoir. Et encores, cil qui ceste escouloriable beneurté soutient et porte, ou il set que elle est muable ou il ne le set pas. S'il ne set, quele fortune puet estre beneuree en l'avugleté de ignorance? (c'est puis qu'il en est avugléz et mescognoisans). S'il le set, il convient que il ait paour que il ne perde ce dont il est certain que il puet estre perdu: 90 par quoy la continuee paour ne le laisse point estre beneuréz. Ou se il l'a perdue, il en cuide estre cheuz en despit et en vilté? Certainement ainsi est ce si petiz biens que on le doit aussi igaument porter en son cuer quant on l'a perdu comme quant on le tenoit. Et pour ce que tu meismes es cis a qui il a esté amonnesté et mis en cuer par maintes demonstraions, si 95 comme je le sai, que les ames des hommes ne sont (11va) en nulle maniere mortieles, et comme ce soit aperte chose que la fortunele beneurté se defenist par la mort du corps, nulz ne puet doubter, se ceste beneurté fortunele puet apoter beneurté, que touz li humains lignages ne descende en chetiveté par la fin de la mort. Et se nous savons que maint homme ont quis le fruit 100 de beneurté non mie tant seulement par mort, mais neis par douleurs et par tourmens, comment pourroit ceste presente vie faire les hommes beneuréz, quant elle meismes ne les fait pas chetis quant elle est trespassée?

[METRE IV.]

Quiconques sages homs voudra fonder a soi maison forte et pardurable et voudra si estables estre qu'il ne puisse estre acravantz par les horribles soufflemens des venz, et cure et veult despire la mer et les menaces de ses floz, ne face pas sa maison ou sommet de la haulte montaingne ne es 5 moistez sablons. Li felon vent tourmente le sommet de la montaingne de toutesz ses forces; li sablon mol ne puent porter le fais. Ainsi se tu veulz foir la perilleuse aventure du delitable siege pour estre certains et seurs, fonde ta maison en une petite basse roche. Ja soit ce que li vens tonne et trouble les planices de la mer par trebuchances de floz, tu seras couvers en

77 chiere: P¹ chierez; respondras: b diras.
 78 ordeneur (P¹C²B): C¹R ordeneries P²
 ordenez DS ordennes A¹A² ordene P³M or-
 donne.

79 ne (le te): P¹ om.
 81-2 de nat. . . bien: A² om.
 82 ne: bP¹C² om.

83-4 car . . . tolu: P¹C² om.
 84-5 puet ataindre: P² ateindra.

87 S'il ne set (B): P¹P² si ne set C¹C²R
 s'il non set b (except P²) se il ne le scet.
 89 paour (BC¹b; A pour): P¹ poor C² pou-
 air R pouour; dont: P¹C² don.

90 continuee: P¹ continue P²DS continue:
 paour: R pouour BC¹b douleur; le: P¹C²P²
 om.

91 et: b ou; ainsi: b aussi C² om.

92 cuer: P¹A¹A²M courage.

95 le: P¹C²P² les.

96 comme: P¹ comment que C² comment;

la: P¹C² om.

98 descend: P¹C² descendant.

99 par la fin de la mort: b de mort a
 (P²DS en) la fin.

101 ceste: P¹ cest.

METRE IV.

1 forte: the rest fort.

3 veult (aA²P¹; C² vieult): P³ vueille A²
 veuelle P² voille A¹M vuille DS veule.

4 maison: P¹C² mais. ou donjon ne B mais.
 ou son ne.

4-5 haulte . . . la: A³ om.; es moistes, etc.:
 different reading in P².

5 montaingne: b (except P²) haulte m.

6 li: DS et li; mol (P¹C²P²DS): C²A¹M molz
 A¹ mos P² mouls P⁴ moiste B moistes: puent:
 P¹P²A¹P¹ puent S poet; Ainsi: P¹C²P²P⁴A¹M
 aussi; se: P¹ ce.

7 certains et seurs: b inverted.

8 petite basse roche (P¹C²): b petite r.
 RA¹P⁴ basse ou p. rochete B p. et basse
 voutelete C¹ petite vautete.

8-9 tonne et trouble (R): BA¹P⁴ donne et t.
 P¹C²S tourne et trouble (tourble) P²A¹
 estrouble M e trouble A² trouble.

9 planices (Rb): BS planites A² planeites
 C² plainelettes P⁴ planettes P¹ plaifeites C¹
 plaintes.

- 10 repos et bneuréz par la force de ton paliz et demeneras en paix ton aage
en escharnissant les ires et les forsereriez de l'air.

[PROSE V.]

Mais pour ce que li norrissement de mes raisons descendant ja en toy, je cuit que bon seroit user de medecines un petit plus fors. Or entens ici se li don de For- (11vb) tune ne fussent ore pas decevable et defaillant, quel chose a il en eus qui onques puisse estre faite ou vostre ou qui ne soit 5 tenue pour vil, se elle est bien clerement regardee et cogneue? Richeces sont elles precieuses ou par la nature de vous ou par la nature de elles meismes? Et des richeces la quele vaut miex? Est ce or ou force de deniers assembléz? Certes ces chosez resplandissent miex et rendent plus nobles et miex renomméz les despendeurs que les amonceleurs, car avarice fait touz 10 jours les avers haineus et largece les donneurs nobles et améz. Et se ce qui est transporté de l'un a l'autre ne peut demourer avec chascun, donques est lors premierement peccune precieuse quant elle est transportee es autres et delaisse a estre eue par usage de largement donner de celui qui donnee l'a, c'est a dire quant cil qui l'avoit avant l'a donnee aus autres. Mais se 15 toute la peccune que toutesz les gens du monde ont estoit donnee a un seul homme, elle feroit les autres souffreteus de soy meismes. Et certes une meismes vois toute, sens estre amenusiee, raemplist ensemble les oreilles de mains hommes, mais vos richeces, se elles ne sont amenusieez, ne puent ensemble trespasser a pluseurs. Et quant elles passent, il convient que elles 20 facent povres ceulz que elles delaissent. O moult sont donques richeces estraintes et souffreteusez quant plusieurs ne les peuvent pas toutesz avoir ne elles ne peuvent pas venir a chascun de touz sans la povreté des autres. Et la resplendisseur des gemmes que on apele pierres precieusez ne atret elle pas les yeux des hommes? Mais cer- (12ra) tes s'il a riens de bel et 25 de bon en ceste resplendisseur, celle clarté est des pierres et non pas des hommes; dom je me merveil trop forment de ce que li homme loent et merveillent ces chosez et les tiennent a precieusez. Car quelle chose est sens mouvement et sens jointure d'ame et de corps qui par droit puisse ressembler estre bele a creature qui en soy a ame et raison? Car ja soit ce 30 que elles traient a eus aucune chose ou aucun pou de la derreniere biauté du monde par l'entente du createur et par la division de elles meismes, toutevois, pour ce que elles sont mises au desouz de vostre noblece, elles ne deservoient en nulle maniere que vous les deussiés merveillier. Et la biauté des chans ne vous delite elle pas moult?"

35 "Pour quoy ne nous deliteroit elle donques? Car c'est une bele partie de

10 demeneras: $P^2P^3A^2MD$ demoras $A^1A^3P^1B$
demourra.

PROSE V.

1 raisons: *b* paroles; descendant: $P^1C^1C^2$
descent *B* descendant A^2 sont A^1M om.
2 cuit: $C^1P^3A^1A^2M$ croy; plus fors: P^1 fors
DS plus fortes.

3 ore pas: *R* ore mie bC^2 pas ores BC^1 pas.
4 ou vostre: *R* ou nostre *B* ou rostee A^2 ou
bien C^1 nostre *DS* vostre P^1C^2 om.; qui: P^1
qu'il.

5 bien: *b* om.

6 de elles (b): *a* d'euz.

9 despendeurs: $P^3A^1A^2M$ donneurs C^1 les
pendeurs *DS* espardeurs P^2 espandues.

9-10 touz jours: bC^1 om.

11 a: *b* en.

13 usage: *b* l'usage.

14 l'a (don.): P^1 om.

16 feroit: P^1C^2R fera.

17 meismes vois (C^1BR): *b* seule v. P^1C^2
meismes.

18 se elles: A^1 se elle P^1 sel *R* sil.

20 povres: P^1 om.; elles: P^1 elle.

21 estraintes (P^1C^2): the rest estroites.

22 chascun: P^1 chascune.

24 s'il a: *b* s'il i a *R* se il ia with i of ia

ermunged.

27 merveillent: *b* se m. de.

29 ressembler: *DS* sambler; bele: P^1C^2 tele:

a (creat.): A^1A^2B om.; en soy a: *b* a en soi;

Car: *b* que.

30 eus: *DS* elles.

31 la: P^1 om.; la division: C^1 le deviser.

32 pour: P^1 om.

33 deservoient (P^1C^2R): *b* desservent BC^1

deservoiroient.

35 ne . . . donques: P^3 non; bele: $P^2A^1A^2M$

tres *b*.

la tres belle euvre de cest monde. Ainsi nous soulons nous esjoir de la face de la mer quant elle est serie; aussi merveillons nous le ciel et le soulail et la lune et les estoilles."

"Apertient doncques a toy nule chose de cestes? Pour quoy te oses tu glorifier en la resplendisseur d'aucunes chosez ytelles? Es tu diversefiez et fes beaus par les fleurs en prin temps? Est doncques teue la plantereuseuet des fruiz en esté? Pour quoy yes tu ravis par vaines joies? Pour quoy embraces tu les biens estranges pour les tiens? Jamais ne fera Fortune que ycelles chosez soient teues que la nature des chosez a fait estre estranges de toy. Certes li fruit des terres sont deu sans doublet aus norrissemens des bestes. Mais se tu veulz raemplir ta souffreté, selonc ce que il suffist a nature, il n'est pas raison que tu quierez habondance (12rb) de fortune, car pou de chosez et tres petites suffisent a nature. Et se tu veulz raemplir et contraindre la saouleté de nature de outrageuses chosez, ou ce que tu y ajusteras ne sera pas joieus ou il sera nuisanz. Cuidez tu ores ce que soit bele chose de ton corps atourner et faire le resplendissant de diversez robez, des quiex robez se la biauté en est agreeable par regart, je loeré et merveilleré en eus ou la nature de la matiere ou l'engin de l'ouvrier. Mais longue compagnie de serjans te fait elle estre beneureus?

Li quel s'il sont corrompu de malvaises meurs, il sont destruable charge de la maison et forment anemie au seigneur meismes; et s'il sont loyal et preu, estrange proece comment sera elle mise ou nombre de tes richeces? Si que, par toutes ces chosez devant dites est il bien clerement monstré que nulle de ces chosez que tu contez en tes biens, il n'y a nul bien qui soit tiens. Es quiex chosez s'il n'y a riens de biauté que on doie requerre, quelle raison as tu ou de toy doloir se tu les pers ou de toy esjoir se tu les retiens? Et se tu dis qu'elles sont beles de leur propre nature, que t'en apartient il, que te profite ce? Car aussi bien eussent elles esté plaisans par eus meismes, se elles fussent departies de tes richeces. Ne par ce que elles sont venues a tes richeces, pour ce sont eles precieuses, mes pour ce qu'elles semblaient estre precieuses, par ce les vousisses tu metre ou nombre de tes richeces.

Mais que aléz vous querant ou que desiréz vous par si grant estroiz ou par si grant haste de Fortune? Je croi que vous queréz chacier vostre pouvreté par l'abondance de ces chosez. Mais certes li contraire de ce vous en avient, car de pluseurs aidez et de pluseurs serjans a on mestier a garder et a defendre la diversité de precieus avoir. (12va) Et si rest ce veritéz: cil qui trop plus ont sont souffreteus de trop plus de chosez et, encontre ce, moins sont souffreteus cil qui soupoisent et mesurent leur habondance par

37-8 le ciel . . . estoilles: *P³A¹A²M* c. e. l. s. *BR* c. e. s. l. *C¹* c. e. l.; le soulail et la lune et: *P²DS om.*

39 apartient: *P¹C²* ap. il; chose de cestes (*P¹C²R*): *C¹P²DS* de ces choses *P³A¹A²M* de ces ch. itelles *B* tele chose.

39-40 Pour . . . ytelles: *A¹A²M om.*

39 Pour quoy: *P¹C²* pour *P³* ne; te: *P¹C²* ce *S* tu.

40 chosez ytelles: *P³* de ces choses *P²DS-BRC¹* des ch. it.; Es: *P¹C²A¹A²M* et.

41 fes beaus (feis biaus): *P¹* fesseaus *C²* fes seaus *P³A²* fait bel *A¹* fait belle.

42 yes (*P¹C²*): *A¹* estez the rest es; joies: *bB gloire.*

43 quoy: *P¹ om.*

45 deu: *P¹C²* dieu *P³MR* deuz *B* dehus.

46 tu: *P¹C² om.*

50 y: *P¹C² om.*: sera pas: *P¹* seras p.

51 atourner: *bBRC¹* aourner (aorner).

54 compagnie: *P³A¹A²M* ordre; te: *P¹* de.

55 sont (corr.): *P¹C²* ont; malvaises (mau-

veses): *P¹C²* malvais; destruable: *P¹* destrivable *A¹* destríuable *A²* estrivable *DS* destruible.

57 estrange: *P¹* estrance.
59 contez: *DS* cognois; soit: *P²DS* soient; Es: *P¹BR¹* et.

60 riens: *S* nient *D* mout.

61 les (pers): *P¹DS* le *P³* la; les (ret.): *DS* le *P³* la.

62-3 que te . . . ce: *P³A¹A²M om.*

63 bien: *P³* biens; elles: *P¹C om.*

64-6 Ne . . . ou nombre de tes rich.: *P¹C²B om.*

65 sont eles: editor's correction for ne sont eles pas.

66 vousisses: *R* vousis *C¹DS* vausis.

67 desiréz: *P¹B* desiries.

70 car: *P¹C²B* et.

71 rest ce veritéz: *DS* reste verites que.

72 trop: *b om.*; encontre: *P¹C²* entre.

73 souffreteus cil: *P³A¹A²DSBR* inverted; cil: *R si.*

la nécessité de nature, non mie par l'outrage de couvoitise. Si n'avéz vous
 75 nul bien propre ne naturelment assis en vous, par quoy vous doiés querre
 vos biens es chosez foraines et de vous dessevrees? Mais or est ainsi
 bestournee la condicion des chosez, si que a homme qui est beste divine par
 la merite de raison, il ne li est pas avis que il soit biaus *ne nobles* fors que
 par la possession des chosez qui n'ont nulles ames. Et certes les autres
 80 bestes qui n'ont nulle raison se tiennent apaiees de leur propre biauté; mais
 vous hommes, qui estes semblablez a dieu par vostre raisonnable pensee,
 couvoitiéz et queréz des chosez bassez et vilz les aournemens de vostre noble
 nature ne n'entendéz pas com grant tort vous faitez a vostre createur. Il
 voulz que li lignages humains vausist miex et fust plus noblez que nullez
 85 des chosez terriennes; et vous boutéz vostre dignité au desouz de toutez
 chosez tres bassez. Car se touz li biens de chascune chose est plus precieus
 que la chose meismes de cui li biens est, quant vous jugiez que les tres vilz
 chosez sont vos biens, vous sommetéz vous meismes par vostre jugement
 aus chosez tres vilz et certez ce vous avient a bon droit. Car telle est la
 90 condicion de la nature humaine que elle soit noble seur ces autres chosez
 tant seulement lors quant elle se cognost et que elle meismes soit ramenee
 desouz des bestez quant elle (12vb) faut a soy cognostre. Car, a ces autres
 bestes, mescognitoistre eus meismez il leur vient de nature; mais aus hommes
 il leur vient de vice. Mais comment apert ici largement vostre folie qui
 95 cuidiez que riens puisse estre aourné *ne embeli* de estranges aournemens!
 Mais ce ne puet estre fait. Car s'il y a riens des chosez ajusteez qui luise,
 certez les chosez qui sont ajustees sont loees; et la chose de ce couverte et
 reposte dessous remaint toutevois durant en sa propre ordure que elle avoit
 avant.

100 Mais certez je reni bien et di que nulle chose n'est bonne qui nuist a celui
 qui l'a. Ment je donques? Tu diras que non. Certez richeces ont neu souvent
 a ceulz qui les avoient, comme chascun tres mauvais—et par sa mauvaisté
 plus couvoiteus des richeces estranges—cuide que il fust tres dignes et li
 105 mieudres hom du monde s'il eust et d'or et d'argent et de pierres precieusez
 toutes les richeces qui sont par tout le monde. Dom il avient souvent que cilz
 qui les richeces ont en sont souvent tuéz. Tu donques qui es ores curieus
 et redoubitez glaives et maques, se tu fusses antrés vuis de richeces ou
 sentier de ceste vie, tu chantassez seurs devant le larron. O moult est ore
 110 precieuse et noble la beneuré des richeces mortiex que, quant tu l'auras
 aquise, tu delaissez a estre seurs.

[METRE V.]

Trop furent beneuré li homme du premier aage. Il se tindrent apaiés des

74 Si n'avez vous (P¹C²R): bBC¹ si que
 vous n'avez (A¹ si que n'avez).

75 naturellement assis (a): b (except M)
 nature n'a neant as. M nature n'a riens
 assiz.

77 beste: DS cose.

79 possession: P¹ condicion.

83 entendéz: P¹ entendent.

85 li biens . . . est: P¹C² les biens . . . est
 P¹ les biens . . . sont.

87 cui: b quo (D coy) C¹C²B qui.

90 ces: bC² toutes.

91 meismes: b om.

92-3 Car . . . mescognitoistre: DS om.

94 vice: bBC¹ leur v.

95 puisse: P¹ ne p.

96 ce ne puet estre fait: P¹C² ce puet estre;
 s'il: P¹ cil.

97 qui sont: P¹C²P²A¹A²M om. R qui est.
 98 dessous: P¹C² om; toutevois: P³ tous

jours.
 100 reni: DS r. ce estre; bonne: b bele.

101 qui l'a: P¹C² om.; Ment je: C² menge
 P¹ men je P² mentz je (B: mais ie di don-
 ques); neu (P¹C²P²A¹A²): P³ tuy M tuy
 C¹DS nuisi B nuist; ont neu: R nönt.

102 et: P¹C²P² om. C¹ est.
 104 mieudres (RCP²S): D miudres P¹ men-
 dres C² maindres B meudres P²A¹A²M meil-
 leur.

104-5 s'il . . . monde: B om.
 104 et (d'or): b om.

107 fusses: P¹ fussen.
 109 richeces: P²DS choses.

METRE V.
 1 apaiés: P³ contens.

viandez que li loyal champ leur aportoient. Il ne se destruistrent pas par outrage qui fait les hommes *mauvais et pereceus*. Quant il avoient longuement jeuné, il mengoient les glans des boiz. (13ra) Il ne savoient faire 5 buvrage de miel ne de vin ne taindre les blanchez toisons des Sirians par diversez couleurs *entrans comme venim*. Il se dormoient sus les herbes et bevoient des courans ruisseaus et gesoient es ombres des haus pins. Nulz hostes ne tranceit encores par avirons la haute mer ne n'avoit veu nouviaux rivagez pour mener merceris concueilliez en divers lieus. Lors se 10 tesoient felonnessez boisines, ne sanc espandu par aigres haines n'avoit onques ensanglanté les horribles chans. Car pour quoy vousist forsenans anemis premierement armes esmouvoir, comme il veist les plaies crueusez ne n'y aperceust nul loier du sanc espandu?

Je voudroie que nos temps retournassent orendroit es meurs anciens. Mais 15 l'angoisseuse couvoitise de avoir art en nous plus crueusement que li feu de la montaigne Ethna qui touz jours art. Ha las! qui fu cil qui premier trest et deffoi les massez d'or couvert souz la terre et les pierres precieusez qui se vouloient repondre? Cist traist et deffoi aus hommes perilz precieus.

[PROSE VI.]

Mais que te diraie je de dignitéz et de puissances les quiex vos, qui ne cognossiéz vraie dignité ne vraie puissance, les ellevéz jusques au ciel? Les quiex se elles sont donnees a aucun tres mauvais, elles donront si grans agraventeures et si grans domages que nulz feus ne nulz deluges ne les 5 donroit si grans. Certez bien te remembrez, si comme je cuit, que celle dignité que on apeloit l'empire consulaire, qui avant avoit esté commencement de franchise, vostre ancien Romain la couvoitierent a effacier pour l'orgueil des conseilleurs. Cil meismes ancien avoient avant osté de la cité (13rb) le nom royal pour cel orgueil meismes. Mes se ces dignitéz et 10 ces puissances sont aucune foiz donnees aus bons hommes, la quelle chose on voit trop pou avenir, quelle autre chose a il en elles *bele et plaisant* fors que seulement la proece de ceulz qui en usent? Ainsi est il fait que honneur ne vient pas aus vertuz de la dignité, mais de vertu vient honneur aus dignitéz. Mais quiex est ceste vostre puissance si requerable et si tres 15 noble? Ne regardéz vous pas, o vous bestes terriennes, seur quiex choses il semble que vous aiéz pooir quant vous estes esleu aus puissances recevoir? Se tu veoies orez entre les souriz aucune souriz une chalengent a soi droiture et seignorie et puissance sus les autres souriz, de con grans

3-4 longuement (*aA³P⁴*): b longe (longue) piece (*A² grant p.*).

4 mengoient: *P¹* menguent *C¹C²* menioient.

5 Sirians (-ens): *A¹A²M* Syriens *C¹* Serians *A³P⁴* Sergens *B* desirrants (*i. e.* des Sirians) *D* disirirs.

6 *entrans*: *A³* entraiz.

7 des (cour.): b les B de; ruisseaus: *P¹* ruisseus.

8 traceit: *BR'C'b* trenchoit (tran-) *S* trent; n'avoit (*BC¹*): *P¹C²* avoit *bRA³P⁴* n'avoient.

9 mener: *P¹C²* mettre b. *om.*; concueilliez:

b concueillir *C²* concueilliees.

10 boisines (*C²*): *P¹* boisies *B* voisines *C'Rb* busines.

11 ensanglanté: *P³* taint.

11-2 forsenans anemis (*according to C¹ and Bk. I, Metre IV, 1, 8*): *P¹C²BRP⁴* forseaneus a.

b. aucuns forsenez.

12 veist (b): *aA³* veissent.

13 aperceust (*P¹C²b*): *BR'C'b* aperceussent.

16 Ethna: b de E.; premier: b premiere-

ment; trest: *P²* trahy.

17 deffoi: *P³* desfouy *P⁴* de fouir *S* descouvrir *D* descouvrir.

18 repondre: *P¹A²A³* respondre *P²* mucier: et deffoi: b *om.* *A³* et defouit.

PROSE VI.

1 quiex: *P¹C² om.*; ne: *P¹ om.*

5 cuit: *P²A¹A²M* croy.

6 apeloit: *Bb* apele: esté: b *om.*

8 osté: *A¹A²* hoste *P¹C² om.*

9 et: *P¹C²* ou.

11 autre chose . . . bele et plaisant: *P¹C²B* autre ch. . . beles et plaisans *C¹* autres c. . . beles.

12 il: *P¹C² om.*

15-6 seur . . . pooir: R *om.*

16 semble: b vous s.

17 chalengent: *C'R* chalengant *B* chalengast b (except *P⁴*) chalengier *P³* attribuer.

18 de con (com): D de ton *S* coment bien *C²* de *P¹* deuz.

escharnissemens seroies tu esmeus! Certez aussi est il de vous que li vilz
 20 hommes ont seigneurie sus les vilz hommes, c'est a dire li corps sus les corps. Car se tu regardez le corps de l'omme, quelle chose pouras tu trouver plus faible de l'omme? Souvent certez le tuent selonc le corps ou li mors de aucunes mouchetez ou l'entree de aucunes bestes rampans en aucun lieus secréz. Mais ou sera trouvé aucun homme qui puisse seur aucun autre
 25 homme hanter aucun droit fors seulement sus le corps et sus les choscz plus basses du corps, les quelles je apele fortuneles possessions? Pourras tu jamais avoir seigneurie ou commandement sus franc corage? Osteras tu de l'estat de son propre repos la pensee qui se tient et se ahert a soi meismes par ferme raison? Comme un tyrant cuidast contraindre par
 30 tourmens un franc homme, pour ce que il li regehisist les consachablez de une conjuracion faite contre lui, cil mordi sa langue et la geta ou visage du forseneus tyrant; si (13va) que les tourmens, dom le tyrant cuidoit faire matiere de craulté, li sages homs les fist estre matiere de vertu.

Mais quelle chose est ce que chascun puisse faire a autrui que il ne puisse
 35 recevoir de autrui, ce meismes en soy? Nous avons oi que Bissyris souloit tuer ses hostes; Herculez, ses hostez, le tua. Regulus aussi avoit mis en liens pluseurs des Aufricanz par lui pris en bataille, mais tantost li vaincu le repristrent et li lierent les mains de leurs chaenes. Cuidez tu doncques que cil soit puissans qui n'a pooir de faire que autre ne puisse faire en lui
 40 ce que il puet en autrui. Et encores s'il eust rien de bien es dignitez et es puissances qui fust naturiex et propres, elles ne vendroient jamais aus tres mauvais hommes, car chosez contraires ne se seulent pas entreaccompagnier; nature refuse que chascunes chosez contrairez se conjoignent. Si que, comme nous soions certains que li tres mauvais hommes tiennent plus
 45 souvent les dignitez, il y apert neis par leur nature que elles ne sont pas bonnes qui se seuffrent a accompagner aus tres mauvais. Et ce meismes certez poons nous miex et plus dignement jugier de tous les dons de fortune qui plus plenteureusement viennent a chascun tres mauvais que aus bons hommes. Des quiex dons je cuit que ce devons nous regarder, que nulz
 50 homs ne double que cil ne soit fors a cui il voit que force est venue, et a quiconques est isneleté venue, certaine chose est et aperte que cil est isneaus. Aussi fet musique les musiciens et medecine les mires et rhetorique les rhetoriens. Car la nature de chascune chose fait ce qui propre li est ne (13vb) ne se melle pas aus faiz de contrairez chosez et de
 55 son gré chace hors les chosez qui contrairez li sont. Mais certes ne richeces ne peuent pas restraindre l'avarice des hommes qui ne puet estre saoulee; ne puissance ne fera pas que cil soit puissans de bien ordennner soi

19-21 certez . . . les corps: S om.

19 vous (C'C'PDM): BRP'P'A'A'A' nous.

20 ont . . . hommes: P'A'A'A'M om.

23 de aucunes bestes: b des b. BRC¹ de b.

25 homme: b om.; hanter: B haut D hau- teur.

25-6 et . . . du: P'A'A'M ou ce qui est dedens.

28 repos: the rest repos (repose).

30 regehisist: b regehist R refehist S gehist.

31 mordi: D morst C' mort.

32 le tryant: C'C'RP'DS li tryans.

33 les: P' le P' om.; matiere: P' martire.

35 de autrui: P'C² de autre C' om.; Bissyris (P'C³): bR Busiris C' Buisiris B Boisius;

souloit: B vouloit.

36 (tuer) ses: P' les; avoit: P' om. C' fu.

37 liens: P' lens D lins R lians.

41 tres: b om.

44 hommes: P'DS om.

45 y: BRC'b om.

47 et (plus): P'C² om.

49 hommes: b om.

51 quinconques est (BRP'DSP'A'A'): M quelconques est C² qui doncques est P' qui est doncques C¹ p'mes est.

51 certaine chose est et aperte: P'DS cer- tainement P'A'A'M certaine chose est.

52 Aussi: C²BR ainsi; fet: P' est C² et; mu- siciens: C¹ medicines; et (medicine) . . . et (reth.): BRC'b om. S: med . . . et r.

52-3 mires et rhetorique: BC' mires es- peciales reth.

53 chose: P'C² om.; qui: P'BC'P'A'M que A² om.

54 faiz: P' effectz.

55 chace: P'C² cache C'DS cache; Mais: P'C² deniers C¹; et nous certes nos ricetes.

56 restraindre: P'C'BC' contraindre.

57 ordennier (BRC'): P'C² demener b arorer; soi: b lui (P' li).

meismes que mauvaisez volentéz et charniex couvoitisez retiennent estraint par chaenes qui ne peuvent estre desliees. Et dignité donnee aus mauvais
 60 tant seulement ne les fait elle pas dignes, ainçois demonstre plus apertement qu'il ne sont pas dignes. Et pour quoy avient il ainsi? Certez pour ce que vous vous esjoissiés en nomer les chosez par faulz noms qui sont d'autre nature que vous ne leur mettez assuz, si comme il est legierement prouvé par le fait de ces chosez meismez; si que ne celles richeces ne peuvent mie
 65 par droit estre apelees richeces ne celle puissance ne peut estre apelee puissance ne celle dignité dignité. Au derrenier ce meismes poons nous conclurre de toute maniere de fortune en la quelle il est bien aparant qu'il n'i a nulle chose que on doie requerre ne qui point ait en soy de vaine bonté, quant elle ne se joint pas tous jours aus bons ne ne fait pas bons
 70 ceulz a qui elle est conjointe.

[METRE VI.]

Nous avons bien cogneu com grans domagez et com grans agraventeurez fist l'empereur Neron. Il fist ardoir la cité de Romme et fist ocirre les senateurs et fist ocirre son frere et despicer fist sa mere par membrez et la fist ouvrir pour veoir le lieu ou il avoit esté conceus et regarda de toutes
 5 pars dehors et dedens le corps tout frot ne onques ne pleura, ainçois fu (14ra) si dur que il pot jugier de la biauté morte. Et toutavois gouvernoit il par sceptre emperial touz les peuplez que li souleuz venans voit en orient et en occident et en midi et en septentrion. Et toutavois ne pot la haute puissance tourner la rage du mauvais empereur Neron? Ha las! ci a greveuse fortune, toutes les foiz que glaivez felons est ajustéz a cruel venim."

[PROSE VII.]

Lors dis je: "Tu meismes scés bien que la couvoitise de l'onour des mortiex chosez n'ot onques seigneurie sur nous. Mais nous desirasmes matere a ordener les chosez communes pour ce que nostre vertu reposte ne devenist rebouche par viellece." Et lors dist elle: "Certez c'est une
 5 seule chose qui puet atraire a dignité et a puissance les pensees qui plus sont vaillans par nature, mais elle ne les y puet pas atraire menees a la derreniere euvre par perfection de vertuz, c'est a savoir couvoitise de gloire et renommee de tres bonnes meritez faites au commun profit. Mes comme ceste gloire est petite et voide de tout profit, ainsi le puez veoir. Certaine

58 retiennent (BR): *P¹C²* treuvent (i.e. tiennent) *C³b* retiennent.

60 tant seulement: *R²b* om.; fait elle: *BR'C'DS* fait *P¹P²A¹A²M* font.

60-1 ainçois . . . dignes: *A¹A² om.*

60 demonstre: *P¹P²M* demonstreut.

61 pour (ce): *P¹C²* en *P²* par *C¹ ner.*

62 vous vous esjoissiés (esjoisséz): *P²DS-P¹A²* vous esj. *P¹C²* nous nous esjoissons; en: *C³P³a* a *D² om.*

64 celles: *C³b* ces.

66 dignité dignité (aS): *b* d. apeleee d. *B* ne puet mie estre apelee puissance de dignité.

69 bonté: *DS* biaute; quant: *b* que.

70 est conjointe (a): *b* s'est ajouté (*P²* se adjoint).

METRE VI.

1 (et), com grans (aDS): *P¹* om. *A¹A²M* grans *P²* grans but com marginal; agraventeurez: *BR'C'b* (except *P³*) agraventeurez *C³* agraventemens *A³P⁴* agraventemens *P¹* craultez.

2 Neron: *C³A²A³P⁴* Noiron (Noyron), *BR* Noirons; ardoir: *P¹* ardoit; la: *P² sa DS ja sa;*

et: *b* il.

2-3 les . . . ocirre: *RA³P⁴* om.

3 fist ocirre: *C³A¹* om.; ocirre: *P¹* tuer; despicer: *C³R* depêcier *C³S* despichier *D* depichier; despicer fist: the rest fist de; fist: *P²* om.

5 dehors: *C³RDS* et de.; ne pleura (according to *P⁴*): *P¹* nen the rest ni (ny).

7 que . . . venans: *P¹* veneus *A³* venant.

8 et (en occ.): *b* om.; et (en midi): *R²b* om.; ne rot la: *P¹C²* ne pot (*C²* peut) il pas.

9 tourner: *P¹C²* tourne *A³* couvrir: mauvais empereur Neron: *b* tres m. N. *RA³P⁴* mauvais. N.

10 greveuse: *P¹* grieve *C³* crueuse; cruel: *S* felon; venim: *P²* tyran.

PROSE VII.

1 meismes: *b* om.

2 ct: *P¹D* ont ('² o' out).

5-6 plus sont: *P¹C²* inverted *P²* sont.

7 par: *C³C²Rb* de *B* par *la* derreniere oeuvre et a la derreniere perfection.

8 renommee: *P¹C²* renommées.

8-9 Mes . . . profit: *P¹C²* om.

10 chose est, si comme tu as apris par les demonstraions de astronomie, que touz li avironnement de la terre ne tient fors que la raison d'un point au regart de l'espasce du ciel, c'est a dire que, se elle estoit comparee a la grandeur du ciel, on jugeroit du tout que elle ne contient niant de espasce; puis, donques, que de ceste si petite region en cest monde il en
 15 y a la quarte partie et encores moins que *par nous* et par les bestes cogneues a nous est habitee, si comme tu a apris de Tholomee qui le nous preuve. Se tu avoies soustrait par pensee a ceste quarte tant de espasse de terre comme les mers et les paluz contiennent (14rb) et comme il en y a de gaste region seche et estendue en large, a paine en remaindra une tres
 20 estroite place a abiter aus hommes. Vous donques qui estes avironné et enclos en ce petit point de celui point, comment penséz vous de vostre renommee monteplaiier et *acraistre* et de faire porter loing vostre nom? Ou combien contient de grandeur et de largeur vostre gloire qui tant est estreciee et *constrainte* en si estroiz et si petiz sentiers? Encore pues tu a
 25 ceste chose ajuster ce que pluseurs nacions, diversez et par langues et par meurs et par raison de toute leur vie, habitent en ce meismes pourpris de cest brief habitacle; aus quiex nacions ne la renommee des sanglez hommes ne certez neis des citéz n'ont pooir de venir et pour la grieté des *loingtienqs* chemins et pour la diversité de parler et par faute de acoustumance de
 30 marcheandise. A la parfin au temps que vivoit Marcus Tullius, si comme il raconte en un sien livre, la renommee de la communauté de Romme n'avoit onques trespassé celle montaigne *qui est apelee Caucasus*, et si estoit lors Romme bien acreue et redoubtee neis aus Turs et a ces autrez gens habitans entour eulz. Ne vois tu donques comment la vostre gloire est
 35 estroite et compressee que vous ainsi vous travailliéz de li *acraistre* et de montepliér? Pourra donques la gloire d'un homme romain aler la ou la renommee du nom de Romme ne puet trespasser? Et encores que diras tu a ce: tu vois que les meurs de diversez gens se descordent entreuz et leurs loys et leurs establessemens si que *ce que li un jugent pour vertu, li autre le jugent pour* (14va) vice et ce que li un jugent digne de loenge, li autre le jugent digne de tourment. Dom il avient que se aucuns se delite en la loenge de sa renommee, pluseurs peuples seront a cui le nom de celui ne pourra venir. Or se tendra donques chascuns apaiéz de la gloire puplie entre ses voisins et celle pardurableté de noble renommee sera restrainte dedens les bonnes d'une maniere de gens. Mais certez maint homme qui tres noble furent en leur temps sont mis en oubli par faute d'escrivpains. Ja soit ce que li escript ne leur vaillent niant, les quiex ancieneté longue

10 demonstraions: *BRP^oDS* -oisons *P^s* de monstrances *C'M* demonstrations.

13 contient: *RP^oA'A'M* tient *B* tendroit.

16 'nous (preuve): *Pⁱ* vous b *om.*

21 penséz: *Pⁱ* paizez.

23 de grandeur et de largeur: *C'b inverted B* de largeur; et: *P'C^o* ou.

24 estreciee (*P'C'R*): *P'A^o* -chiee *DS* -chiee *A'* -chee *P'* estroisse *M* estroite *B* esdreciee et estroite *C'* estrecie et *strainte*.

26 toute leur vie; *Pⁱ* toutes leurs vies.

27 sanglez: *P'A^oA'M* singuliers.

28 la grieté (*according to BRC'*): *P'C^o* le griece (*A'MS* griete *P^s* griefvete); *loingtienqs*: *C^o* loingtienqs *A'A'M* loingtains *BR-P^oS* lointains *C'DS* lontains.

29 acoustumance: *B* continuance.

30 parfin: *P'C^o* parfois; marcheandise . . . Tullius: *A^o om.*; Marcus Tullius: *B* m'tusculus.

32 trespassé: *Rb* (*except DS*) -see; Causcasus: *B* Carthasus.

34 gloire: *BR* chaere.

35 et . . . acr. et: *B om.*; que: *P^sA^oA'M* qui.

36 Pourra: *B portas*; aler: *BR om.*; la ou: *C'b ou*.

39-40 ce que . . . vice et: *C^o om.*

39 li un (*according to C^oP^s*): *P'C'R* li uns *BP^oM* les uns.

40 vice: *BR* vilte; jugent: *Pⁱ* juge.

40-1 *B*: ce que les uns jugent de gre, les autres jugent par torment.

43 pupliee (*P'C'R*): *C'* puplie *A'A'* peupliee *B* puepliee *P'DS* peuploiee *M* publiee *P^s* peuplee.

44 noble: *P'C^o* celle.

45 bonnes . . . gens: *P'C^o* hommes.

47 li escript ne leur vaillent (*editor's corr.* for vaille) niant (*P'C'C^o*): *B* leurs escrivains ne leur valent noient *R* li escript ne leur valent noiant *b* je ne sce pas que cil escript profitent.

47-8 anc. long. et oscure: *Pⁱ* ancieneté longuez et oscurez.

et obscure efface avec leurs auteurs. Mais il vous est avis que vous aqueréz pardurableté a vous quant vous penséz la renommee du temps a venir.

50 Mais se tu la compairez aus espassez de pardurableté qui sont sens fin, quelle chose as tu de quoy tu te puisses esjoir de la longue durableté de ton nom? Car se la demeure d'un seul moment de temps estoit comparee a diz mile ans, pour ce que l'une et l'autre espasse est fenie, ja soit ce que cil momens ait tres petite partie de temps, toutevois en a il aucune. Mais 55 cil meismes nombrez de ans et chascuns nombres qui par celui puet estre montepliéz ne puet estre comparéz a la durance de pardurableté qui ne puet estre terminee. Car des chosez fenies puet on faire comparaison entreus, mais de chose sens fin a chose fenie ne pourra jamais estre faite comparaison. Dom il est ainsi que la renommee de si lonc temps comme il 60 te plaira a penser, se elle est comparee a la pardurableté qui ne puet estre espuisiee *ne comprise*, elle ne te semblera pas estre petite, mais plainement nulle. Mais vous ne savéz (14vb) riens faire, *ne bien ne a droit*, fors aus oreilles du peuple et a vanitéz des nouvelles et, delaissiee la grant valeur de conscience et de vertu, requeréz vos loiers de paroles estranges.

65 Or reçoif et entent comment en la legiereté de l'orgueil de ceste vaine gloire uns homs moca et deçut belement et soutiument un autre. Car comme uns eust assailli par blasmes et *par ledenges* un autre homme qui, non mie a l'usage de vraie vertu mais pour orgueilleuse gloire, avoit pris seur soi faussement le nom de philosophie et li eust dit que il seroit seurs, 70 savoir mon, se cil fust philosophie, c'est a savoir s'il eust souffert et porté debonnairement et en pacience les injures, *ce est a dire les hontes et les tors* que cil li faisoit et disoit, il prist un petit en soy pacience et, quant il out receu les outragez et les hontez que cil li ot faitez ou ditez, il aussi comme en soi esjoissant dist *a la parfin*: "N'aperceuz tu ore pas bien", dist il, "et 75 entens que je sui philosophie?" Lors li respondi cil trop asprement: "Je l'avoie", dist il, "entendu, se tu te feusses teu". Mais quelle chose est ce qui aus noblez hommes apartiengne et qui leur remaingne de leur renommee puis que leur corps est tourné en cendre par la derreniere mort, car des noblez hommes et des miex vaillans qui par vertu requierent gloire de 80 renommee parlons ici. Car se li homme meurent tuit et du tout, c'est *a dire corps et ame ensemble*, la quelle chose nos raisons nous deffendent que nous ce ne croions, leur gloire est du tout nulle *après la mort*, comme cil de qui on dit que celle gloire est, ne soit jamés en nulle maniere. Et se l'ame qui a en soy conscience de bonnes euvrez, (15ra) desliee de la chartre 85 du corps, s'en vet franche et *delivre* ou ciel, ne despira elle pas toute

48 est avis: *P^s* semble.

50 tu: *P^{C²}* om.; compairez: *BRC¹P²DS* compares *A²* comperes; es- 55 passez: *P²* estrace.

52 demeure: *P^{A¹}*A²M memoire; de temps: *B* de ciex.

55 de ans: *b* de temps *D* *om.*; et chasc. 60 nombres: *P^CBD* *om.*.

56 ne (puet): *Pⁱ* qui ne; *a*: *PⁱC²* en.

57-60 terminée . . . estre: *B* *om.*

61 ne comprise: *B* ne souprise *Pⁱ* *om.*; estre petite: *Pⁱ* inverted.

62 riens faire: *P^{DS}* inverted; ne bien ne a:

*P^{A¹}*A²M n'a point n'a.

63 a: *C²DS* as; delaissiee (RB): the rest 68 de laissies (-iez).

64 requeréz: *b* (except *A²*): et r.

65 reçoif (*C¹P^{DS}*): *PⁱB* recoit *R* recois *P²M* recoin *A²* recuin *A¹* rechief *C²* recei; com- 73 ment: *a* (except *C¹*) *P²* *om.* *A¹* comme; or- 74 gueil: *PⁱC²* oreille.

66 moca et deçut: *P^{A¹}*A²M aura deceu; soutiument: *C¹* soutiument *b* souefment (*Pⁱ*

souefvement).

67 ledenges: *Pⁱ* les deges; un autre homme: *b* *om.* (replaced by un autre after assailli); qui: *P^{C²}*C²R *om.*

68 avoit pris: *P^{DS}* avoir prist.

72-3 faisoit . . . li: *D* *om.*

72 soy: *b* *om.*; pacience: *B* de p.; il (out): *P^{C²}* *cil.*

74 dist *a la parfin*: *Pⁱ* inverted; aperceuz (corrected for a perceuz from *PⁱC²*): the rest apercois; ore pas (*C¹*): *R* or mie *Bb* pas ore (ores) *PⁱC²* ore.

75 cil: *P^sA²M* l'autre *A¹* l'un (for l'aú?).

76 te feusses teu: *B* ne fusses tiex.

79 miex vaillans: *B* humains; qui par vertu: *Pⁱ* *om.*

79-82 de renommee . . . gloire: *B* *om.*

81 deffendent: *C¹* deffent *P^sPⁱA¹A²M* enseig- 86 nent.

82-3 cil de qui: *DS* cilz des quels.

83 soit: *DS* soient.

84 a en soy: *DS* est en; desliee: *B* de leesce.

besoingne terrestre quant elle, usans du ciel, s'esjoist de estre soustrete aus chosez terriennez? Donques n'a elle cure de la gloire de renommee.

[METRE VII.]

Quiconques par pensee trebuchable requiert seule gloire et croit que ce soit li souverains biens, regart les contrees du ciel larges et grans et l'estroit siege des terrez, il aura honte de son nom acreu qui ne puet raemplir le petit avironnement de la terre. O las! li orgueilleus pour quoy convoitent 5 il en vain lever leurs colz hors du jou mortel? Ja soit ce que renommee espandue, trespassans par peuples lointiens, aille par toutes ou par diverses langues et que grant maison ou *grant mesnie* resplendisse de nobles loenges, la mort despit haute gloire, elle envelope ensemble le haut chief et le bas et aive et fait *igaulz* les tres petitez chosez aus tres haultez. Ou sont ore 10 les os de Fabricius le loyal? Quelle chose est ore Brutus ou Chatons li roidez? Leur petite renommee demourans demonstre leur vain nom par un pou de letres. Mais pour ce que nous avons cogneuz les biaus moz *renommez de leurs nons*, est il donques donne aux mors a ce savoir? Certez non. Donques gesiez vous du tout mescognosable ne vostre renommee 15 ne vous fait pas cogneuz. Et se vous cuidez plus longuement vivre par le vent de vostre mortel nom, quant li derreniers jours vous ostera ce nom, la seconde mort vous prendra lors.

[PROSE VIII.]

“Mais pour ce que tu ne cuidez que je vueille contre Fortune faire bataille qui ne puisse estre apaisiee, (15rb) aucune foiz avient il que il semble que elle, decevable, deserve a avoir des hommes bonne merite et bonnes graces, c'est assavoir lors, comme elle se euvre, quant elle 5 desqueuvre son front et demonstre ses meurs. Par aventure tu n'entens pas mes paroles. C'est merveille que je vueli dire et, pour ce, en puis je a paine desploier la sentence par paroles. Car je croi que fortune contraire, felonnesse et pouvre, profite plus aus hommes que fortune amiable, debonnaire et riche. Car l'amiable, quant elle apert debonnaire et digne 10 par semblance de beneurte, elle ment touz jours; la contraire est touz jours

86 usans du: B luisant au; s'esjoist: b
s'esjoira.

87 de (ren.): P'C² om.

METRE VII.

3 siege: P¹ siegez b siecle; son nom: BA³P⁴
soy.

4-5 pour . . . mortel: A³ om. B pour
seeurs couvoitent il leur ciex hors de non
mortel (!).

5 lever: b eslever; lever leurs colz: b inverted;
hors: R fors P'C² om.; jou: C¹ jour
BP⁴ non.

6 toutes: B t. contrees.

7 langues: C¹ contrees; ou *grant mesnie*: B
ou g. manoir C¹ ou grans mainies P'A¹A³M
om.; resplendisse: P'DSC¹ -issent; de:
P³A¹A³M par.

8 la . . . gloire: P'DS om.; haut chief:
P'C² inverted.

9 aive (according to R): P'C²P²A⁴M aime
(corrected to alive in P²) A¹ amis D ame
S önie BA³P⁴ avient C¹ mue; et aive: P³ om.:
et fait: b (except P³) parfes; aus tres: P²
entres (corrected to au tres) A¹ aultres A¹
aut's.

10 de: P¹ om.; Fabricius: P¹ Fabrius D
Fabricius B Fabrical; Chatons: A³ chantons.

10-11 li roides? Leur: B les roys de.

11 vain: B vil.

14 gesiez (P'P²): C¹A¹A⁴MDS gisiez (-ies)
C¹ gissies BA³P²P¹ gisez R geses.

14-5 ne vostre . . . cogneuz: P² om.

16 vent: B voulit; jours: P¹ noms B nō:
nom: b om.

PROSE VIII.

1 vueille (RP²A'M): P'C² vuil A² veuile
BS veulle C'D voelle P² voille.

2 apaisiee: R apeticiee.

3 deserve (a; C² reserve): b ne desserve
(M desire) . . . nulle; merite: B verite.

3-4 et bonnes graces: b om.

4 comme: BP'D que S quant; se P'C²B om.:
euvre: D oeure S coeure.

6-7 C'est . . . paroles: B om.

6 C'est: R ceste.

7 croi: B cuit.

8 felonnesse et pouvre: B soit f. et pour ce.

9 debonnaire: B et debonnairete; l'amiable:
P¹ l'ami; digne: b soeuf (M soeufve) BR
seure C¹ dame (C¹: apert de patience dame
par sanlant).

10 ment: B vient C¹ esräment; la contraire
est: B au c. et.

veraie quant elle monstre par sa muance qu'elle n'est pas estable. L'amiable les deçoit; la contraire les enseingne. L'amiable lie de la biauté des biens mengongiers les pensees des hommes qui en usent; la contraire les deslie par la cognosance de la muable beneurte. Tu pues donques l'amiable
 15 veoir menteresse, escoulouriable et mescognosant de soy meismes, et la contraire atrempe, restraincte et sage par l'usage de ses mescheances. Au derrenier la beneuree les atrait par blandissez et les fait desvoier du souverain bien et la maleuree les y ramaine plus souvent et les retrait a un croc. Cuidez tu ore que tu doies tenir a petite chose ce que ceste fortune aspre et orrible *qui t'a ci mis t'a descouvert les pensees de tes loyaus amis?* Icesta a departi les visages certains et doubteus de tes compaignons. Quant elle se parti de toy, elle te toli les siens amis et te laissa les tiens. Quant tu estoies richez et aesiéz et beneuréz, si comme il te estoit avis, (15va) combien vousisiez tu lors ce avoir acheté, *ce est a savoir que tu les cogneussez lors si bien comme tu les cognois ores.* Or ne te complaing pas donques des richessez perdues ou *ne les quiers plus,* car tu as trouvé la plus precieuse maniere des richesses qui puisse estre trouvée, c'est a savoir vrais amis.

[METRE VIII.]

Ce que li mondes tourne diversement par estable foi ses accordables muances, ce que les contraires qualitez des elemens tiennent entreus alliance pardurable, ce que li soleus par sa bele presence aporte le cler jour, ce que la lune a seignorie sus les nuiz que li vesprez amaine, et que la mer
 5 couvoiteuse *de pourprendre la terre* refrene ses floz par certain terme, et que les terres ne puissent trop estendre leur largez bonnes—cesto ordeneance de chosez est liee par Amour gouvernant les terres et la mer et commandant neis au ciel. Se ceste Amour relascoit les frains, toutesz les chosez qui s'entreaiment orendroient feroient tantost bataille et estriveroient de depecier
 10 la façon du monde, la quelle il demainent ore en acordable foy par biaus mouvemens. Ceste Amour neis constraint touz peuples par alliance sainte, ceste Amor enlace le sacrement de mariage par chastes amours, ceste neis

11 veraie: *C¹* venant; sa muance: *B* sem-blance; L'amiable: *C¹A¹* la muable.

12 les (decoit): *B* la *b om.*; les (ens.): *b om.*; L'amiable: *P¹C²* l'ennuiable *C¹A¹* la mu-able; lie: *B* liee.

14 de la muable (*C¹RP²A¹*): *P¹C²* de sa m. *BP¹MDS* del amiable.

14-5 de la . . . veoir: *A² om.*

14 beneurte: *B om.*

14-5 l'amiable veoir: *B l'a.* avoir *R* la muable avoir *b inverted.*

15 escoulouriable: *P¹* decourant; soy (*a*): *P²DSA¹A²* li *P³* lui *M* elle.

16 sage par l'usage: *B* sa plus sages.

17 la beneuree: *C¹P³* la beneurte *R* *om.*; desvoier: *P¹C²* esjoir.

18 y ramaine: *S* v amaine *C¹* ramaine *P¹* remaine; retrait (*P¹C²C²*): *S* retient *BRb* y retrait.

20 t'a descouvert: *B* de escouter (!).

21 departi: *P¹* desparti; visages: *B* usages; doubez: (*a*): *b* les d.

22-3 quant . . . tiens: *B om.*

22 parti: *Rb* (except DS) departi.

23 richez et: *b om.*; aesiéz (*P¹R*): *C¹* aisiiez *C¹* aisiiez *B* aisiiez *b* (except MS) a aise *M* aise *S* accuse.

24 tu: *P¹C² om.*

26 complaing: *DS* plaing.

27 des richesses: *B om.*; puisse . . . trouvée: *P¹* puissent . . . trouvezee.

METRE VIII.

1 par: *P¹C²* et par.

2 ce: *BD* et; tiennent: *S* troevent; entreus: *b en eus.*

3 sa: *P¹C²* la *P²DS* se; *C¹*: par baile sa presence et porte.

4 lune: *B* nue; amaine: *R* amoinne *B* envoie; et que: *b ce que.*

5 refrene ses floz (*R*): *B r.* les f. *P⁴* re-fraine les f. *C²* refraine ces f. *A⁸* refraigne les f. *P¹C¹* referme les f. *b* (except *S*) se refraint *S* restraint.

6 terres: *BRA¹P¹* termes; trop (*a* except *B*): *A¹P¹B* plus *b om.*; estendre: *B* ataindre.

7 gouvernant: *RP⁴* gouvernent *A³* gouvernement *B* pour gouverner.

7-8 commandant neis: *BRP²D* commandant n. *P⁴* comment n. *A³* couvient regarder.

8 relascoit (*P¹C²*): *BRP³A²M* relascoit *P²A¹* relachoit *D* relachoit *S* relaissoit *C²* re-laschel *P¹* relachast *A³* se lachast.

9 feroient (*BCP³A¹A²M*): *P¹C²RP²DS* fe-ron; estriveroient: *P¹C²RP²DS* estriveront.

10 en: *b* par.

11 Ceste Amour: *C¹* diex; neis cont.: *P¹ in-verted;* constraint (*according to B*): *A¹P⁴* constraint *the rest* contient; sainte: *B* faites.

12 ceste Amor: *C¹* diex *BRA¹P⁴* ce est asavoir; enlace: *BRP¹* en lacie *A³* en lassie *D* enlaiche; sacrement: *B* autrement.

donne et dite leurs droiturez aus compaignons loyaus. O, bneuréz fust li lignages humains, se celle Amour par quoy li cielz est gouvernéz gouvernast
15 vos couragez." (15vb)

[BOOK III]

[PROSE I.]

Elle avoit ja feni son chant quant la douceur de sa chançon m'avoit ja trespercié, qui glouz estoie de oir et avoie les oreillez dreciees pour entendre les autres chosez qui remanoient a dire. Adonques li dis je un petit après: "O", dis je, "tu qui es li souverains confors des angoisseuz couragez, 5 combien m'as tu refait et raempli et par le pois de tes sentences et par le delit de ton chant! Si que je ne cuide pas ore estre si foibles ne si pooreus que je ne puisse bien et ose recevoir et souffrir touz les assaus et touz les coups que Fortune me puet faire et me cuide bien deffendre d'elle ne ne me cuit pas despareil a ses coups. Si que les remedez, que tu me disoies qui estoient 10 un pou plus aigres, je ne les redoubte pas tant seulement nient, ainçois suis si couvoiteus de oir les que je te requier ardammant que tu les me dies."

Lors dist elle: "Ce senti je bien", dist elle, "quant tu, taisans et ententis, ravissaies mes paroles et atendi ou que tu auroies tel habit de pensee comme tu as ores ou que je meismes le te parfis qui est encores plus vraie chose 15 que atendre. Certez les chosez qui remaingnent a dire sont telles que, quant on en gouste premierement, elles mordent, mais quant elles sont receues dedens, elles adoucissent. Mais pour ce que tu dis que tu es couvoiteus de oir, de com grant ardeur esboudroiez tu, se tu savoies ou je te vueil mener!" "Ou me veulz tu", dis je, "mener?" "A celle vraie beneurté", dist 20 elle, "que (16ra) tu songes en ton courage, mais pour ce que ta veue est empêchée pour l'ymaginacion des chosez terriennes, tu ne pues celle beneurté regarder." Lors dis je: "Fai, je t'en pri, et me demonstre sans demeure quiex est celle vraie beneurté." "Si ferai je", dist elle, "volentiers pour la cause de toy. Mais je te senefierai avant par paroles et 25 m'efforceray a toy enformer et toy faire entendre celle fausse cause de beneurté que tu cognois miex, si que, quant tu auras regardé celle et auras flechi tes yeulz en la contraire partie, tu puisses cognoistre la clarté de vraie beneurté.

13 dite: *P^s* dicte *D* dicte *B* di ce.
14 celle: *b* ceste; par: *P'C^s* pour.

15 vos: *P^t* nos.

BOOK III.

PROSE I.

1 quant: *b* car; sa chançon: *b* son chant *P^t* sa chacon.

3 li: *P^t* le.

5 refait et: *b* om.; et (par): *P'C^s* om.; le (pois): *P'C^s* les; sentences (a): *b* paroles.

6 estre: *P'C^s* om.; pooreus: *C^s* poureus *b* paoureus *C^t* paourous *B* peresceux; ne si pooreus: *R* om.

7 puisse: *P'A^tA^sM* receive; et ose . . . souffrir: *P^sA^tA^sM* om.; et souffrir: *DS* om.; les (assaus): *P'DS* ces; coups: *DS* caus *P^s* cos.

8 cu^rdo (P'C^s): the rest nius; d'elle (P'C^s): *BRC'P^sDS* de li *P'A^tA^sM* de lui; cuit: *P'A^tA^sM* croy.

9 despareil (BRC'A^sDS): *A^t* desverel *P^s* despareil *P^s* non pareil *C^s* appeil'r *P'B* despareillier.

11 si: *P'C^s* om.; ardammant: *P^t* rdammant; ardammant que tu: *b* que tu errament.

12 senti: *B* savoie; taisans: *B* seurs.

13 atendi (BDS): the rest entendi; tu: *P'C^s* om.

15 que: *b* a (A^s om.); atendre (B): the rest entendre; after atendre the editor has suppressed the words quelle merveille; a dire: *b* om.

16 en gouste (C'DS): *P^tC^s* a g. *R* en coute *P^s* en goutet *P^sA^tA^sM* les gouste *B* les encontre.

19 Ou . . . mener: *P^tC^sP^sDS* om.

22 Lors dis je: *BP^sDS* om.

23 quiex (P^tP^sB): *C^t* qui *C^sRb* (except P^s) quele.

24 la cause: *S* l'amour; par paroles: *P^sA^tA^sM* om.

25 enformer et toy: *R* enforcier et toi *B* efforcer et te *b* om.; entendre: *P^s* cougnostre.

28 beneurté (a): *b* lumiere.

[METRE I.]

Qui veult semer un champ plantereuz, il le delivre avant des espines et trenche a la faus *les esglentiers et les chardons et les buissons et la fuchiere* pour ce que li blez y viengne pesans de espiz et de grain. Miel et chascune autre viande est plus douce quant on a gousté avant des saveurs males et ameres. Les estoilles resplendissent plus agreablement quant li fors vens de midi laisse ses soufflaiz pleuieus. Puis que l'estoille du matin a chaciee la nuit tenebreuse, li jours en apert aprés plus biaus et plus cler. Aussi tu, regardans premierement les faulz biens, commence a retraire toy de leur amour greveuse et pesant; et li vrai bien entreront aprés en ton courage."

[PROSE II.]

Lors arresta elle un petit la veue de ses yeulz et se retraist aussi comme en l'estroit siege de sa pensee et commença ainsi a parler: "Toutez les cures et toutez les pensees des mortiex hommes qui se travaillent en diversez estudez vont certez par divers sentiers, mais il s'esforcent tuit de venir a une fin tant seule- (16rb) ment de beneurte. Et ce est uns telz biens que, quiconques l'a aquis, il ne puisse plus nulle chose desirier oultre. Et ceste chose est li souverains biens de tous biens contenant dedens soy touz biens; et se aucune chose li failloit, il ne pourroit pas estre souverains, car aucun bien remaindroit dehors qui pourroit estre desiriéz. Or est ce 5 donques chose clere que beneurtéz est estaz parfaiz par amoncelement de touz biens. Ceste beneurté, si comme nous avons dit, s'esforcent de aconsuivre tuit li mortel par divers sentiers. Car la couvoitise du vray bien est entee naturellement es pensees des hommes, mes erreur desvoiable les en retrait et les maine aus faulz biens. Dom aucuns croient que souverain 10 bien soit vivre sens pouvreté et sans besoing et travaillent a ce que il soient habondans de richeces. Li autre croient que estre tres digne de honneur soit souverains biens; cist s'esforcent a estre redoubté de leurs voisins par honneurs aquisez. Li autre croient que tres haute puissance 15 soit souverains biens; cist desirent ou regner ou estre privéz et familiers aus roys. Il est avis aus autres que noblete de renommee est li souverains biens; cist se hastent de aquerre glorieus nom par les ars de bataille ou de paix. Li pluseurs cuident que joie et leesche soit li souverains biens; cil cuident 20 que tres beneuree chose soit que habonder de deliz corporex. Li autres

METRE I.

1 avant: *P¹C² om.*2 esglentiers: *P² aiglentiers R aglentier P⁴C¹ englentiers; buissons: *P¹ byssons C² buissons;***fuchiere: P⁴ fougiere R feugiere DS lechiere.*3 pour ce que: *P⁸ afin que; Miel: A³ om.*4 autre viande (aA³): *P⁸A¹A²M chose douce P² marginal chose DS liqueur; est: P¹C² om.;**a gousté (BCP⁸): P¹A³ la g. C³S en g. R si g.**P²A¹A²MD gousté.*5 plus: *b mixt et plus.*6 souffaiz: *the rest soufflez (-es); pleuieus (P¹C²; corrected from pleureus): R²A³ pluieus M pluyeux A¹A³ pluieus P⁴ plueux C¹P³ pluieus BP² plungeus DS plougans.*7 jours . . . biaus . . . cler (according to BC¹C²): *P¹ jour . . . biau . . . cler; biaus: C² bleauz.*8 premierement: *BRP⁴ om.*

PROSE II.

1 retraist: *DS traist; aussi: P⁸A¹A²M om.*2 sa pensee: *P⁸ son couraige; cures (BR): the rest (except P⁸) evrues P⁸ ames.*3-4 en diversez estudez: *P¹C² en diversez manieres et en div. est. C¹b en divers est.*4 certez: *DS cerchant.*5 puisse: *C¹ puist B pense; oultre (P¹C²R): BC¹b autre.*6 de tous biens: *P⁴C² om.*7-8 de tous b. . . biens: *B om.*8 pourroit pas estre: *b seroit pas (P² se voit pas).*9 est (ce): *P¹M om.*10 chose clere: *b inverted; beneurtéz: P¹ beneurez; par: P¹C² et par.*11-2 de aconsuivre: *B a cognoistre.*12 tuit: *P¹C² om.*13 entee: *B entree; mes: P¹C² om.; desvoable: B deuourable R desvoia les.*13-4 les en retrait: *P¹ les r. R en r. P⁸ entretrait S lez en enretiet.*14 maine (P¹C²): *C³S amaine R amoinne B envoie b (except S) ramaine.*17 a: *P¹C² de P⁸ om.*17-9 cist . . . biens: *C¹ om.*19 desirent ou regner ou: *B desirer ouurer (!).*22 que . . . cuident: *P¹ om.*23 que (hab.): *P⁸ de RP²MAS om.; de: B es P⁸ en.*

sont qui les fins et les causez de ces devant diz biens entrechangent et
 25 transmuuent, si comme cil qui desirent richeces pour avoir puissance et deliz
 ou qui desirent puissance pour avoir deniers ou pour cause de renommee.
 En ces chosez donques et en ces autres (16va) telles est tournee l'entencion
 des fais et des desiriers humains, si comme sont noblece et grace de peuple
 qui donnent aus hommes, ce leur est avis, une maniere de renommee; et si
 30 comme sont fame et enfans qui sont requis par cause de delit et joieuseté;
 et si comme est celle tres sainte maniere de amis qui n'est pas ou nombre
 des biens de fortune, mais de vertu, c'est a dire qui ne vient pas de fortune,
 mais de vertu, et cist sont li vrai ami. Mais li autre maniere de amis est
 requise et receue pour cause de puissance ou de delit.

35 Or sommes prest de rapporter les biens du corps aus chosez dessus dites.
 Car il semble que force de corps et grandeur doingnen puissance, et que
 biauté et isneleté doingnen noblece et renommee et que santé doingne
 delit. En toutez ces chosez apert il que seule beneurté est desiree, car ce
 40 que chascuns desire seur toutez autres chosez il juge que ce soit li
 souverains biens. Mais nous avons defeni que li souverains biens est
 beneurté; pour quoy chascuns juge que li estaz que il desire seur touz
 autres soit beneurté.

Donques as tu devant tes yeulz proposee pres que toute la forme de la
 beneurté humaine, c'est a savoir richeces, honneurs, puissances, gloirez,
 45 deliz. Et ces seules chosez regarde seulement li Epicurians et puis juge
 tantost et establest que deliz est li souverains biens pour ce que toutez ces
 chosez, si comme il li est avis, aportent joieuseté au courage des hommes.
 Mais je retourne aus estudez des hommes, des quiex li courage requiert
 50 toutevois le souverain bien, ja soit ce que il le requiere par occurcie
 remembrance, mais il ne scet par quel sentier il y retourt, si comme (16vb)
 hom yvrez qui ne scet retourner a son ostel. Semble il donques que cil
 foloient qui s'esforcent a ce que il ne aient besoing ne souffraite de nulle
 55 chose? Certez nulle autre chose ne est qui si bien puisse parfaire beneurté
 comme estaz planteureus de touz biens et qui n'a mestier ne besoing de
 autrui, ainçois est par soi souffisans a soi meismes. Et folaint donques cil
 qui cuident que ce qui est tres bon soit tres digne de reverance et de
 honneur? Certez non car n'est pas chose vilz ne que on doie despire ce
 60 que pres que l'entencion de touz les mortiex hommes travaille a aquerre. Et
 puissance ne doit elle pas estre mise ou nombre des biens? Que sera elle
 donc? Ja ne doit on pas cuidier que ce qui est miex vaillant de toutez
 chosez soit foible et sens forces. Et clarté de renommee la doit on despire?
 Certez ainçois ne puet nulz nier que tout ce qui est tres noble ne semble

24 ces devant diz biens (BRC^b): P¹ ceulz
 diz devant C² ceulz devant diz biens.

25 avoir: P¹C² om.

27 ces (autres): Bb om.; tournee (a): b
 trouuee.

28 et (des): P²DS om.; et (grace): P¹C² om.
 30 fame (according to C¹, etc.): P¹BRC^bP²A¹
 fames.

31-3 n'est . . . amis: B om.

32 biens: editor's correction from Chaucer;
 all manuscripts read: amis.

32-3 c'est . . . vertu: BC^bC²b om.

34 require et receue: b inverted.

36-7 puissance . . . doingment: P² om.

37 doingment: D doinsent S donnechent P²
 donnent; que (santé): b om.; doingne: C¹
 doinst B doist D doinse S donneche P² donne.

39 seur: C²R sus b dessus B pō.

40 biens: P¹ om.

41-2 pour . . . beneurté: P² om.

43 forme: P²DS fortune.

45 Epicurians (P²): P¹R espicurians C¹ epi-
 turians DS epicurijens P²A¹A²M epicurien B
 esperitueux C² esperitueles.

46 tantost: P¹ t. si comme; li BRC^b (ex-
 cept P²) om.

47 li: C¹Rb om.; joieuseté: R joennesce;
 courge des hommes: C¹ adds seulement,
 mais delis l'aporte au corps avoec.

48 toutevois: B touz jours; le requiere:
 P²M requiere R le requiert C¹ le quiere.

50 y retourt: C¹R retourt B y recoure P²M
 y retourne A¹ retorne.

51 hom: P¹C²b om.

52 nulle: P²A¹A²M aucune.

53 beneurté: B seurte.

56 tres (digne): P²DS om.

57 chose: b om.

58 pres que: B pres de; les mortiex hom-
 mes b hommes m.

61 forces (P¹C²R): BC^b force; Et clarté
 de re (sic.): B om.

estre tres cler et tres renommé. Et de bneurté que m'apartient il a dire
que elle ne soit pas angoisseuse ne triste ne soumise aus douleurs ne aus
65 tristees, quant neis es tres petites chosez requiert l'en ce qui delite quant
on en puet avoir et user? Certes ce sont les chosez que li homme veulent
aconsuivre et aquerre et pour ceste cause desirent il a avoir richeces,
dignitéz, royaumes, gloirez, deliz pour ce que il croient que par ces chosez
leur viengne suffisance, honneur, puissance, renommee, leesce. Donques est
70 ce bien que les hommes requierent par tant de diversez estudez; en ce puet
on legierement monstrar combien est grant la force de nature, comme ja soit
ce que il aient sentences diversez et discordans, toutefois s'accordent (17ra)
il tuit en amer la fin de bien.

[METRE II.]

Or me plaist a dire par chant soutil et par sons delitables comme nature,
puissant et pourveable, tourne et flechist les gouvernemens des chosez, et
par quiex lais et par quiex establissemens elle garde ce grant monde, et
comment ele lie et restraint toutes chosez par lien que nulz ne puet deslier.

5 Ja soit ce que li lyon de Aufrique portent en leur colz les beles chaenes,
et praingnent les viandez que li hommes leur donnent a leurs mains, et
craiment leur felon maistre dom il seulement souffrir les batemens; s'il ont
leurs orribles gueules ensanglantées des bestes devourees, il retournent a
leurs courages de jadis qui longuement avoient esté repost et fremissent
10 griefment et leur remembre de leur nature; il laschent leurs colz des chaenes
deslies et est leur maistre li premiers despeciéz et mengiéz par leurs
crueusez dans et abeuvre de son sanc leurs couragez erragiéz.

Li oisiaus janglierres, qui par les bois chante sus les hautez branchez,
quant il est enclos en l'estraite cage: ja soit ce que li homme li doingnent
15 par jeu beuvragez emmieléz et largez viandez par doulz estude, s'il avient
toutevois, quant il saut par sa maison estroite, que il voie les agreablez
ombres des bois, il defoule a ses piéz les viandez esparpilliez et requiert
courrouciez tant seulement et regrete les bois par sa douce voiz.

La verge d'un arbre, courvée par grant force, flechist le sommet de li

64 triste: B traître; douleurs (bB; C¹ doleur): P¹C² doleureuses R doulereuses; P²A¹-A²M a douleurs et a tristesses B a doleurs ja
tristesce C¹ a doleur et a tristre R a dou-
lereuses tristees.

65 requiert l'en: P¹C² requiert je.

67 aconsuivre: P²A¹A²M avoir; avoir (a): b aquerre.

70 bien (b): a bon; tant de: B tantes P¹A²
tant; diversez (P¹BR): C¹C²b divers.

71-2 soit ce: D soice.

73 tuit: DS tout.

METRE II.

1 par chant: A³P⁴ pour chancon.

2 et (pourv.): P¹ est.

3-4 garde . . . ele: P¹C² om.

4 lieu: RA³P²M liens C²S lieu D lieu A²
liex A¹ lieux.

5 li lyon: B les hommes; colz: C²B coulz
RP²A² cops P² cos A³ coups; les (beles):
Rb leurs (A lés).

6 praingnent (P¹C²P²A¹A²): RS prengnent
D pregent C¹ preendent P¹M prennent P²
preinguent.

7 craiment (P¹RP²): B trainent A¹A²M cre-
ment C¹D criement S criesment P² craignent
C² craignent A³P⁴ doubtent; felon maistre:
b inverted C¹ maistre BRA³ felons mestres;

seulent: C¹ leur esteut; batemens (P¹C²):
RRC²b bateures (-tures) A³ bastures P¹ ba-

teurs; s'il: R cil B ceulz P³ et si.

10 griefment (C²RP²A¹MDP⁴): A² grie-
fement BP² griement P¹C² griesment; laschent
(b except DS; RA³P⁴): B lacent DS laissent
C¹ deslachent P¹C² sachent; des: Bb leur.

11 deslies: P¹ desliee; li . . . mengiéz:
B en merites.

12 abeuvre (editor's correction from R:
abeure, C¹: aboivre, P⁴: abuvre): P¹ abeuvrez
C² abouvrez B a boire b (except A²) aboiv-
rent A² boivent; leurs couragez erragiéz
(P¹C²): b leur courage enragie R leur cou-
rants couragez B leur crueux couragez C¹ les
courans erragies A³ leur decourt es entrailles
P⁴ leur gourt aux entrailles.

13 janglierres: P² janglierres P¹ jenglierres
S jenglierres D jaingleres R jangoillierres B
couragez janglierres (sic) C¹ jengloijerres C²
jaugleurs P²A¹A²M jangleur A³ om.; par les
bois chante (P¹C²): BRA³P¹b ch. par les b.

14 estraitre (editor's correction for es-
traintre): the rest estroite.

15 doulz: A³P⁴ grans.

16 saut: P³ saillet; sa: DS la P²A¹A²M om.

17 les (P¹C¹C²): Bb ses R sa (viande).

18 et regrete: b om.; les bois: C¹BRP⁴ re-
peated before and after et regrete.

19 courvée (R): P¹C²BP²S tournee P²A¹A²M
cornuee D c'uee C¹ courue A³P⁴ tiree;
sommet: C¹ sousmet.

- 20 enclin vers terre; mais se la main qui la courva la relaisse aler, elle regarde le ciel par teste dreciee.

Li soleus chiet au vespre et semble qu'il se couche es ondes de la mer, mais il tourne de rechief son char par secré sentier a (17rb) l'orient dom il seult au matin naistre.

- 25 Toutez chosez requierent leur propre recors et s'esjoissent chascunes chosez de retourner a leur nature, ne nulle ordenance n'est bailliee aus chosez fors que ce qui joint leur commencement a leur fin et qui fait le tour de elles meismes estable si que il ne se mue de sa propre nature.

[PROSE III.]

Certez aussi vous hommes, qui estez bestez terriennes, songiez toutevois, ja soit ce que par petite ymaginacion, vostre commencement et, par quelque maniere de pensee—ja soit ce que elle ne soit pas bien clere—regardez toutevois de loing ycelle vraie fin de beneurté et pour ce neis

- 5 vous maine vostre naturel entencion au vray bien et de celui bien vous retraiant maintez erreurs. Or regarde tu meismes se li homme par ces choses par les queles il cuident aconsuivre beneurté, savoir mon, se il peuent venir a celle fin ou il cuident venir par nature. Car se deniers ou honneurs et ces autrez chosez dessus ditez aportent a homme tel bien que
 10 nulz des biens ne li defaille ne ne li semble defaillir, certez nous recognoistrions lors que aucuns sont faiz beneuréz pour ce qu'il ont ces chosez aquisez. Mais se elles ne peuent ce faire que elles prometent et pluseurs biens leur defaillent encors, n'apert il clerement que fausse semblance de beneurté est en eus cogneue et reprise? Or demande je
 15 donques premierement a toi meismes qui de richecez habondaines n'a mie encore passé lonc temps, se tu, entre ces tres habondans richecez, fus onques én ton courage dolans et angoisseus d'aucun tort ou d'aucun grief qui venist de quelque part?"

- "Certez", dis je, "je ne me puis pas remembrer que je fusse onques de si 20 delivre courage que je (17va) ne fusse touz jours angoisseus d'aucune chose" "Ne te failloit il pas aucune chose que tu ne vousissiez mie que te fausist, ou avoies tu ce que tu ne vousissiez pas avoir?" "Ainsi est", dis je.

20 enclin (*aA³P⁴*): b avec lui; courva (*RC¹*): M courba (b *correction for v*) P¹C²-P²S tourna A¹A² torna D corna B corôna P³ tournee A¹P⁴ tira.

21 teste dreciee (*P¹C²P³*): A²C¹ t. drechie A¹M t. dreciee S t. estrechie B ce redrescie D ceste destreche P² t. destrece (*corrected in margin*).

22 Li soleus: A³P⁴ om.; couche: B touche; ondes: P¹C² umbrez A¹M undes.

23 tourne: BC¹P²DSMA³P⁴ retourne; secré: B estroit; a l': b en.

25-6 requierent . . . chosez: A³P⁴ om.

25 leur: P¹C² om. C¹ son; recors: C¹DS re-tours BR cours; s'esjoissent: B s'esloignent; chascunes: BR toutes.

26 ordenance: b ordre (S orde).

27 fors que: bBRC¹ fors.

27-8 le tour de elles: P⁴ les tordelles.

28 estable si: R om.; si: A³P¹B om.; mue: B mire.

PROSE III.

1 Certez aussi: C² c. ainssin b inverted.

2 petite: P¹ pitie.

3 quelque (a except R): R laquelle b (except S) quelconques.

4 vraie: B male.

5 vous maine: B nôme je; naturel: C¹BR-P²DS³ naturele; vous (retr.): B nous.

6 regarde: P¹B regardez; meismes: B mes mo.

6-7 se . . . beneurté: P¹C¹C² om.; (BR: savoir mon before this passage).

7 savoir: P¹BR et s.

8 celle: P²DS tele; venir: P¹ renier.

9 et: C¹C²b ou.

10 defaille (a): b faille; li (semble): b om.

11 recognoistrions: P¹ cognoissons B recog-

nissons; ces: B tieulk.

12 se: P¹ ce.

13 pluseurs biens: P¹C¹D pluseur bien;

biens: A² gens BR om.; n'apert: P¹C² apert.

14 cogneue (P¹C²B): C¹R conneue b (ex-

cept M) contenue M continuee; reprise: P¹ prise.

15-6 mie encore: DS pas encore P² pas on-

cores P³A¹A²M om.

16 passé: P³ pris; tu: P¹C² om.; tres: P¹D-

a (except P¹) om. A² trois.

17 en ton courage dolans (a except R): b

d. en ton c. R en ton c.

17 d'aucun . . . grief: P³ de quelque injure.

19 je ne me puis pas: P¹C² je ne m'en p. p.

A¹A² je ne me puis P³ il ne me peut.

21-2 que te . . . pas: BRP² om.

22 fausist: C¹P³A¹A²M faillist; vousissiez:

DS voyoles.

"Donques desiroies tu la presence de l'une et la defaillance de l'autre?" "Je le recognoisi", dis je. "Certez", dist elle, "chascuns a souffraite de ce qu'il desire." "Souffraite en a il", dis je. "Certez cil qui a souffraite de aucune chose, il n'est pas du tout suffisant a soi meisme." "Certez", dis je, "non." "Ceste faute donques de suffisance et ceste souffraite soutenoiez tu quant tu estoies plains de richeces?" "Pour quoy non? Je les soutenoie voirement." "Donques ne peuvent pas richeces faire que homme ne soit souffreteus ne que il soit suffisans a soi meismes; et ce estoit ce que elles prometoient, si comme il est avis aus hommes. Et certez encorez cuit je que ce fait mout a regarder que pecune n'a riens de sa propre nature par quoi elle ne puisse estre tolue a ceulz qui la tiennent malgré euls." "Je le recognoisi", dis je. "Pour quoi ne le recognoistroiez tu, comme li plus fors la toille chascun jour au plus foible malgré lui? Car dont viennent donquez les complaintez des plaiz fors que de ce que les pecunes sont requisez qui ont esté tolues a ceulz qui les avoient, par force ou par barat malgré eulz?" "Ainsi est", dis je. "Donques aura mestier", dist elle, "chascuns de l'aide requise par dehors pour quoy il deffende sa pecune?" 40 "Qui nieroit ce?" dis je. "Certes il n'en eust pas mestier s'il n'eust la pecune que il peult perdre?" "De ce ne puet", dis je, "nulz doubter".

"Or est donques la cho- (17vb) se tournee en contraire: que les richeces, que li homme cuidoient que elles les feissent suffisans, les font plus avoir besoing de estrange aide. Mais quelle est la maniere de peccune par quoy 45 souffraite puisse estre ostee par richeces? Ne peuvent pas li riche homme avoir fain? Ne peuvent il pas avoir soif? Li membres des richez hommes ne sentent il pas le frot de yver? Mais tu diras que li richez ont asséz de quoy il saouilent leur fain et ostent la soif et le frot. Mais certez en ceste maniere puet bien souffraite estre confortee, mais du tout ne puet elle pas estre ostee. Car se ceste souffraite, touz jours baians et requerans aucune chose dehors, est raemplie ou saoulee par richeces, donques couvrent il qu'elle 50 demeure et soit permanant, si que elle puisse estre raemplie. Encores me tais je de ce que trop pou de chosez souffist a nature, mais a avarice nulle chose ne li souffist. Par quoy richeces, se elles ne puent oster souffraite et 55 elles meismes font la leur, quelles chosez ont elles en eulz pour quoy vous creéz qu'elles vous doignent suffisance?"

23 desiroies: *B* desires.

24 recognoisi: *DS* cognois; dis je: *P²D* d. je bien *B* bien.

24-5 Certez . . . je: *B* om. (*P²*: *A* aucun. dist elle, besoign ou default de chose qu'il desire? Ouil, dis je. Certes, dist elle, s'aucun a souffraite d'auc. chose . . .).

24-5 de ce . . . Souffraite: *A¹A²M* om.

27 ceste souf.: *P¹* ceste de s.

28 de richeces: *B* et riches *DS* om.; quoy non: *B* tor veoir.

30 ne . . . soit: *P²* et; soit: *P¹C²B* ne s. *R* om.

31 comme: *P¹C²* om.; cuit: *C²S* cuide *P²A¹-A²M* croy.

32 regarder: *b* (except *S*) garder; riens: *B* nourri.

33 malgré euls (BR): *P¹C¹C²* om. *b* after tolue.

34 recognoisi: *P²DS* regehis.

35 la (*editor's correction for les*): *P¹* om.; tolle: *P²* oste *M* tol't; malgré: *B* touz jours m.

38 dist elle: *a* (except *R*) om.; *S* after chascuns.

39 chascuns: *BC¹* om.; l'aide: *DS* loy.

39-40 sa . . . n'eust: *P²A¹A²M* om.

40 Qui . . . je: *B* om.

42 Or est: *B* qui est *P¹C²* or; que: *Rb* car *C¹B* quar; en contraire: *C²C¹b* au c. *BR* en contre.

43 cuidoient: *B* cudent; suffisans: *B* souffrisance; les: *BRC¹* leur *b* et eles (*A²* elle) les.

44 quelle est: *B* que elle ait.

46 avoir (ffain): *Rb* (except *P²*): non a. repeated twice.

48 la: *B* leur.

50 se c. s.: *B* se c. s. fust.

51 est: *B* et; ou: *BP²A¹A²M* et; donques: *B* d. comment.

52 demeure: *C²BRP²* demeurt.

53-4 a nature . . . souffist: *B* om.; nulle chose: *P²A¹A²M* riens.

54 souffraite: *B* souffroiteuses.

55 ont: *P¹* on; eulz: *P²* elles *B* eues *C¹* yauls.

56 creéz: *P¹* creais *C²P²* croiez *R* craiez *C¹* (nous) creons; (elles) vous (*C²BR**S*): *P¹C¹* nous *b* (except *S*) om.; doignent: *D* dignement *B* deuisent.

[METRE III.]

Ja soit ce que li riches avers a tout un gort decorant d'or amoncelle
richeces qui ja ne li accomplitront sa couvoitise, et ait chargié son col de
pierrres precieusez et face ses champs planteureus arer a cent beus, ja la
cure mordans et *angoisseuse* ne le laissera tant comme il soit vis, ne les
5 fuitevez richecez ne li feront pas compaingnie quant il sera mort.

[PROSE IV.]

Mais dignitéz sont elles honnable et redoutable celui a qui elles viennent? N'ont pas les seignories si grans forces que elles mettent vertuz es pensees de ceulz qui des seignories usent et leur ostent leurs vicez?
(18ra) Certez elles ne seulement pas la felonnie chacier, ainçois la seulement plus
5 demonstrar. Dont il avient que nous avons desdaing de ce que les dignitéz sont souvent donnees aus tres felons hommes; dont Catullus apostume, c'est a dire boce, un des conseillers qui avoit nom Novius, ja soit ce que il fust assis ou siege de sa dignité. Voir tu donques com grant honte font les dignitéz aus mauvais hommes? Certes leur vilté et leur
10 vilennie apparust moins s'il ne fussent renommé d'avoir nullez honneurs. Aussi tu meismes ne peus tu pas a la parfin estre amenéz a ce par tant de perilz quant tu cuidoies gouverner la digneté avec Decorat, comme tu veiszez en lui courage de tres felon lecheur et tres desloyal accuséur. Certes nous ne poons pas pour les honneurs jugier dignes de reverance ceulz
15 que nous jugons et tenons pour non dignes des honneurs meismes. Mais se tu veoies aucun ennobli de sapience, ne porroiez tu pas cuidier que il fust non dignes de reverance et meismement de la sapience dont il est ennoblis?"
"Certez je ne porroie pas cuidier que il ne fust dignes." "Certez dignitéz apartient proprement a vertu, et vertu la transporte tantost en ceulz ou elle
20 est conjointe. Et pour ce que les honneurs du peuple ne les peuvent pas faire dignes, il apert bien que il ne ont nulle propre biauté de dignité. En quoy ce doit on plus regarder. Car se li mauvais est de tant plus vilz et plus degitez comme il est plus enz en despit de pluseurs, comme la dignité ne puisse les (18rb) mauvais faire dignes de reverance les quiex elle
25 monstre a pluseurs, de tant les fait elle plus despiz, mais nommie sens paine, c'est a dire que bien se revanchent li malvais. Car il en rendent aus

METRE III.

1 avers: A³ usiriers; amoncelle: P¹P²C² et
3 plantereuseus: A³P¹ om.; cent: BR ses.

4 le laissera tant: P⁴ les tolz.

PROSE IV.

1 honnable et redoutable: P¹ -blez et
blez A¹ -bles ne -bles C¹ -bles et -bles
(chiaus); et: b ne; elles: P¹ il.

2 viennent: B veulent; N'ont: BDS non.

3 es: B et.

4 ne: P¹C²R nen; felonnie: B folie.

5 que: P¹P²C² om.; nous avons: P¹P²C²
a nous; desdaing: P² aucuns d. C¹ en d. C¹
par d.

6 souvent: P²DS om.; aus tres: BP³A¹A²M
entre les DS entre C¹ aus; Catullus: B
caulus.

7 apostume . . . boce (completed and
arranged according to Chaucer): P¹C² Boece
c'est a dire . . . (lacuna), the rest (except
P¹A¹M) boece (-ces) A¹M boce P boece (e
deleted).

10 apparust: DS apperten P² apparent;
d'avoir nullez honneurs: DS de nulle hon-
neur av.; nullez: P³ aucuns A¹A²M aucunes.

11 Aussi: P¹C²R ainsi (ainssint); peus
(C²P³A¹M); P¹P² pouoies (in P² corrected to
pues) B pues DS poes C¹ pois R pouis A²
pais.

12 cuidoies: B cuides; Decorat: B decour-
rant.

16 ennobli (C¹; b except P³A²): P¹C²BP³A²
en oubli R ennobli.

17 reverance: B sapience; ennoblis (C¹P²-
DS; A¹M ennobli): P¹P²A² en oubli C² en
oubli R en troubles B entreoubliez.

18 que . . . dignes: P¹ om.; ne (fust):
C¹P²A¹ nen.

19 et vertu: P¹ et ver.

20 conjointe: b jugée; peuvent: D puet S
poet.

21-2 En quoy: R a q. B aincois.

22 ce (P¹C¹): the rest se.

23 enz (editor's correction): C¹b (except
P²) om. P¹C² euz RP² euz B eu.

25 les fait elle (C¹R; b except P³): P¹ elle
les B fait elle P¹ les fait C²: elle les plus
despit.

26 se: C¹BRP³A¹M sen; revanchent (P¹C²-
RP²M): BC¹P³A¹A² revengent S revengrent
D renoncent.

dignitéz aussi grant guerredon quant il les ordoient et conchient de leurs
 vilenniez et de leurs malvaistiez. Et pour ce que tu cognoiszez que celle
 30 vraie reverance ne puet venir par ces ombragez dignitéz, se aucuns usans
 de pluseurs dignitéz estoit venus par aventure en estrangez nacions, le fera
 celle honneur estre honorable et redoutable aus estrangez? Mais se honneur
 et reverance fust naturex dons aus dignitéz, elles ne cessassent jamés entre
 nulle genz *en nul lieu* en nulle maniere de faire leur office, si comme li feus
 en quelque terre qu'il soit toutefois ne laisse il pas a eschaufier. Mais pour
 35 ce que ce ne leur vient pas de leur propre nature, mais seulement de la
 fausse cuidance des hommes *qui cuident que les dignitéz les facent dignes*,
 tantost s'evanoissent ces honneurs quant il viennent a ceulz qui ne
 cognoscent pas ces dignitéz. Mais tu pourras dire que ce est voirs entre
 estrangez nacions. Mais entre ceulz entour qui elles sont nees, n'y durent
 40 elles pas touz jours? Certez la dignité de prefecture fu jadis grant poesté;
 or est seulement nons vains; et li cens du senatoire estoit jadis grief charge;
 et *li questeurs*, qui se prenoit garde de l'annee du peuple, *comme des blez*
 et de *telz autres chosez*, fu jadis tenus pour grant. Quiex chose est ore plus
 45 vil de celle prefecture? Car, si comme nous (18va) deismes un petit devant,
 chose qui n'a riens de propre biauté reçoit aucune foiz sa resplendisseur
 et *son pris*, aucune foiz la pert par l'opinion des usans. Se les dignitéz
 donques ne peuvent faire les hommes dignes de reverance *ne de honneur*,
 se elles deviennent ordez et *vilz* par les ordures des malvais, se elles perdent
 50 leur resplendisseur et *leur renom* par muance de temps, se elles sont
vaines et vilz par cuidance des gens, quelle chose ont elles en eulz par
 quoys on y doie querir biauté, ne moult moins donques aus autres ne la
 donroient?

[METRE IV.]

Ja soit ce que Neron li orgueilleus o toute sa luxure forsenee se *pignast*
 et aournast de beles pourpres et de precieusez pierres, toutevois estoit il
 viguereus *au mal faire et haineus* a touz. Mais toutevois il qui tant estoit
 5 mauvais donnoit jadis aus redoutablez peres les honorablez siegez des
 conseilleurs. Qui cuidera donques que les honneurs que li chetis donnent
 soient beneureez?

27 *conchient*: P² honnissent.29 *puet*: P¹ peuent; ces: P¹C² ses.30 en (P¹C¹C²): BR as b entre.31 *estre*: P¹C² om.32 *fust*: B fussent; cessassent (a): b lais-

sassen.

35 *propre nature*: b *inverted*.36 *fausee*: P¹C² fole.37 ces (C¹b): P¹C² ses BR les; a ceulz qui:P¹C² quil.38 cognoient . . . dignitéz: P¹A¹A²M ne
 les cog. pas estre d.

38-9 Mais . . . nacions: R om.

38 tu pourras dire: DS pourras tu d. P¹
 tu diras.

39 entour (a): b entre; n'y: DS ne.

40 poesté (C¹RPP¹PDS): A² poest A¹ poosteM poste P¹C²B poete.41 est: P¹C² om.; seulement: DS mainte-

nant; cens: BR sens.

42 et . . . qui: P² se aucun du peuple;
 prenoit: BR prenoient; de . . . comme:P³ om.; l'annee (BRC¹S): P²D lance A¹A²Ml'annone P¹C² la nuece.43 autres chosez: b (except P³) *inverted* P²aut. ch. du dit peuple il; pour: P¹C² par;grant: a grans; Quiex chose (P¹P²): C¹R², except P¹) quelle ch. B quel ch. C¹ uiefs

coses; ore: b o. tenue.

44 vil: C¹ viels.45 riens de (BRC¹): P¹C² riens b point de;
 resplendisseur: R resplendor.46 et: P¹ de; son pris: B sousprét; usans:
 R usances B usages.47 ne: b (except P²) et.49 renom (BRC¹): P¹C² honneur b (S om.)
 nom; temps: P¹C² ceulz.

49-50 se . . . gens: B om.

50 *vaines et: b om.*; cuidance: b l'estima-
 tion; ont elles (a): b a il; en eulz: DS en
 elles; par (P¹C¹R): the rest pour, or abbrev.51-2 moult . . . donroient (P¹C²): C¹R²
 moult m. d. le (R les) donroient as aut.
 B noient m. d. donroient il aus aut. b pour
 quoi elles la (DS le; P¹M les) doignent
 aus aut.

METRE IV.

1 Neron: BRC¹A¹ Noiron A¹P¹ Noyron.2 precieusez pierres: P¹A¹A²MS *inverted*;
 estoit: P¹C²M est (i.e. ert).3 viguereus: BR iugierres A¹ jugeres P¹
 vigieres; haineus: A¹P¹ mal; a touz: P¹A¹A²M
 om.5-6 que . . . beneureez: P¹ om. DS soient
 beneurees que li tres mauvais et tres chetis
 donnent.

[PROSE V.]

Mais les royaumes et les servisez des roys peuent il faire homme puissant?" "Pour quoy ne feroient quant leur beneurté dure pardurablement?"

"Certez li anciens aages est plains de examplez et aussi en est plains li 5 aages presens des roys qui muerent leur beneurté en chetiveté. O, moult est ore puissance de grant noblece qui n'est pas trouvee assés puissans de garder soi meismes. Et se ceste puissance de royaumes est fesserresse de beneurté, se elle defaut en aucune partie, n'apeticera elle pas la beneurté et aportera chetiveté? (18vb) Mais encores ja soit ce que li humains 10 royaume s'estende moult loing, encores couvient il pluseurs gens remaindre seur cui chascun roy n'a point de *seignorie ne* de commandement. Et certes en celle partie ou celle puissance qui les fait beneurés defaut, par celle entre sus eulz foiblece qui les fait chetis. En ceste maniere donques couvient il que li roy aient plus grant partie de chetiveté que de beneurté. 15 Uns tyrans roys de Sesile, qui avoit esprouvé les perilz de son estat, fainst et *monstra* les paours du royaume par l'espoantement d'un glaive pendant seur la teste d'un sien familier qui li avoit demandé pour quoy il avoit paour puis qu'il estoit roy. Quelle est donques ceste puissance qui ne puet oster les mors des curieusetéz ne les aguillons des paours eschever? Certez si 20 voudroient il bien vivre asseur, mais il ne peuent; après il se gloirent de leur puissance. Tiens tu a puissant celui que tu vois qui veult ce que il ne puet faire? Et tiens tu a puissant celui qui a ses costéz avironnéz de multitude de serjans, qui plus craint ceulz que il espoante que il ne craiment lui et qui est mis en la main et ou pouoir de ses serjans pour ce 25 que il en apere puissant? Car des familiers aus roys pour quoy t'en diroie je riens, puis que je te monstre les royaumes meismez plains de si grant foiblece? Certez la puissance des roys acravante leurs familiers souvent en leesce et souvent en courrouz. Neron constraint Seneque, son familier et son maistre, a eslire de quel mort il voudroit mourir. Antonius commanda et 30 fist que chevaliers occissent de glaivez (19ra) Papinian qui puissans estoit entre les seigneurs du palais. Et si voudrent li uns et li autres renoncier a leur puissance; dont Seneque s'esforça de baillier ses richeces a Neron et de aler s'en en oiseuse et en essil. Mes comme le fais a leur mescheance les tressist, ne li uns ne li autres ne fist ce que il voulut. Quiex est donques ceste 35 puissance que cil qui l'ont la redoubtent et craiment, et quant tu la voudras avoir tu ne seras pas asseur, et quant tu la desireras a laissier tu ne la

PROSE V.

1 servisez (-ces): C'DS service.

4 plains: B plus p.

5-6 O . . . puissans: P' o que moult est grant puissance de present qui n'est pas asses puissant.

12 certes: P'C' om.; beneurés: P'C' beneu- rees.

13 entre: BP' autre R antre; sus (C'): P' en the rest seur (sour, sur).

14 aient: P' ait.

15 Uns tyrans roys: P'C' un roy; fainst (C'RD): M feigny P' feignit the rest faint.

16 paours: R paours B pooirs; espoantement (P'): P' espoantement C'BP'MDS -poen- R -puan- C'A'A' -pouen-; d'un: b (except DS) du.

19 des curieusetéz: B de ceste curiosite.

20 de: b (except P') en.

21 puissant: P'C' puissance; qui veult ce: P'A'A'M om.

22 faire: P'A'A'M f. ce qu'il veult; puis- sant: P'C' puissance; avironnéz: P' avironne.

23 qui il espoante: P'C' qui espoantent (C' -pouen-) C' qui l'espoentent.

24 mis (a): b neis; en la main et ou pouoir:

C'P'A'A'M inverted P'C' en la m. ou.

25 aus roys: P' au roy.

26 te: P' toy.

27 la: P' om.; des: P' de.

28 constraint: BR constraint DS constraint M constrainy P' constraint.

29 Antonius (-tho-): B Anthonus D Anthoninus C' Antoines.

31 seigneurs: P'C' puissans R saignours; li uns et li autres (corrected according to l. 34): P' li un et li autre.

32 puissance: B puissant don.

33 aler s'en (P'RP'S): C'P'A'A'M s'en a. C' a. soi B a. seulz; en oiseuse et en essil: P'C' inverted R en hoiseuses et en e. B as oisiaux et en e.; le fais: editor's addition according to Chaucer; mescheance: B sapience.

34 Quiex est (P'P': C' quels): BR certes C'b quelle e.; ceste: P'C' om.

pourras eschever? Mais li ami qui sont acordé nommie par vertu mais par fortune, aident il au besoing? Mais certez celui que beneurté aura fait ton ami, maleurté le te fera anemi. Et quelle pestilance est plus puissant a nuire
40 que familiers anemis?

[METRE V.]

Qui voudra estre puissant, il li couvient donter ses couragez felons ne ne mette pas son col vaincu souz les ordes resnes de luxure. Car ja soit ce que ta seigneurie s'estande si loing que la terre de Inde tremble a tes commandemens, et que Thile la derreniere isle soit serve a toy, toutevois se
5 tu ne pues oster hors de toy tes mauvais desiriers et chacier hors tes chetivez complaintez, ce n'est pas puissance.

[PROSE VI.]

Mais gloire, comment est elle decevable souvent et comment est elle souvent laide! Dont uns poetez tragiciens s'escria et non pas a tort et dist: "Gloire, gloire n'est autre chose aus milliers des mortiex hommes fors que grans souflaiz en oreillez!" Car pluseurs ont eu grant renom par les
5 faussez opinions du peuple, et de tel renom quelle chose puet estre pourpensee plus laide? Car cil qui sont (19rb) loé faussement et *a tort*, il couvient que il meismes aient honte de leur loengez. Et se il avenoit neis que il eussent aquisez ces loenges par leurs meritez, quelles chosez ajoutent elles a la conscience de sage homme qui *regarde* et mesure son bien non
10 mie par les paroles du peuple mais par la verité de sa conscience? Et se ce est bele chose de avoir estandu et *acreu* son nom, donequez aussi couvient il que ce soit tenu a laide chose se il n'est estanduz ou *acreuz*. Mais, si comme je dis un pou devant, comme il couviengne que pluseurs gens soient aus quiex la renommee d'un homme ne puet pas venir, il avient que, cil que
15 tu cuidez qu'il soit glorieus et *renommez*, il couvient que il soit en la prochaine partie des terres sans gloire et *sans renom*. Mais entre ces chosez ne cuide je mie que la grace du peuple soit neis digne de remembrance, ne elle ne vient pas de sage jugement ne n'est onques ferme pardurablement. Mais du nom de gentillece, qui est cil qui bien ne voie comme il est vains
20 et *vilz*? Car se elle est rapportee a la clarté de gloire et de renommee, elle est estrange de ceulz qui sont *tenuz* pour *gentilz*. Car il semble que gentillece

37-8 Mais . . . besoing (a): b au besoing ne sont doncques cil pour aidier ami que fortune concilie (S conseille P¹ consilie) ou conjoint et non mie vertu.

38 au: P¹C² om.

39 le te fera (BRC¹): b le fera ton P¹C² ne le te fera pas.

METRE V.

1 couvient: A¹P¹B couviendra; donter (C'A¹): P¹M douter C²B P¹A²A³DS doubter R dou¹ P¹ dompter.

2 resnes (P¹C²R): BC¹P¹DS regnes P¹ reines A³A⁴M renes.

3 Inde: P¹ judee C¹ corrupt; tremble: D tremblece S trembleche.

5 tes (chet.): D de.

6 chetivez: A³P¹ derraines C¹ caitives.

PROSE VI.

2 tragiciens: P¹ tragicien A¹ traicien.

3 gloire: once only BP¹DS: n'est autre chose: P¹ repeated: aus milliers: C¹ es m. B aus meilleures P²DSA¹M au millier P³ en m.

4 souflaiz: B souffleis C²b souffles C¹ souflemens; en: BDS as.

5-6 et . . . laide: BR om.

5 et de tel: P¹M et de cel P² car de t.

6 sont loé (a): b (except D) plus sont 1.

D sont plus 1.

8 aquisez ces loenges: b inverted; (B: il avenoit par leurs merites qui il eussent aquisez quelles ch. . .).

9 homme: P¹DS om. B (des sages) hommes.

10 paroles: P² nouvelles DS dis.

11 aussi (Rb): P¹C²B ainsi (ainssin, ensi).

12 estanduz ou *acreuz* (a): b inverted.

13 couviengne: B convient.

14 aus qui(ex): B aussi; avient: P³A¹A²M couvient.

15 cuidez: P¹DS cuideras; qu'il (BP¹): P¹C¹ que the rest qui; et: P¹C² om.; il couvient que il: P¹A¹A²M om.; il: P² cis D chils S cilz.

16 prochaine: P¹A¹A²M plus grant.

17 cuide (P¹C²): BRDS cuit P² quit C¹ cui P¹A¹A²M croy; soit neis: P¹ inverted.

19 comme (P¹C²A¹): the rest comment.

20 vilz: P² vois D wis S vis; est (estr.): P¹C² om.

soit une loenge venans de meritez de parens. Et se loenge fait gentillece, il couvient que cil soient gentilz qui sont loé. Pour quoy il s'ensuit que, se tu n'as ta propre gentillece, estrange gentillece ne te fait pas gentil. Mais 25 certez, s'il a riens de bien en gentillece, je croi que ce seulement y est: que il semble que li gentil soient a ce constraint que il couviengne que il ne forlignent pas de la vertu de leurs noblez parans. (19va)

[METRE VI.]

Touz li lignagez des hommes qui sont es terres sourt de semblable nessement, car uns seus est pere des chosez, uns seus aministre toutez chosez. Cil donna au soleil ses rais et donna a la lune ses cornes, cil donna les hommes aus terres et les estoillez au ciel, cil enclost de membrez les 5 ames qui de son hault siege vindrent. Donques viennent tuit li mortel homme de noble semence.

Pour quoy vous vantéz vous de vostre lignage et de vos besaeus? Se tu regardez vos commencementz et dieu votre faiseur, nulz ne est forlignablez ne vilains, s'il ne norrist son courage en vicez et deguerpist son propre 10 naissement.

[PROSE VII.]

Mais que te dirai je des deliz du corps, des quiex li desiriers est plains de angoisse, et li saoulemens est plains de repentance? Con grans maladies et con grans douleurs non souffrables, aussi comme un fruit de felonnie, seulent cist delit rapporter aus corps de ceulz qui en usent! De ces deliz ne 5 sai je pas quelle joie ne quelle leesce viengne de leur esmouvement, mais je sai bien que, quiconques voudra remembrer ses delicieusez luxurez, il entendra que les issuez et les fins des deliz sont dolereusez et tristez. Et se cil delit peuent faire les beneureus, il couvient donques que les bestes muez soient aussi dites beneurees des quiex toute l'entencion se haste de saouler 10 et de raemplir le parfont ventrail de leur corps. Certes tres honneste fust la joieuseté de fame et de enfans, mais l'en a aucune foiz trouvé trop hors de nature que ne sai quiex peres ont esté tourmentéz (19vb) par leurs enfans; des quiex combien greveuse et mordant en soit toute la condicion, soit de fame ou de enfans, il n'est pas mestiers que je le te die, car tu l'as 15 bien autrefoiz esprouvé et encorez en es tu ores angoisseus. En ce

22 de (parens): Bb (except M) des.
 22-4 il couv. . . . propre gentillece: R om.
 24 estrange gentillece: P^tC^e om. C^t estr.
 noblece; te fait pas: P^t te fai pas B fait pas
 toy C^t te poet faire.

25 il a: b il i a.

26 il semble que: B om.; constraint (RP^t;
 constraint CDS): the rest contrains (B con-
 strains); couviengne: P^tC^e couvient.

27 forlignant (BCP^tA^tA^dD): P^tS forlignant
 M forsaignent P^tC^e folaignent R folaignent.

METRE VI.

The whole meter is lacking in A^t.
 1 qui . . . terres: b om.; sourt (b; in
 M erased and left incomplete sou): a sont.
 2 nessement: b nessance.

2-3 uns seus am. . . . chosez: b om.
 3 ses rais: C^t sa clarte; et donna: C^t om.;
 cil donna (C^tBRDSP^t): C^t om. P^tP^t il d.
 P^tA^tA^dM cellui d.

4 les hommes aus terres: C^t as hommes la
 terre; et: P^tC^e om.; cil (encl.): P^tP^tC^e il
 P^tA^tA^dM cellui; de (mem.) (a): P^tDS des
 P^tA^tA^dMP^t es.

6 semence: R science.

7 vantéz: P^t ventez; besaeus (P^t; e inserted
 between a and u probably in a later hand):
 A^tA^d besaeus M besaeaus P^t besayeulz C^t
 vies aiouls DSP^ta (except C^t) besans.

8 tu: BP^t vous; et . . . faiseur: P^tC^e om.;
 forlignable: M forlignable B forlinables D
 forlinages S fourlinages.

9 deguerpist (A^tA^d; a except C^t): M de-
 guepist C^tP^tDS deguerpisste P^t deguerpissent
 P^t delaisse.

PROSE VII.

1 te: P^tDS om.; dirai: BRP^tA^tM diroie P^tA^t
 diroi.

2 de (ang.) . . . plains: DS om. (D places
 this passage further along after "De ces de-
 liz"); saoulemens: P^tC^e oulemens; repen-
 tance: P^t penitence repentance C^t penit. et
 de rep. C^t penitance repentante.

3 souffrables: P^t souffrable; aussi: P^t ainsi;
 felonnie: P^t felonniez.

7 fins: B fruis: dolereusez: B dolereux.

8 donquez: b om.

9 aussi: P^tP^t ainsi.

10 le parfont: P^t om.

11 trouvē trop hors: B trop.

conferme je et loe la sentence de mon deciple Euripedes qui dist que hom qui n'a nulz enfans est par sa maleurté bneuréz.

[METRE VII.]

Chascuns deliz a ceste proprieté: il maine par aguillons ceulz qui de lui usent. Il ressemble les ees volans; la ou la mouche a espandu son doux miel, elle s'en fuit et fierit par trop tenable mors les cuers de ceulz qui l'ont receu et *y laisse son aguillon*.

[PROSE VIII.]

Or n'est il donques nulle doubté que ces voies ne soient unes desvoiabletéz et *uns desturbemens* de venir a bneurté, ne ne peuent mener nul homme la ou elles le prometent a mener. Mais je te monstrerai tres briefmēnt de con grans malz elles sont enlacées. Car pour quoy? Se tu
 5 t'esforces a amonceler peccune, tu la fortreras a celui qui l'a. Se tu veulz resplendir de dignitéz, tu supplieras a celui qui les donne. Se tu veulz par honneur aler devant les autres, tu t'avilleras par humillité de requerre. Se tu desires a avoir puissance, tu seras *redevablez* et sommis aus aguiez de tes sugéz et gerras souz pluseurs perilz. Se tu requiers gloire, tu seras
 10 detréz et demenéz par tant de aspretéz que tu faudras a estre seurs. Se tu veulz mener ta vie par delicez, chascun te despira et te deguerpira comme serf a chose tres vilz et tres foible, *c'est a savoir* a ton corps. Or apert donques ja comme cil s'apuient a petite et a foible possession qui metent les biens du corps au dessus de leur raison. (20ra) Car pourréz vous
 15 seurmonter les elefans *de grandeur* et de pesantume de corps et seurmonterez vous de force les toreaus? Serés vous plus isneaus que les tigres? Regardéz l'espace du ciel et la fermeté et l'inesleté et laissiéz aucune foiz a *loer* et a merveillier les vilz chosez. Certez on ne se doit pas merveillier du ciel plus pour ces chosez que pour sa raison par quoi il est gouvernéz.
 20 Mais la biauté de forme, comment est elle ravissable et isnele et plus fuians que la muableté des fleurs de printemps! Car, si comme dit Aristotez, se li hommes eussent yeulz de lins, si que leurs regars tresperçast les chosez

16 dist: BRb (except A¹S) dit.

17 nulz enfans: R nul mal; est: P¹C² om.

METRE VII.

1 Chascuns: A¹A²MDS aucuns P² aucunz (*erased and corrected to tous*) P¹ tout; ceste: A¹P²B sa; proprieté: P¹ propserite B psperite; lui: P¹P²A¹A²B li A¹P⁴ leur.

2 ees: A¹P⁴ cerfs B cers C¹S es; la mouche: D elle S elles; a espandu: D a respandu S ont r.: douz: P¹C² om.

3 mors: P¹ meurs.

4 y laisse son: A¹P⁴ il 1. par.

PROSE VIII.

1 ces: P¹BR ses.

1-2 desvoiabletéz: P¹ desvorabletez.

2 desturbemens: B destour; de venir a ben: B om.

2-3 a bneurté . . . mener: B om.

3 monstrerai: S demonstraray DC¹ monstera P¹C² monstrai.

4 briefmēnt: P¹ brisment.

5 peccune (P¹A¹A²M): the rest peccunes; la: DS les; la: DS les a.

6 tu (veulz): P¹ om.

7 t'avilleras: C ta uilliras DS te travilleras P² travilleras (*exnumred*) M travilleras (te *superscript*) B tenuilleras.

8 aguiez (P¹C²A¹A²M): P² aguies (i deleted) RD agues P¹ aguetz C¹ agais B esgies S esques.

9 sugéz (P¹R): A¹ subges P¹M subgetz C¹-P²DS sougis A² subgis C² sougiez B subgiez.

10 detréz et: B om.; faudras: C¹ defaurras.

11 te despira et te deguerpira (P¹C²R): b (except S) te desp., et guerpira S te faurr et desprippa C¹ te desprisera et te guerpira B te deguerpira.

12 a chose: P¹A¹A²M et ch. C¹ as coses; a (ton): P¹ om.

13 donques ja (BR; dont ja C¹): P²P¹A²DM inverted S il ja d. A¹ il dont P¹C² donques la; comme (P¹C²A¹): the rest comment; a (foible): P¹C¹A² om.; possession (a): b poissance.

14 pourréz: b pourries.

14-15 pourréz . . . elefans: R pour ce nous sourmontons enfans B poures nos sormonte les elephans.

15 pesantume: P¹MS pesanteur.

15-16 seurmonterez (P¹C²RS): b (except P¹S) sourmonteries P² sourmonterioes C¹ sormonterons B sormonte.

17 Regardéz: B se (verb lacking); et laisiéz: B est l.

18 ne se doit pas: P¹A¹ ne doit soy pas A²M ne doit pas soi DSR ne se doit mie.

20 biauté: C¹ bialte S beaulte C² bleaute; forme: P¹B fortune b forme d'omme.

22 li: P¹ om.; de lins: B deliz; tresperçast (a): b percast.

contrestans, qui regarderoit dedens les entrailles le corps Alcipiades qui tres biaus estoit en la superface dehors, il apparrooit trop lais. Se tu donques
 25 semblez estre biaus, ce ne fait pas *ta forme ou ta nature*, mais *la decevance et la foiblece des yeulz qui te regardent*. Mais prisiéz les biens du corps a si tres grant pris comme vous vouléz, mais que vous sachiez totevois que ce que vous loés et prisiéz puet estre destruit par la chaleur d'une fievre de trois jours. Donques puis je bien de toutez ces chosez ce
 30 ramener briefment a une somme: que cist bien *mondain* qui ne peuvent donner ce que il prometent ne ne sont parfait par l'amonclement de touz biens, qu'il ne sont pas chemins *ne sentiers* qui portent hommes a bemeurté ne ne les parfont estre bemeurté.

[METRE VIII.]

Halas! halas! quelle folie, quelle ignorance fortrait les chetis desvoiables du sentier de vraie bemeurté! Vous ne queréz pas or en arbre vert ne ne cuilliéz gemmes en la vigne, (20rb) vous *ne tendez pas ne ne reponéz vos laz es haultez montaingnez* pour prendre les poissons. Ou s'il vous plaist a
 5 chacier *aus cers et aus bichez*, vous n'aléz pas aus guéz de Tuscanne. Et sevrent enseurquetout li homme les destors de la mer repos dedens les floz, et scevent quelle eau est plus plantereuse de pierres precieusez et scevent quelle eau habonde plus de *poissons dont l'en taint les roigez pourpres et scevent quiex rivagez habondent plus et valent miez de poissons tendrez*
 10 et des asprez. Mais il se seuffrent estre si avuglez que il n'ont cure de savoir en quel lieu se repoigne le bien que il couvoitent, si que il se plungen en terre et requierent illec le bien qui seurmonte le ciel qui porte les estoillez. Quelle priere puis je faire qui soit digne et convenable aus folez pensees des hommes? *Certes je ne sai fors que ceste: je pri que il*
 15 *couvoitent richecez et honneurs pour ce que, quant il auront aquis par grant travail les faulz biens, que il cognoscent lors les vrais biens, c'est la vraie bemeurté.*

[PROSE IX.]

Or nous suffise jusques ci que nous avons demontré la forme de la fausse

23 contrestans: *P^a* contraitans *B* contre tant; Alcipiades (*DSM*): *C^c* Alcipiades *P^aP^bA^aA^b* Alcipiades *P^cC^c* Accipadias *BR* Alcipiades.

24 apparroit: *P^cC^cA^aA^bS* apparroit *P^a* apperoit (?) *D* appartenient.

25 *ou ta nature (a): b (except P^aS)* naturele *P^aS* naturel.

26 prisiéz: *P^aA^a* prisiéz *R* prise.

27 comme vous vouléz: *P^a om.* *DS* que vous vaurres.

29-30 de toutez ces (b *om.*) chosez ce (*P^a om.*) ramener (*C^c* remembrer) so *read by BRC^b* (*A^aA^bM*: ramener ce): *P^cC^c* toutez ces (*P^a* ses) chosez ram.

30 a: *C^cP^a* en.

31 sont: *P^a om.*: par: *P^a om.*

32 qu'il: *P^cC^c* ne.

33 les: *P^a le*; bemeurté: *BR insert, after bemeurté, the second sentence of Meter VIII.* l. 2: vous ne querez . . . vigne.

METRE VIII.

1 *folie: P^cC^c felonnie.*

2-3 vous . . . vigne: *A^aP^a om.* *BR cf. above* Prose VII, l. 33.

2 or en arbres: b l'or en l'arbre; arbre vert: B arbres vers.

3 cuilliéz gemmes: *C^c* cueilliez g. *BR* cueilliez jamais *C^c* queilliez james b cueil.

pas les (*P^a om.*) pierres precieuses; *tendez pas: followed by vos rois (P^aDS) voz reiz (P^aA^b) v. rais (A^aM); reponéz: P^cC^cA^a reprovez C^c reponnies.*

3-4 vos *laz (aA^aP^a)*: b *om.* *C^c after tendez pas (tendies p.).*

5 n'aléz: *D ne les prenez; guéz: A^aP^a geus B gens R ges.*

6 sevrent: *A^aP^a* ce n'est pas; enseurquetout: *A^a sur tous que P^a presque tous.*

8 *l'en taint: R lentent; roigez: the rest rouges.*

10 des (asprez): *bBA^aP^a om.*; estre si avuglez; *S* ainsi estre avulle *P^a* estre av. si.

11 repoigne (*P^cC^cR^aA^aA^b*): *reponne P^a repoignent BP^a* reponnen *C^cD* report.

12 le (bien): *BR C^cP^ab* cellui (celui, celi).

13 priere: *P^a pierre A^a chose P^a om.*; puis je: *P^cC^c* puisse je *A^a* puisse ay je.

14 Certes . . . fors: *P^a nulle autre; Certes . . . ceste: B om.*

15 pour . . . quant: *P^cC^cP^a* pour ce q. *P^a* afin que q. *A^a* car q. *P^a* quant.

16 que . . . biens: *A^aP^aB om.*

16-17 c'est . . . bemeurté: *C^cP^a om.*

PROSE IX.

1 ci (*P^cC^cR*): b (except *P^a*) *C^c a ci (achi) BP^a ici; que: C^cBRb ce que *P^a* que se.*

et de la mençongiere beneurté et, se tu la regardez bien soutilment, li ordres *de nostre entencion* requiert que nous demonstrons des ore en avant quiex est la beneurté vraie."

5 "Certes", je dis, "je voi bien que suffisance ne puet venir par richecez, ne puissance par royaumes, ne reverance *ne honneur* par dignitéz, ne gentillece par gloire *ne par renommee mondaine*, ne leesce par deliz." "Et as tu (20va) aussi cogneu les causez pour quoy il est ainsi?" "Certes, il me semble que je les voi tenurement aussi comme par un petit pertuis, mais je voudroie miex que tu les me feisiez encores entendre plus apertement."

10 "Certes, il y a tres preste raison. Car la chose qui est *une et simple* ne ne puet estre devisee, erreur *et folie humaine* la depart *et devise* et la *destourne* et transporte du bien vrai et parfait au bien faus et non parfait. Or me di: Cuidez tu que ce qui a souffraite et *faute* de puissance ne ait de rien souffraite *ne besoing?*" "Ce ne cuide je pas", di je. "Certez tu dis bien a droit. Car s'il est riens qui en aucune partie soit de plus foible puissance, en ceste couvient il que il soit souffraiteus de aide estrange." "Ainsi est", dis je. "Suffisance donques et puissance sont d'une meismes nature." "Ainsi me est il avis", dis je. "Et juges tu que chose qui est de ceste maniere doie estre despite, ou se elle est tres digne seur toutez chosez de reverance *et de honneur?*" "Certez", dis je, "de ce ne puet nulz doubter." "Ajustons donques a suffisance et a puissance reverance, si que nous jugons que ces trois chosez soient une seule chose." "Certez, ajustons li seurement, se nous voulons recognoistre verité."

15 20 "Que dis tu donques", dist elle. "Juges tu que celle chose *suffisant, puissant, honorable* soit vilz et oscure, ou se elle est *tres noble et tres clere* par celebrité de renommee? Mais or regarde—ce que nous avons otroié qu'il est suffisans a soi meismes et n'a besoing ne souffraite de riens et est tres puissant et tres digne de honneur—savoir mon, se ceste chose a souffraite ou (20vb) *faute* de noblece que elle ne se puisse donner, si que elle semble estre d'aucune partie plus vilz et *plus despite*." "Ce ne puis je pas," dis je, "regarder, ains me couvient il otroier si comme il est, c'est a savoir que ceste chose soit neis tres celebrable *par clarté de noblece*." "Donques s'ensuit il que nous ajustons clarté de noblece aus trois chosez dessus dites, si que il n'ait entreus nulle difference?" "Ci a bonne consequence", dis je. "Ce donques qui n'a mestier de nulle chose estrange et qui puet faire toutez chosez par ses forces et qui est noble et honorable, n'est ce donques chose tres liee et *tres joieuse?*" "Mais a ceste chose tele, dont li pourroit", dis je, "venir ou *courroux* ou douleur, ce ne puis je mie certez neis penser."

25 "Donques nous couvient il otroier que celle chose soit plaine de leesce,

6ne (rev.): *P^aA¹A²M om.; ne honneur: DS om. P^a ne poissance C¹ ne honneurs.*

7 *ne par renommee: P^a om.; ne . . . deliz: P^a om.*

8 aussi (C¹b): *a* (except C¹) ainsi.

9 les: *P^aC²A²D le; tenurement: P^aA² tenrement P^a tan verment D tenuevement.*

11 preste: *P^aC²* petite; *une et simple: b inverted; ne ne: P^aC² ne.*

12 et folie: *P^aA¹A²M om.; la (dest.): P^aC² om.*

13 au . . . parfait: *P^aC² om. C¹ aussi bien vrai et non p. B aus biens fais et non parfais.*

14 souffraite: *D souffrisse.*

15 cuide je: *DS cuit je B cuides tu P^aA¹A²M croy je.*

16 a droit: *C²BRb et droit; s'il: P^a si P^a cil.*

20 doie: *B doit.*

22 jugons (*P^aC²BP^aDSA^a*): *C²A¹ jugeons M jugiens R jugains P^a jugions.*

23 chose: *P^aDS om.*

24 recognoistre: *P^a cognostre.*

25 suffisant: *A¹ soufisamment A²DB souffis (abbreviated) P^a suffise.*

26 se: *P^a ce.*

28 qu'il (C²BR): *P^aP^aC¹ qui P^aA¹A²M que ce qui DS que ce.*

29 se: *P^a ce.*

30 se: *P^aC²R om.*

31 et: *BRP^aDS ou.*

33 chose: *BDS om.; soit neis: A¹A²MDS inverted: neis: P^a om.; de (a): b et.*

37-8 n'est ce: *P^aC² n'est D en ceste.*

38 chose: *BP^a om. in DS inserted after liee, in P^aA¹A²M after joieuse; tele: P^aC² celle C¹ tel.*

39 ou courroux: *P^aC² touz jours B om.*

39-40 ce . . . penser: *P^a om.*

41 aussi: *P^aC²R ainsi (ainssint).*

se les chosez dessus ditez sont vraiez. Et certez aussi vous couviant il ce
 45 otroier que suffisance, puissance, noblece, leesce, reverance sont seulement
 diverses par nons, mais leur sustance n'a nulle diversité." "Ce couvient
 il", dis je. "Celle chose donques, qui est une et simple en sa nature, la
 malvaistié des hommes la depart et devise et, quant il s'esforcent a consuivre
 partie de chose qui est sens partie, il n'aconsuivent ne celle partie qui est
 nulle ne celle chose meismes que il ne desirent pas." "En quel maniere?"
 dis je.

50 "Cil", dist elle, "qui quiert richecez pour fuir pouvreté ne se travaille
 pas pour puissance; il veult miex estre vilz et occurs et soutrait neis a soi
 meismes mains deliz naturex, pour ce que il ne perde la peccune que il
 a (21ra) assemblée. Et par ceste maniere meismes n'aconsuit pas suffisance
 55 cil que puissance delaisse et que tristesse point et que vilté degete et que
 occurté repont. Et certes cil qui desire puissance seulement, il degaste
 richeces, il despit deliz et honneur qui est sens puissance et ne prise gloire
 neis niant. Mais certez tu vois bien que moult de chosez defaillett a cestui,
 car il a aucune foiz besoing d'avoir ses necessitéz et le mordent maintez
 60 angoissez et, comme il ne puisse pas ces chosez oster, il delaisse neis a estre
 puissans et ce est ce que il plus requeroit. Et aussi poons nous faire
 semblablez raisons des honneurs et de gloire et des deliz. Car comme
 chascune de ces chosez soit ce meismes que toutez les autres sont,
 quiconques requiert l'une de cestes sans les autres, certez il n'aconsuit pas
 neis celle que il desire."

65 "Que diraiez tu donques", dis je, "se aucuns les vouloit toutes aconsuivre
 ensemble?" "Certez je diraie que cil requerroit la souveraine beneurté.
 Mais celle ne trouvera il pas es chosez que nous avons demonstreez qui ne
 puett donner ce que elles promet." "Certes", dis je, "non". "Donques
 70 ne doit on en nulle maniere querir beneurté es chosez que on croit qui
 puissent donner senglement aucune des chosez que on requiert." "Je le
 recognois", dis je, "ne nulle plus vraie chose ne puet estre dite." "Or as tu
 donques", dist elle, "et la forme et les causez de la fausse beneurté. Or
 flechis et tourne d'autre part le regart de ta pensee; car la verras tu tantost
 celle vraie beneurté que nous te promeismes."

75 "Certez", dis je, "elle est (21b) ja toute aperte neis a un avugle et tu
 la me monstras un pou devant, quant tu te esforçais a descouvrir les
 causez de la fausse beneurté. Car se je ne sui deceuz, celle est la vraie et
 la perfecte beneurté qui perfectement fait homme suffisant, puissant,
 honorable, noble et plain de leesce. Et pour ce que tu cognoissez que je
 80 ai bien entendu ces chosez dedens mon cuer, je cognois que celle beneurté
 qui puet vraiment donner une des chosez dessus dites, puis que elles sont

43 seulement: *P²DS om.*45 une: *P¹ nue.*46 a consuivre (*a except R; A¹*): *RP²D-SA²M* a aconsuivre (-suire, -sieurre) *P³* aconsuivre.47 il . . . partie: *D om.*; aconsuivent (-sie-
vent, etc): *P¹* na couvient; ne: *b pas.*48 ne desirent pas: *b desirent.*51 soi (*a*): *b lui (P² li).*52 mains: *P¹ moins D mez.*53 aconsuit: *P¹C²DS a. il; n'aconsuit pas:*
*C² n'a pas conscience.*54 cil que puissance: *R ce qui souffisance.*57 cestui (*a*): *b cellui (P² celi).*58 d'avoir ses: *B de assez de; ses: P¹C² ces.*59 oster: *P¹C² om.; il delaisse neis (BR):*
*P¹C² il laisse neis C¹ il ne delaisse pas b il
delesse.*60 aussi: *P¹ ainsi C¹ ensi.*61 semblablez raisons: *P²A¹A²M -ble reson**P³ semblablement; et (de gl.): BP²DS om.;
de gloire: P¹C²B des gloires.*62 de ces (*C¹P²DS*): *the rest de toutes ces:
ce: P¹C² soi P² de.*63 cestes: *B ces choses.*65 aconsuivre: *P¹ ensuivre C² asière.*66 cil: *B se il; requerroit: a requeroit.*70 puissent: *B ne p.; senglement: DS
sainglement P² simplement; le: P¹C² om.*71 recognois: *BS cognois.*72 forme: *B f. et la maniere.*73 d'autre: *DS de l'aut.; la verras tu: P¹C²
ja verras.*76 pou (*C¹C²BR*): *P¹ petit b pou ci (pau
chi); a: P¹ de.*77-8 Car . . . beneurté: *P²A¹A²M om.*77 sui: *P¹ sai.*78 puissant: *B puis sont.*79 pour ce: *P³ a fin.*81-2 sont toutes (*P¹B*): *the rest inverted.*

toutez une, je cognois sans doubtance que iceste est la plaine beneurté."

"O", dist elle, "li mien filz, je dis que tu es beneuréz par ceste cognoissance, se tu y ajustes ceste chose." "Quelle chose?" dis je. "Cuidez tu que il ait riens en ces chosez terriennes mortex et decheablez qui puisse cest estat aporter?" "Certez", dis je, "je ne le cuide pas et tu m'as ja monstré que nulle chose ne soit desiree oultre ceste."

"Ces chosez donques ou elles semblent estre ymages du vray bien, ou il semble que elles doignent aus mortiex hommes aucuns biens non mie parfaiz; mais celui bien vray et parfait ne peuvent elles pas donner." "Je m'y acort", dis je. "Pour ce donques que tu as cogneu quiex est celle vraie beneurté, et quiex sont les chosez qui mentent que vraie beneurté soit en eulz, or recouvert que tu cognossez dom tu puisses celle vraie beneurté requerir." "Certes", dis je, "ce desire je moult et l'aten et l'ai longuement atendu a oir." "Mais pour ce", dist elle, "si comme il plaist a nostre deciple Platon ou livre de Thimee, es chosez neis tres petitez doit estre requise la divine aide, (21va) que jugez tu que nous doions faire pour ce que nous deservons a trouver le siege de celui souverain bien?" "Certes", dis je, "je juge que nous devons apeler le pere de toutez chosez, car sens lui nulz commencement n'est fondéz a droit." "Tu dis voirs", dist elle et commença lors ainsi a chanter:

[METRE IX]

O tu peres, createurs du ciel et de la terre, qui gouvernes cest monde par pardurable raison, qui commandez que li temps aille de pardurableté (*des lors que aagez out commencement*), qui es estable et ne te meuz et faiz toutez chosez mouvoir, ne onques estrangez causez ne te esmurent a former

5 euvre de matere flotant et *transmuvable*, mais la forme du souverain bien assise en toy sans envie te meut tant seulement; tu traiz toutez chosez de ton souverain exemplaire; tu, tres biaus, portez le biau monde dedens ta pensee et formes cestui monde a l'yimage et a la semblance de celui et commandez que cist mondez parfaiz ait ses partiez delivres et parfaitez.

10 Tu lies les elemens par certains nombres pour ce que les froidez chosez se puissent acorder aus chaudez et les sechez aus moistez, si que li feu plus purs ne vole pas trop hault et que li faiz ne face pas trop abessier les terres plongiees es eauies. Tu *enlaces* et conjoins au corps l'ame moyenne de treble nature qui toutez chosez muet et la devisez par accordables membrez. Et

15 quant elle est ainsi devisee et a assemblé son mouvement en deus manierez de rondes esperes, elle trespassa a retourner a soi meismes et (21vb)

82 doubtance (*a*): b doute.

84 ajustes: *P¹C²* ajuste; chose: *C¹BRb om.*

85 ait: *P²DS* y ait; decheablez (*BP²DS*): *P²A¹A²M om.*; puisse: *B* puissent.

88 vray bien: *P¹ inverted*.

89 semble: *P¹C²* semblent.

92 et quiex . . . beneurté: *P²DSA² om.*; mentent: *P¹* metent *BR* maintiennent; soit: *DS* nest mie.

94 aten (*P¹C²*): *BRD* atent *C¹* ateng *P³M* attens *S* attench.

97 doions: *C²* deons *P³* devons *marginal*.

98 deservons (*P¹C²BS*): *R* deservains *P²A²M* deserviens *P³A¹* deservions.

99 devons: *P¹C²* deons.

METRE IX.

1 O: b (except M) om.; tu: *BM* om.; createurs: *C¹b om.*; gouvernes: *P¹* gouverne; est: *Bb* (except *P²*) ce *P²* le.

2 aille: *DS* voist; de *a*: b par.

3 out (*P¹C²*): *Rb* ot *DS* eut *BC¹* est: meuz

(*P¹C²R*): *BC¹b* mues.

4 mouvoir: *P¹C²* esmouvoir.

5 matere: *P¹C²* maistre.

6 sans envie: *P¹C² om.*; te meut (*P¹C²*; *P¹* t'meut): *BC¹P¹b* (except *P³P²*) te mut *P¹* t'esmut *R* de mut; tant: *P³A¹A²M om.*

7 exemplaire (*P¹a*; *R* essamplaire): b exemple (*P²* essample); biau (*P¹B*): *P¹* beau *C²* bleau *R* om. b bel (*S* biel) *C¹* bel du.

9 delivres: *P¹* delivrees (cf. *infra Prose X*. 1. 16).

11 plus (*a*): b om. (*R*: qui est plus pur).

12 que (li faiz): *P²* om.; pas (trop) (*P¹C²*): the rest om.

13 eauies: *BRDS* yaues; moyenne: *R* meanne *B* meue; treble: *C¹* tresbelle *A¹* triple *P²* trouble *P⁴* tres belle.

14 muet (moet, meut): *BP⁴* vaint.

15 a assemblé (*C¹*; b except *DS*): *R* a ensemble *B* a assemblies *P¹C²* assemble *DS* assembee.

16 rondes esperes (*P¹C¹R*): *C²P⁴* roondes

avironne et enquiert la parfonde pensee de dieu et tournoie le ciel par yimaginacion semblable, si comme elle voit que dieu le veult. Tu par semblables et par pareillez causez essauez les ames et les vies meneurs et,
20 quant tu les as ajusteez en hault par legieres veictures (*par raison et entendement*), tu les semes ou ciel et en la terre; et quant elles sont a toy convertiez par ta debonnaire loy, tu les faiz a toy retourner par remenable amour.

Tu peres, qui tiex es, donne a nostre pensee monter a ton siege royal;
25 donne li avironner la fontaine de bien et, par ycelle clarte trouvée, donne li fichier du tout en toy les regars de nostre courage, si que nous te puissions clerement veoir. *Derompt* et despicez les nubleez et les faiz de la pesenteur terrienne et nous esclarcis par ta resplendisseur. Car tu es clartéz, tu es pesiblez repos *aus debonnaires* et aus piteus, tu es a nous commençmens, portierrez, menierrez, sentiers; tu meismes es termes *oultre cui n'a riens*. Toy regarder est nostre fins.

[PROSE X.]

Pour ce doncques que tu as veu quiex est la forme du bien non parfait et quiex est neis la forme du bien parfait, or croi je qu'il seroit bon a demonstrer en quoi ceste perfection de bneurté est assise. En ce croi je que nous devons premierement enquérir, savoir mon, se aucuns itiex biens,
5 comme celui que tu as defeni un petit ci devant, puisse estre trouvéz en la nature des chosez, pour ce que vaine yimaginacion de pensee ne nous deçoive et mete hors de la verité de celle chose qui nous est soumise et de (22ra) *quoi nous entendons*. Mais que cil biens ne soit, et qu'il ne soit aussi comme une fontaine de touz autres biens, ce ne puet on pas nier. Car
10 toute chose qui est dite non parfaite est prouvee non parfaite par l'amenuisement de perfection ou de chose parfaite. Dont il avient que en chascune chose general, se on i voit riens non parfait, certez en ce general couvient estre aucune chose parfaite. Car se perfection est ostee, on ne puet ne dire ne penser neis dont celle chose soit qui est dite non parfaite. Car la nature des
15 chosez ne prist pas son commencement des chosez amenuisies et non parfaitez, ainçois vient des chosez enterines et delivrez et descent en ces derrenieres chosez *foraines* et sens fruit. Mais, si comme nous avons monstré un petit ci devant, s'il est une fraile et vaine et non parfaite

espèces *B r.* espouses *b* rondesces; *a* (retourner); *b au: a* (soi); *C' b en.*

18 voit: *P'C'B* veult.

19 meneurs (*M*): meneur): *P'C²* meismes.

20 veictures: *BP²DS* voitures *P³* voitures *M* vectures *A¹A²* veitures *R* vainturs *P'* faictures; *raison*: *B* traison.

21 les: *P'* le.

21-2 quant . . . convertiez (*a*): *b om.*

21 sont a toy: *C'* soient.

22 tu (*a*): *b om.*; remenable (*P'C'BRP³*; *C'P⁴* rema- *A¹M* rame-): *A²* amenable *P'* resnable *DS* regnable.

24 tiex (*P'RP²A¹*): *C'DS* tels *B om.* *C²* tielz *A²* celz *M* tel *P³* tes (*for tiex es*); *a* (ton): *C' b* (except *A¹A²*) en.

25 li: *b om.*; et: *P'* om.

26 li: *b om.*; du tout en toy: *P'C²M inverted*.

27 puissances: *the rest* puissances; *Derompt* (*P'M*): *RA¹A²* deromp *P²* deront *C²* derump *P³* desromp *DS* desront *B* desrons *P⁴* desromps *C¹* deronge; despice: *C'* depeche *D* despiche *P⁴* despices.

29 nous: *P'* nos *C²* noz.

30 portierrez . . . sentiers: *P³A¹A²M* porteur

meneur sentier; sentiers: *P'C²* sentierres.

30-1 *n'a riens*: *B* varies.

31 fins: *B* sires.

1 que: *P'C²* om.; tu as: *P'C²* inverted; quiex: *C'* quelz *C²b* quele.

2 et quiex . . . parfait: *B om.*

3 bneurté: *P'C²* bien *P'A¹A²M* bonte; croi je: *B* croire.

4 enquérir: *the rest* enquerre (*R* enquierre).

6 nature: *D* matere.

7 deçoive: *P²* deceve *B* mete; et mete: editor's addition.

8 quo: *D* toy; cil (*a*): *P²S* cilz *D* cius *P³A¹A²M* cellui; biens: *BC²P³A¹A²M* bien *C¹* om.; et qu'il ne soit: *P'C²* om.

10 parfaite (par): *P'* prouvee.

12 i voit (*BC'P²P³A¹D*): *R* nivoit *A²MS* y avoit *P'C²* met.

14 dite: *P'C²* om.

15 prist: *B* perist; commencement: *P'C²* commencement.

17 derrenieres: *DS* desraines; *foraines*: *DS* om.

18 petit (*P'C²*): *the rest* pou (poi, po); une fraile: *B* une fontaine f.

beneurté, nulz ne peut doubter qu'il n'en soit aucune ferme, *permanant et parfaite.*" "Ceste conclusion", dis je, "est tres ferme et tres vraie."

"Mais ainsi regarde", dist elle, "ou celle beneurté habite. La commune acordance des courages humains preuve et otroie que diex, princes de toutez chosez, est bons. Car comme nulle chose ne puisse estre pensee meilleur de dieu, nulz ne pourroit doubter que ce de quoi nulle chose n'est meilleur ne soit bons. Certez, raison demonstre que diex est si bons que ele preuve par droite force que parfaiz biens est en lui, car se il n'estoit tiex, il ne pourroit pas estre princes de toutez chosez. Car aucune chose, tenans en soy bien parfait, sera miex vaillans que diex, et semblera que celle chose soit premiere et plus (22rb) ancienne que diex—car nous avons monstré apertement que toutez les chosez parfaites sont avant que les chosez non parfaites. Pour quoy, pour ce que nostre raison ne s'en aille sens fin, recognoistre devons que li souverains diex est tres plains du souverain et du parfait bien. Mais nous avons establi que li souverains biens est vraie beneurté; donques couvient il que la vraie beneurté soit assise ou souverain dieu." "Ce reçoif je bien", dis je, "ne ce ne puet estre contredit en nulle maniere."

"Mais je te pri", dist elle, "que tu regardez comment tu puissez ce prouver saintement et sans corruption que nous avons dit que li souverains diex est tres plains du souverain bien." "En quelle maniere?" dis je. "Cuidez tu donques que cil princes de toutez chosez ait pris hors de soy ou s'il a naturellement en soy celui souverain bien de quoy l'en preuve que il est plains—aussi com tu penseroies que diex qui beneurté a en soi et la beneurté qui est en li fussent divers en substance? Car se tu cuidez que il ait celui bien receu de hors, tu pues cuidier que cil qui ce bien donna a dieu est plus vaillant que diex. Mais nous recognoissions tres dignement que diex est tres vaillans seur toutez chosez. Et se cil biens est en li par nature, mais il est divers de li par raison, puis que nous parlons de dieu prince des chosez—faigne qui faindre puet—qui fu cil qui ces chosez diversez pot ensemble conjoindre? Au derrenier, ce qui est divers de chascune chose, l'une n'est pas l'autre dont elle est entendue (22va) a estre diverse. Dont il s'ensuit que ce qui par sa nature est divers du souverain bien, ce n'est pas li souverains biens; mais felonnie est a ce penser de celui de qui certainement nulle chose n'est miex vaillans. Car tous jours, de toutez chosez, leur nature ne pourra jamés estre meilleur de son commencement, par quoi je puis conclurre par tres vraie raison que ce qui est commencement de toutez chosez, celle chose neis est en sa

19 qu'il: *P¹C²* qui.

21 ainsi (*a except C¹*): *C¹b* aussi.

24 meilleur (*P¹DS*): *C¹* millour *P²* meilleur *C²R* meilleur *the rest* meilleur; doubpter: *P²DS* penser; de quoi (*b*): *P¹* de cui *BC¹* de qui *R* qui de (*C²*: que de ce qui):

26 que (parf.): *P¹C²* qui; estoit (*P¹C²DS*): *BR¹* (*except DS*) est.

27 pourroit (*P¹C²DSM*): *the rest* pourra.

28 bien: *b om.*

31 chosez (non *p.*): *C¹C²Rb om.*

32 recognoistre: *P¹* cognoistre; devons: *P¹B de nous; tres* (*a*): *b tous* (tout).

33-4 souverains biens (*C¹RP²DS*): *the rest ain* bien.

34 (*est*) vraie: *P¹* (*est*) venue; il: *P¹ om.*

35 assise: *R atisee*; dieu (*a*): *b bien*; reçoif: *P¹C²* recognoisi.

36 contredit: *B entredit*; nulle: *P²A¹A²M aucune.*

38 prouver: *P¹* trouver; et: *P¹C² om.*

39 tres: *P¹ om. DS tous; du* (*aMD*): *the rest de.*

41 ou . . . soy: *Bb om.*

42 penseroies: *B pensoies; que* (*diex*): *DS de.*

43 a: *P²DS* soit.

44 ait: *D l'ait; celui bien: DS om.; celui: R en lui B de lui; cil* (*aS*): *the rest ce.*

45-6 Mais . . . diex: *C¹ om. (B: mais nous disons eu renoncant tres dignement).*

45 recognoissions: *P¹* recognoissions.

46 se: *P¹ ce P² om.; cil* (*cilz, chils, cis*): *P²A¹A²M ce; li* (*P¹C²P²D*): *the rest lui.*

47 divers: *R dignes; li* (*P¹C²BP²*): *the rest lui.*

49 pot: *P¹* les pot; conjoindre (*a*): *b joindre; ensemble conj.: C¹ assambler et conj.*

51 divers: *P¹C² om.*

52 a: *D om.*

53 qui: *P¹ cui.*

55 son: *P²A¹A²M leur; puis: P¹ puisse.*

substance li souverains biens." "Tu as parlé", dis je, "tres droitement." "Mais nous avons ottröié que li souverains biens est beneurté." "C'est voirs", dis je. "Donques", dist elle, "nous convient il ottröier que celle meismes beneurté est diex." "Certez", dis je, "je ne puis aler contre les raisons propousees et bien voy que ce s'ensuit de ces premissiez."

"Or regarde", dist elle, "savoir mon, s'il est aussi prouvé plus fermement par ce meismes que deus souverains biens, qui soient divers entre eulz, ne poeent estre. Car certes li bien qui sont divers entre euls, li uns n'est pas ce que li autres est; donques ne pourra ne li uns ne li autres estre parfaiz, comme de chascun d'euz defaillie touz jours li uns a l'autre. Mais ce qui n'est mie parfait, c'est tout apert qu'il n'est pas souverain. Les chosez donques qui sont souverainnement bonnes ne peuvent en nulle maniere estre diversez. Mais nous avons bien cueilli et receu que beneurté et diex 70 sont li souverains biens; par quoi il convient que souveraine beneurté est ce meismes que est souveraine deité." "Nulle chose", dis je, "ne est plus vraie de ceste ne plus ferme par raison, ne plus digne de dieu ne puet estre conclude ne prouvee."

"Seur ces chosez donques", dist elle, "aussi comme li geometrien, 75 quant (22vb) il ont demontré leurs propos, seulent conclurre et ajuster aucunes chosez que il apelent porismes ou esclarcissemens des chosez devant ditez, aussi te donrai je ci aussi comme un correlative ou un loier de coronne. Car pour ce que par l'aquisition de beneurté sont fait li homme beneuré et beneurté est deitez meismes, aperte chose est que par 80 l'aquisition de divinité sont faiz li homme beneuré. Mais aussi comme par l'aquisition de justice sont fait li homme juste et par l'aquisition de sapience sont fait sage, aussi couvient il par semblable raison que, puis qu'il ont acquisse divinité, que il soient fait dieu. Touz homs beneuré est donques diex; mais certez par nature il n'est que un seul dieu, mais par participacion 85 de divinité nulle chose ne empêche que il ne soient pluseurs diex." "Ce est", dis je, "bele chose et precieuse; apele la, si comme tu veulz miex, ou porisme ou correlative ou esclarcissemens ou loier de coronne."

"Mais certez nulle chose ne est plus bele de ceste qui, par raison, doit estre ajustee aus chosez devant ditez." "Quelle chose?" dis je. "Comme il semble", dist elle, "que beneurté contiengne pluseurs chosez, savoir mon, se toutes chosez facent ou conjoingnent aussi comme un corps de beneurté par aucune diversité de parties ou, savoir mon, se aucune de toutes ycelles soit telle que elle accomplisse par soi la sustance de beneurté, si que toutes ces chosez autres soient rapportees a lui." "Je voudroie", dis je, "que tu me feisses entendre clerement ce que tu diz et me recordassez les chosez dessus ditez." "N'avons nous pas", dist elle, "jugié que beneurté est biens?" "Oy, certez", dis je, "et souverains." "Ajuste", dist elle, "(23ra) ce bien

57 li: C¹b om.

61 premissiez: B promesses.

62 aussi (P¹A¹A²M): the rest ainsi; fermement: P¹A¹A²M forment.

63 deus: P¹A¹A²M de deus.

63-4 ne poeent . . . euls (C¹R): the rest om.

65 li autres est: P¹A¹A²M inverted; ne (li uns): P¹C² om.

66 de: P¹ om.; d'euz: BRC¹b des deus; defaillie: C¹P² faille; touz jours: P¹ chascun.

67 pas souverain: P¹ mie parfait ne s.

68-9 en nulle . . . estre: P¹C² estre en n. m. A² a nulle m. es. A¹M en nulle estre (sic).

69 cueilli: P¹s cueilli D quelli S coelli.

70 li: b om. C²B les; souverains biens: C¹ sing.; est (ce m.): BR soit.

71 ce . . . souveraine: B om.; deité: B debte.

74 prouvee: B promise.

75 propos: B propres b propos; seulent: DS seulement.

76 porismes: B prosmes.

77 ci . . . comme: P²DS om.

79 deitez: B debte.

85 soient: P²DS soit.

85-6 Ce est: P¹C² certez.

86 bele (a): b bone.

87 porisme: R proisme B proismes; ou escl.

. . . coronne: P¹s om.

89 devant: B dessus.

90 semble (a): b me s.

92 aucune diversité: P¹ aucunes diversitez.

94 autres: b om.

96 nous pas: P¹C²R om. C¹ nous; dist elle jugie: Rb inverted B jugie de celle C¹ jugie.

97 Ajuste: b aj. donques.

qui est ceste beneurté a toutesz les chosez dessus ditez; car celle meismes beneurté est jugiee a estre souveraine suffisance, celle meismes est souveraine puissance, souveraine reverance, souveraine noblece et souverains delit. Que diras tu donques? Toutez ces chosez qui sont par soi bien, c'est a savoie suffisance, puissance et ces autres, sont elles aussi comme uns membres de beneurté, ou se elles sont rapportees a bien, aussi comme toutes choses sont rapportees a leur chief?" "Je entens bien", dis je, "ce que tu proposez a encherchier, mais je desire aoir que tu le me monstrez."

100 "Or pren ainsi la division de ceste question. Se toutesz ces chosez fussent membres de beneurté, elles fussent diversez l'une de l'autre; car telle est la nature des parties que elles, diversez, facent ensemble un corps." "Certez, il a bien esté monstré avant que toutesz ces chosez sont une meismes chose." "Donques ne sont elles pas membres; car autrement sembleroit il que beneurté fust conjointe d'un seul membre, mais c'est chose qui ne puet estre faite." "Ceste chose", dis je, "n'est pas doubleuse, mais je atens aoir ce qui remaint de la question."

110 "C'est cler que toutesz autrez chosez sont rapportees a bien. Car pour ce est suffisance requise que elle est jugiee a bien, et pour ce est requise puissance que l'en croit aussi que elle soit biens; et ce meismes poons nous penser de reverance, de noblece et de delit. De toutesz les chosez donques que on doit desirer et requerir la fin et la cause est biens; car ce qui ne retient nul bien en soi ne semblance de bien, ce ne puet en nulle maniere estre desiré ne requis. Et encontre ce, les chosez neis qui par leur nature ne sont pas bonnes, toute- (23rb) vois, se on croit que elles soient bonnez, sont elles requisez aussi comme se elles fussent vraiment bonnez. Dont il avient que on doie croire par droit que bonté est la souveraine fin et la cause de toutesz les chosez qui sont a requerir. Mais certez, ce qui est cause pour quoi on requiert aucune chose, il semble que ce meismement soit plus desiré, aussi comme si aucun vouloit chevauchier pour cause de santé, il ne desire pas tant le mouvement de chevauchier comme il desire santé. Come toutesz chosez donques soient requisez pour grace de bien, elles ne sont pas desirees de touz plus que bien. Mais nous avons otroïe que beneurté est ce pour quoy ces autres chosez sont desirees; donques est ainsi quise certainement seule beneurté. Dont il apert clerement que de bien et de beneurté est une meismes substance." "Je ne voy riens pour quoy on se puisse de ce descorder." "Mes nous avons monstré que dieux et vraie beneurté sont une meismes chose." "C'est voirs", dis je. "Donques poons nous seurement conclurre que la substance de dieu est aussi assise en bien meismes et non pas en aucun lieu autre.

98 qui . . . beneurté: *P¹* qui est de ceste b.
B qui est fait b.

101 donques Toutez: *B* d. de toutes: ces: *P²DS om.*; par soi: *DS* p. elles *C²* parfait.
 103-4 a bien . . . rapportees: *P¹C² om.* *C¹* a bien comme.

104 entens: *P¹A¹A²M* te en.

105 encherchier: *D* encherquier *P³* enquérir; a (oir): *P¹ om.*

106 pren: *R* apren; ainsi: *P¹B* aussi *C¹ om.*
 107 de (l'autre): *P²DS a.*

108 parties: *P²* bestes.

109 avant: *P² om.*; une: *P²DS* en une.

111 conjointe: *P²* ajoutante.

114 que: *B* toutes voies; autrez chosez: *b inverted.*

119 en soi (*P³A¹A²M*): *the rest om.*; semblaient: *C¹* samble.

120 ce, les: *P³A¹A²* celles *M* ces *C¹* cels.

121 croit: *P¹C²* les croit; soient: *A¹* sont.

122 se elles fussent: *P¹C² om.*

124 requerir (requerre): *R* requerre *BS*

conquerre *D* acquerre.

125 requiert: *B* requiere; meismement (*P¹-C²B*): *the rest meismes* (meisme); plus: *b* (except *P²*) *om.*

127 santé: *B* sentente.

128 pour grace: *P¹C²* par cause.

129 de touz . . . bien: *P² om.* *DS* tant que bien meismes.

129-30 Mais . . . desirees: *P²DS* insert further along before the words: Mes nous avons (l. 133). However DS replace the phrase as follows: mes nous avons otroiet que ce est boneurete pour laquelle toutesz autrez cosez sont desirees.

131 quise (*P¹P³A¹M*): *P²DS* acquisse *C² qui** A²* que cest *C¹R* que *B* que; certainement:

P³A¹A²M om.

132 ne: *P¹ om.*; pour: *P¹ de.*

135 aussi: *P¹* ainsi.

136 pas: *P¹C² om.* *R* mie; aucun lieu autre: *P²* auc. aut. lieu *DS* auc. autre *P²* aucun.

[METRE X.]

Venéz tuit ensemble ça qui estes pris et enclaiiez de mauvaisez chaenez par la decevable couvoitise des chosez terriennez habitans en vos pensees! Ici vous sera li repos de vos travaus, ci est li pors establez en pesible repons; cist est li seus apers refuigez aus chetis. Toutez les richechez que Tagus 5 vous donne par ses dorees gravellez ou celles que Hermus donne par sa roige riviere, ou que Indus donne qui est prochains a (23va) la chaude partie du monde *qui est par devers midi* qui melle les pierrez verz avec les blanchez, n'esclarissen pas le regart de nostre pensee, ançois reponnent plus vos couragez avugles dedens leurs tenebrez. Tout quenque ci vous 10 plaist et esmeut vos pensees, la terre le norri en ses basses cavernes. Mais la resplendisseur par quoy li cieulz est gouvernez et dont il a sa vigueur, celle eschieve les oscures trebuchances de l'ame. Et quiconques pourra noter et cognoistre ceste clarte, il dira que li rai du soleil ne sont pas cler."

[PROSE XI.]

"Je m'y acort", dis je, "car toutez ces chosez sont certaines et *vraies et enlacées* par tres fermes raisons." Lors dist elle: "Combien priseras tu, se je te faiz cognoistre de celui bien quelle chose ce est?" "Par pris sens fin le priserioie", dis je, "s'il m'avenoit que je cogneusse aussi ensemble 5 dieu qui est bien." "Certez", dist elle, "ce te monstrerai je par tres vraie raison, se les chosez que nous avons conclusez un pou ci devant demeurent tant seulement en leur ottroi." "Elles te demourront otroiees."

"N'avons nous pas", dist elle, "montré que les chosez qui sont requisez de pluseurs ne sont pas vrais biens ne parfaiz, pour ce que il sont divers 10 li un de l'autre et, comme chascuns uns defaillist a l'autre, il n'ont poorir d'aporter bien plain et absolut; et que lors sont il vrai bien quant il sont lié aussi comme en une forme et en une fesance, si que, ce qui est suffisance, ce meismes soit puissance et reverance, noblece et joieuseté, et que, se toutez ces chosez ne sont une meismes chose, il (23vb) n'ont riens 15 pour quoy il soient mis au nombre des chosez que on doit requerir." "C'est demontré", dis je, "ne de ce ne puet nulz doubter."

"Les chosez donques qui ne sont pas biens quant elles sont diversez, et quant elles commencent a estre une chose elles sont biens—ne leur avient il donques par l'aquisition de unité que elles soient faites biens?" "Ainsi", 20 dis je, "ce m'est il avis." "Mais toute chose qui est biens, otroies tu que

The complete Metre is lacking in A⁸.

1 ca (PRP¹; C² cza): C³S om. Bb (except S) ci (c¹): q*ui* (P¹C²P²): the rest vous qui; pris et (a): b om.

2 habitans (aP⁴): b om.

3 ci (chi, cy): C¹ chis R cist B et; pors: P¹C² peres; en: P¹C² om. BDS et; pesible: P³A¹A²M plaisant.

4 cist (BR): C¹P²D cis S cilz P¹P³A¹A²M ci; seus (BCP²): RDS seuls P³A¹A²M seul P⁴ seurs C² siens P¹ cieulz; apers refuigez: C¹ espars refuses.

5 richezel: P⁴B choses; Tagus: P²DS Taugus.

5 Hermus: P¹C² Tagus B Heraus.

6 Indus: P¹ juons C² v nous; prochains: P¹C² plus p.; chaude: P¹C² haulte; *qui est* (P¹C²): the rest om.

8 esclarissen: BP⁴ esclariront R esclar- ciroit.

9 avugles: P¹ avuglug C⁴DS avulles B a une cles; ci: P¹ om. P² si P² a.

10 esmeut: P⁴ esmeuent.

11 la: P¹C² om.

12 oscures trebuchances; DS obscurtes tenebres.

12-3 noter et: BP⁴ om.

13 ceste: BP⁴b celle: li rai: B li air.

PROSE XI.

1 certaines et: b om. BRC¹ (vraies) et cert.

2 par: BDS de; combien: P¹R c. dist elle.

3 cognoistre: DS entendre.

4 priserioie: BRP² pr. je; dis je: C¹b (except P²) om.

5 ce: P¹C² om.; tres vraie: b certaine R vrai B uiue.

7 tant: C¹b om.; demourront: R demeurent.

10 chascuns uns: (C¹C²RDS): P¹ ch. un B ch. en P³A¹A²M un chascun P⁴ chascuns.

13 noblece: D noble; et (joi.): P¹C² om.

17 qui (a): b om.

19 soient: P³A¹A²M sont; faites: C⁴DS om.

20 ce (R): the rest le; m'est: B met.

ce soit bien par la participacion de bien ou non?" "Je l'otroi", dis je. "Donques couvient il que tu otroies que un et bien, par semblable raison, sont une meismes chose; car il couvient que, des chosez dont li faiz ne est pas naturellement divers, que la sustance en soit une meismes." "Ce ne puis 25 je", dis je, "nier." "N'as tu pas donques cogneu", dist elle, "que tout ce qui est, tant longuement a il son estre et sa sustance, com longuement il est un, mais puis qu'il delaisse a estre un, il le couvient mourir et corrompre ensemble?" "En quel maniere?" dis je. "Si comme es bestes", dist elle, "quant l'ame et le corps sont conjoings en un et demeurent ensemble, ce est 30 apelé beste; et quant leur unité est destruite par la dessevrance de l'un et de l'autre, lors apert que c'est chose morte et que ce n'est mais beste. Et li corps aussi, tant comme il demeure en une forme par conjonction de membres, il apert estre humaine figure; et se les parties du corps sont si devisees et desevrees l'une de l'autre que elles destruient unité, li corps 35 delaisse a estre ce qu'il estoit avant. Et qui voudroit ainsi corre (24ra) par toutes ces autrez chosez, il verroit certainement que chascune chose est en sa sustance tandis comme elle est une et, quant elle laisse a estre une, elle *meurt ou perist.*" "Quant je regarde", dis je, "pluseurs chosez, je n'y voy nulle chose autre."

40 "Est il donques riens", dist elle, "qui, en tant comme il vive naturellement, delaisse le *talent* et le desir de son estre et desire a venir a mort et a corruption?" "Se je regarde", dis je, "les bestes qui ont aucune nature de vouloir et de non vouloir, je n'en treuve nullez—se elles ne sont contraintez par dehors—qui getent et despisent l'entencion de estre et de vivre 45 et se hastent de leur gré de venir a mort. Car chascune beste se travaille a deffendre le sauvement de sa vie et eschieve mort et destruement. Mais je me double du tout et ne sai que dire ne quoi acorder des herbez et des arbrez et de toutes les chosez qui n'ont nulles ames."

50 "Certez aussi n'a il ci riens de quoy tu puisses doubter. Or regarde les herbez et les arbrez; ilz naissent premierement es lieus qui leur sont couvenablez, es quiex il ne peuvent tost sechier ne mourir, tant comme leur nature les en puisse deffendre. Car les unes naissent es champs, les autres es montaignes, les autres es paluz, les autres se aherdent aus roichez, les autres craissent plenteureusement es sablons; et se aucuns s'esforce de 55 porter les en autres lieus, elles y seichent. Mais nature donne a chascune ce que il li couvient et travaille a ce que elles ne muirent, tant comme elles ont pooir de vivre. Que diras tu de ce que elles treent toutes leur

21 (soit) bien: *b om.*; l'otroi: *DS le croy.*
 22 il: *P¹C²S om.*; couvient . . . tu: *C¹ om.*; et bien: *P¹* est bon *C²* et bon.
 23 sont (*a*; *B* sus i.e. sunt): *b soient*; faiz (*P¹C¹C²DS*): *RP²* fes *P³A¹A²M effect*; ne est: *BR naist.*
 26 tant: *P⁸ si; a: DS dure a: il (*a*): b om.*
 27 mais . . . un: *BR om.*; qu'il: *P¹C² que.*
 29 conjoings (-ntz, -nts): *C¹R^b* (except *P¹M*) conjoint *B* adjoint.
 30-1 et quant . . . beste: *P⁸ om.*; l'un et: *C² l'une et.*
 30 leur: *DS ceste.*
 32 Et (*di*): *B quar R car*; tant: *D om.* *B* tost.
 33-4 si devisees (*P¹C²RB*): *C¹ devisees b* diverses.
 34 li corps: *DS et li c.*
 35 qu'il: *P¹C² qui*; avant (*P¹C²B*): *C par av.*
Rb devant; corre: *C¹ contre.*
 37 sustance: *B semblance*; tandis (*a* except *C¹; P²*): *the rest tant.*
 39 chose: *B om.*
 40 en tant: *B entêt.*

41 desir: *B loisir.*
 43 et . . . vouloir: *P⁸ om.*; elles: *P¹ elle.*
 43-4 contraintez: *BP²DS* contraires.
 45 se: *P¹C² om.* *b qui se*; hastent: *C³ hastent* *DS* hastechent.
 46 eschieve (*P¹DS*): *P²P³M escheve BRA¹A²* eschieve *C²* eschue *C¹* escuie.
 47 du: *P¹C² de*; ne sai: *P²DS si ne sce*; et des: *P¹ ne des.*
 49 ci: *P¹P² om.*
 50 naissent: *P¹ om.* *C² sont*; lieus: *B biens.*
 52 en: *P¹C² om.*; deffendre: *B deliverer et def.*
 52-3 les aut. es mont.: *P²DS om.*
 53 paluz: *b p. et.*
 53-4 se ah. . . autres: *B om.*
 53 se aherdent (*s'ah.*): *A¹ se herdent.*
 54 sablons: *D sambians*; s'esforce: *P¹C¹C²P²* s'esforcent.
 55 porter les: *P³A¹A²M inverted*; en: *P¹C² om.*
 56 li: *P¹C² om.*; et trav. . . muirent: *R om.*; ne: *P¹C² ne y B om.*
 57 ont (*a*): *b aient.*

norrissement par leur racinez, aussi comme se elles eussent leurs bouchez
 plun- (24rb) giees dedens les terres, et esparent, par leur moeles, leur
 60 fust et leur escorce? Et que diras tu de ce qui est tres mol en eulz, si
 comme la moele? Elle est touz jours reposte ou siege plus dedens, et par
 dehors est deffendue par une fortrece de fust, et l'escorce est contremise la
 derreniere encontre la destrempance du ciel, aussi comme deffendierrez
 puissans de malz souffrir. Mais certez or peuz tu ja veoir combien grant
 65 est en eulz la diligence de nature, car elles se renouvellement toutez par
 semence montepliee. Ne il n'est nus homme qui bien ne sache que elles sont
 toutez aussi comme uns fondemens et unes semences de durer non pas tant
 seulement par aucun temps, mais aussi comme de pardurablement durer
 par generacion. Et les chosez neis que on croit que n'aient nullez ames, ne
 70 desirent elles pas chascunes par semblable raison a garder ce qui est leur?
 Car pour quoy porte legiereté les flambes en hault et li faiz porte et
 appaint les terrez en bas, fors pour ce que cil lieus et ces mouvemens sont
 couvenablez a chascuns de eulz? Mais certez chascune chose garde ce que
 li est convenable et propre, si comme les chosez contrairez et anemies les
 75 corrompent. Et neis les chosez durez, si comme les pierrez, se aherdent tres
 tenablement a leurs parties et se deffendent en contestant que l'une partie
 ne se departe legierement de l'autre. Et les chosez qui sont *moles* et
 decorans, si comme li airs et l'eau, se *departent* legierement et donnent
 lieu a ceulz qui les devisent et *derompent*, mais il retournent tost de rechier
 80 es lieus dont il sont arrachiéz. Mais li feus fuit et *refuse* toute division. Ne
 nous ne traictons pas ores ici (24va) des volenterins mouvemens de l'ame
 cognoissant, mais de la naturelle entencion des chosez, si comme il avient
 que nous transgloutissons les viandez receues sens y penser et reprennons
 nos alaines en dormant et ne le savons pas lors; car certez neis es bestes
 85 l'amour de *leur vivre* ne de leur estre ne vient pas des volentéz de l'ame,
 mais des commencemens de nature. Car volenté, pour aucunes causez
 contraingnans, *desire* et embrasse mainte foiz la mort que nature redoubte
 et *hait*. Et veons aucune foiz le contraire: que volenté *hait* ou *destourbe* et
 refrene ce que nature *desire* et *requiert* touz jours, c'est assavoir l'œuvre de
 90 generacion par laquelle chose seule *vit* et est soustenuée par touz temps la
 loingtengne durableté des chosez mortiex. Si que ceste charité et ceste

58 bouchez: *P¹C²* b. toutez.

59 plongiees . . . terres: *P¹C²* dedens les t.
plung.; moeles (moueles): *C¹* moulez *P¹C²*
DS mouille.

60 fust (a): b force (*DS*: par leur mouille
et par leur escorche leur forche).

61 et par: *B* et qui p.

63 deffendierrez: *P³* defenseur.

64 ja: *BRb om.*; combien (*P¹C²*): *C¹b* con
BR comme.

66 montepliee: *P³* multipliee; nus: *P¹ om.*

67 semences: *P¹* semitez *C¹ om.* *Bb*
(except *P²*) (une) semence.

68 mais (*P¹C²*): *the rest* mais neis; durer:
P¹C² om.

69 croit: *BR* trait; que (*P¹A²DS*): *B* que
elles *the rest* qui.

70 semblable: *P¹C²S* semblance.

71 legiereté (*DSa*; *R* legerete): *the rest*
legeresce; flambes: *DS* coses *R* choses; faiz
(fes): *R* flos.

71-2 et appaint: *BR om.*

72 cil (chil): *B* ce *P¹A¹M* ces *A²* ses; ces
(*P²P³A¹M*): *A²a* (except *C¹*) ses *C¹DS* chil
(mouvement); sont: *B* soit.

73 que: *BRb* (except *A²M*) qui.

74 anemies: *P³* advenues.

75 durez: *P² om.*

76 contestant (*aDS*): *P²P³A¹A²* contraitant

M contraitant.

77 se: *P¹ om.*; departe: *DS* departent.

79 tost: *B* tout.

80 arrachiéz (*P¹C²M*): *P²* errachiez *B* enra-
chiez *RP²A¹DS* esrachiez (-iez, -iet) *A²* estrachiez
C¹ var: es et devisees; fuit et *refuse*: *B*
f. et devise *P³* refut.

81 traictons (*C²P³A¹A²*): *BRCP³MS* traitons
P¹ trectons *D* trouvons; volenterins: *P³*
voulentaires *DS* volentieux.

83 y: *P²D³ om.*

84 le savons: *P¹C²SM* les s. *A²* les sentons.

85 l'amour: b ne vient pas l'amour; *de leur*
. . . pas: *P³A¹A²M* om.; *vivre*: *DS* usage; ne
vient: *P²DS* ne ne v.

87 maine (*P¹C²BP²*): *C¹RP³A¹A²M* maintes
D maine *S* aucune.

88 ou: *Bb* et.

89 refrene: *P²* refrene *DS* refraine *C¹* re-
fresne *B* refrain.

90 seule: *P¹C² om.*; *vit*: *D* vient; temps:
D tant *S* tant que.

91 loingtengne (*P¹C²*): *the rest* loingtaine
(lointaigne, lontaine); Si que (a): b et
pour ce.

91-2 charité . . . amour: *B* clarite et ceste
amour et ceste charite.

amour que chascune chose a de soy meismes ne vient pas du mouvement de l'ame, mais de l'entencion de nature. Car la divine pourveance a donné aus chosez qui par lui sont criees ceste cause, et neis tres grant, *de vivre et de durer—c'est generacion*—pour ce que il desirent naturellement leur vivre et leur estre tant comme il en ont poir. Par quoy tu ne pues en nulle maniere doubter que toutes les chosez qui sont ne requierent naturellement la ferme establete de pardurablement manoir et de foir *mort et destruction*."

95 "Or recognois je donques", dis je, "que je voy ores *certainement*, sens 100 doubter, les chosez qui me sembloient jadis estre doubtueusez." "Mais", dist elle, "ce qui desire a estre et a pardurablement manoir, ce desire a estre un; car se un estoit destruit, certez estre ne remaindroit a nul." "C'est voir", (24vb) dis je. "Donques", dist elle, "desirent toutes chosez un." "A ce me sui je acordéz." "Mais nous avons montré que celui meismes un 105 est ce qui est bon." "Certez", dis je, "ainsi est il." "Toutes chosez donques", dist elle, "requierent bien; et cestui bien pues tu ainsi descrivre: biens est ce qui est désiré de touz." "Nulle chose", dis je, "plus vraie ne puet estre pourpensee. Car, ou toutes chosez sont rapportees a niant et floteront sens 110 gouverneur, despouillées de un si comme de leur propre chief; ou s'il est riens a quoy toutes chosez tendent, ce sera de touz biens li souverains biens."

Lors dist elle: "O", dist elle, "li miens norriz, trop ai grant leesce de toy, car tu as fichié en ta pensee la cognoscience de commune verité. Mais en ce t'a il esté descouvert ce que tu disoies un pou ci devant que tu ne 115 savoies pas." "Quelle chose?" dis je. "Qui est", dist elle, "la fins de toutes chosez. Car, certez, c'est la chose qui est desiree de touz et, pour ce que nous avons concueilli que ce est biens *qui est désiré de touz*, il nous convient recognoistre que biens soit la fins de toutes chosez.

[METRE XI.]

Quiconques encerche verité par pensee parfonde et ne veult estre deceuz par nulles desvoiabletés, *reflechisse et retourt en soi meismes la clarté des yeulz de son cuer par dedens et restraigne en reflechissant entour son cuer les lons mouvements de ses pensees, et enseigne a son courage a cognoistre 5 que il tient repost en ses tresors tout quenque il quiert dehors. Lors li aparra et luira, plus clerement que li soleus ne luist, ce que la noire nue de l'erreur et du default de sa cognoissance avoit jadis couvert.*

Car certez li corps, aportans la pesanteur (25ra) d'oubliance, n'a pas chacie hors de vostre pensee toute la clarté de vostre cognoscience.

92 a: *B* est *P¹C² om.*; pas: *P¹C² om.*

94 par: *B* pour; criees (*P¹BR*): *C¹C²b*

95 pour ce: *P¹C² om.* *C¹P²* par ce.

95-6 desirent . . . poir: *C¹* vivent naturellement lor estre tant comme il poeent.

95 vivre: *BRb* vie (*P¹ vi'e*).

96 et leur estre: *B om.*; en (ont): *P¹P²C²A² om.*; Par (a): *b* pour.

99 je (voy): *P¹C² om.*

100 sembloient (*a except B*): *B* resembloient *b* (*except DS*) soloient *DS* sanloyent.

102 se: *P¹* ce: remaindroit (*aP²D*): *the rest* demourroit.

104 acordéz: *P³* cosentu.

103-4 A ce . . . acordéz: *B om.*

106 descrivre: *P¹C²* destruire.

107 plus . . . puet: *P³* ne puet plus v.

A¹A²M n'est plus v. ne ne puet.

108 toutes . . . sens: *A² om.*; floteront (a): *b* flotent.

110 ce: *P¹* et; de . . . biens: *DS* li souv.

biens de tous b.

115 Quelle chose: *DS* quoy.

116 la: *C¹* une *BRb* celle.

117 que ce: *P¹* ce que *P³* ce qui *C¹* qui ce.

118 recognoistre: *P¹* cognoistre.

METRE XI.

1 encerche: *P³* enquiert; deceuz: *P⁴* decoups *A³* receupz.

2 *reflechisse*: *BRP¹* flechisse *A³ om.* retourt: *B* recourt *A³* recort *P³* retourne; des: *P¹* de ces *C²A²P⁴* de ses.

3 reflechissant: *P¹* flechissant; entour: *P¹* en tout *C¹C²* entout.

4 enseigne: *D* ensengneche *S* enseigneche; a (son): *a* (*except R*) *b* (*except A¹*) en.

5 quiert (*P¹C²A²P⁴*): *R* cuiert *B* requiert *C¹* quifies *b* tient.

6 luira: *P¹* li luira; ne luist: *A² om.*

6-7 que li . . . erreur: *A³ om.*

6 la noire: *P¹C²* de la n.; nue: *P³A¹A²M* nuit.

8 d'oubliance: *B* de obligence.

- 10 Certainement la semence de verité se tient et ahert dedens vostre courage et est esmeue et esveilliee par le vent et par les souffles de doctrine. Car pour quoy jugiez vous de vostre gré les drois a ceulz qui les vous demandent? Certez ce ne feissiez vous pas, se li norrissemens et la force de raison ne vesquist plungiee en la parfondece de vostre cuer. Et se la doctrine de
 15 Platon nous chante verité, tout quenque chascun aprent, il ne le fait fors que recorder, si comme on recorde les chosez oublieez."

[PROSE XII.]

Lors dis je: "Je m'acort forment a Platon, car tu me remembrez et recordez ja ces chosez la seconde foiz: premierement quant je en perdi la memoire par la troublant conjonction du corps avec l'ame, et puis quant je la perdi confonduz par le fais de ma douleur." Lors dist elle: "Se tu
 5 regardez les chosez premierement otroiees, tu ne seras pas moult loing de recorder ce que tu deis jadis que tu ne savoies pas." "Quel chose?" dis je. "Par quiex gouvernaus", dist elle, "cist mondez est governéz." "Bien en sui", dis je, "remembrans et recognui que je ne le savoie pas, mais ja soit ce que je voie ja de loing ce que tu proposez, toutevois le desire je a oir de
 10 toy plus plainement." "Tu ne cuidoies pas", dist elle, "un pou ci devant que on deust doubter que cist mondez ne fust governéz par dieu." "Certez encors n'en doublet je pas," dis je, "ne jamés ne cuideré que on en doie douter et te espondré briefment par quiex raisons je sui meus a ce. Cist mondez (25rb) de tant et de si diversez et de si contrairez parties ne se
 15 fust onques assemblé en une forme, se un ne fust qui conjoingsist tant de chosez si diversez. Et la diversité meismes de leurs naturez qui se descorde l'une de l'autre despartiroit et desjoindroit les chosez conjointez, se un n'estoit qui contenist ce que il a conjoint et enlacé. Ne certez l'ordre de nature n'iroit pas si certaine ne ne despleroit si ordenéz mouvemens par
 20 lieus, par temps, par fesances, par espaces, par qualitéz, se un n'estoit qui fust parmanant et ordenast ces diversitéz de muances. Et celle chose, quelconques elle soit, par quoy toutes chosez sont faitez et sont meues, je la nomme dieu; ce est uns moz uséz a touz."

Lors dist elle: "Puis que tu sens ainsi ces chosez, je cuit que je ai pou a faire a ce que tu aiez beneurté et que tu revoies sains et haitiez ton pais. Mais regardons les chosez que nous avons proposeez devant. N'avons nous pas nombré et dit que suffisance est en beneurté et avons acordé que diex est beneurtéz meisme?" "Oy, certez." "Et au monde gouverner", dist elle, "n'aura il onques mestier de nulles aides dehors; car autrement s'il avoit

10 ahert: P² aert DS art R haert.
 11 est esmeue et: P¹ esmuet; souffles de:
 P¹C² om.; doctrine: P¹C² pl.

13 feissiez (C¹C²RP²DM): S feissies A¹
 feissiez A² fessies P¹ faissiez A³P¹ faisisse BP²
 fussiez; li norrissemens: R linou; et: b (except P²) de.

15 le: P¹A¹A²M om.

15-6 fors que (a: B lors que): bA³P¹ que.

1-2 et recordez: b om.

2 en or em (a): b om.

3 troublant: P¹C² om. D tranblant.

5 otroiees: a (except B) DS otroies (ot-
 riores).

7 gouvernaus (P¹C²): C¹Rb gouvernemens
 B gouvernement.

8 recognui: C¹R recognui C² recōgnui B
 recognue b reconnois.

9 je voie: P¹C² tu voies.

10 cuidoies: R cuides; dist elle: P¹C¹C² om.

12 dis je: P¹C¹C² om.; cuideré (-rai, -ray):
 B cuideroie R douteroie C² douterai.

13 espondré (P¹C²A¹): RP² espondrai C¹DS
 responderai A²M respondre B respondrai P¹
 exposeray; meus (BR): the rest venus.

14 de si (contr.): b om.

15 conjoingsist (-joinsist): P¹M conjoignist
 BC¹ conjoint C² conjoing.

18 a conjoint et enlacie: P¹ conjoinst et
 enlace P² conjoint et enlacie.

18-9 de . . . certaine ne: B om.

19 despleroit (P¹C²): B desplairoit C¹Rb
 desplieroit.

22 sont (meues): b om.; meues: S menees
 D mellees.

22-3 je la nomme: P¹ ja la renommee.

23 uséz a: P² commun nomme de.

24 je ai: D jaye M je aye C¹ j'aie.

25-7 que tu revoies . . . beneurté et: B om.

26 nous (pas): P¹C²A¹ om.

27 est: P¹ et; en: P¹C¹P¹A¹ om.

28 dist elle: P¹C¹C² om.

29 onques: b om.; mestier: P²D¹ nul m.;
 nulles aides: C¹ nulle aide P¹C² nulle chose.

30 besoing de aide, il n'auroit pas plaine suffisance." "Ainsi couvient il", dis je, "que ce soit." "Donques ordene il par soy seul toutesz chosez." "Ce ne puet estre nié", dis je. "Mais nous avons monstré que diex est biens meismes." "Bien m'en remembre", dis je. "Par bien donques ordene il toutesz chosez, se cil les gouverne toutesz par soi—que nous avons acordé 35 qu'il est biens; et cist est aussi comme uns clos et uns gouvernaus par quoy la faiture (25va) de cest monde est gardee estable et sans corrompre." "Forment", dis je, "m'y acort; et aperçui un pou ci devant, ja soit ce que ce fust par petite soupeçon, que ce voussiez tu dire." "Je le croi", dist elle, "car si comme je cuit, tu ameines ja plus ententivement tes yex a regarder 40 les vrais biens. Mais ce que je te dirai n'apert pas moins a regarder." "Quel chose?" dis je. "Comme on croie", dist elle, "et par droit, que diex gouverne toutesz chosez par le clo et par le gouvernail de sa bonté et ces meismes chosez toutesz, si comme je t'ai enseigné, se hastent par naturel entencion de venir a bien, nulz ne puet doubter que elles ne soient 45 gouvernees volenterinez et qu'elles ne se convertissent de leur gré a la volenté de leur ordeneur, aussi comme acordans et enclinans a leur royst."

"Ainsi le couvient il", dis je; "ne li royaumes ne sembleroit pas estre bneuréz, se les choses acouplees au jou se traioient en diversez partiez; li sauvenemens des chosez discordans n'y seroit pas." "Donques n'est il riens 50 qui nature garde qui puisse aler contre dieu." "Non", dis je. "Et se riens", dist elle, "s'i esforçoit, pourroit il a la parfin profiter encontre celui que nous avons otroïé par le droit de bneurté a estre tres puissant?" "Certez", dis je, "du tout ce ne li vaudroit riens." "Donques n'est il nulle chose qui a cestui souverain bien puisse ou vueille contrairstier." "Je ne le 55 cuide pas", dis je. "Donques", dist elle, "est ce li souverains biens qui toutesz chosez gouverne forment et les ordene soevement."

Lors dis je: "Combien", dis je, "me delite non pas tant seulement la fin ou la somme des raisons que tu as concluse et prouvee, (25vb) mais certez moult plus me delitent ycelles meismes parolez que tu me deis; si que, a la parfin, et je et li autre fol mesdient en devons avoir grant honte de nous meismes, si comme je avoie dit devant que diex refuse seulement les faiz des hommes et que il ne s'en entremet." "Tu as bien oy", dist elle, "es fablez des poetes que li geant assaillirent le ciel o les diex; mais la debonnaire force de dieu les

30 besoing (a): b bes. ou mestier; de aide: b om.

35 qu'il (editor's correction for qui): B quest A²S que est; clos (aP²): P²A¹M clou A² cleu DS claus; uns (according to C¹C²-BRP²DS): P¹ un; gouvernaus (P¹C¹C²P²): P²A¹A²M gouvernail BR gouvernemens.

37 aperçui (P¹BRP²): C¹ aperchuc S apperchuc C² aperczoï D aperchoi P²A¹A²M aperceu.

38 le croi: P¹C² l'ottroi.

39 ja: P¹C² om.; ententivement (C¹BR; b except P²S): S ententivement P² ententiment P¹C² enterinement; tes yex (BR; b except A²): A² ces y. C¹ tels gens P¹C² telz.

40 dirai: BRC¹b d. ja.

42 clo: B col P³A¹ clou A²M cleu DS clau; gouvernail: C¹C² gouvernal B gouvernement.

43 si . . . enseigné: P¹C² om.

44 que elles: P¹C² que il.

45 volenterinez: P² volontairement; qu'elles: P¹ quel.

46 et enclinans: R et encrinans.

48 choses: P¹C² om.; acouplees au jou: P² accomplies au j. B accomplies au jour D accomplies au jeu C¹ accouplees a un (i.e.

ieu); traioient: P² trahioient P¹C²B traien. 49 sauvenemens: R souverains; seroit: A¹D seront P² seroient.

50 garde (P¹C²): the rest gart (C¹M gard).

51 s'i esforçoit: P¹ sil c'esf. P² se esf;

profiter: B port.

54 puisse ou vueille: BRP²DS inverted.

55 dist elle: C¹ om. P¹C² dist.

56 forment: P²A¹A²M fortement: soevement: C¹b souefement B soigneusement.

57 Combien dis: B om.

58 concluse et prouvee: C¹C²BDS pl.

59 deis (P¹C²A¹): the rest dis (P²M diz); a: P²DS en.

60 despiecent (P¹P²): C² despiecent DS despiecent C¹ depechent BRA¹A²M despisent P² despisent.

61 mesdient: B en m.; honte: B dueil.

62 les faiz des hommes: P² la fin ou la sommes (sic).

63 en: P²DSP²A¹ om.; dist elle: C¹b (except P²) om.; es (aP²S; D as): P²A¹A²M les; fablez: P¹ flabiez.

64 geant: A² grans P³ geyans; assaillirent: P² assaillent; C¹ (ou) les diex: R ou les d. estoient P²A¹A²M om.

65 ordena et les destruist, si comme elle dut et si comme il fu chose digne.
 Mais veulz tu que nous joingnons ensemble ces meismes raisons? Par
 aventure de ceste conjonction saudra aucune bele estencele de verité."
 "Fai", dis je, "si comme tu voudras." "Que diex", dist elle, "ne soit touz
 puissans, nulz homs n'en est en doubté." "Certez", dis je, "nul n'en doubté,
 70 s'il n'est hors de son sans." "Mais cil", dist elle, "qui est touz puissans, il
 n'est nulle chose que il ne puisse." "C'est voir", dis je, "nulle riens n'est
 que il ne puisse." "Puet donques diex faire mal?" "Non", dis je. "Donques",
 dist elle, "est mal niant, comme cil ne le puisse faire qui ne puet pas faire
 niant (puis que mal et ce que diex ne puet faire sont pareil).
 75 "Me moques tu", dis je, "ou tu te jeuze ou tu me deçois qui ci m'as tissue
 par tes raisons la maison Dedalus si entrelaciee que on ne la scet desclacier,
 qui aucune foiz t'i entres par la ou tu t'en is, aucune foiz t'en is par la ou
 tu y entrez, ne me ploies tu pas ensemble par replicacion de parolez une
 80 pelote ou une rondece de la divine simplicité? Car certez, quant tu un pou
 devant commençoez de la beneurté, tu disoies que elle estoit li
 (26ra) souverains biens et disoies que elle est assise ou souverain dieu. Et
 disoies que diex meismes est souverains biens et que il est plaine beneurtéz
 dont tu me donnoiez aussi comme un coronable don: c'est que nulz n'est
 85 beneuréz se il n'est diex avec. Et disoies de rechief que la forme meismes de
 bien est la sustance de dieu et de beneurté; et disoies que celle meismes
 chose une est cil meismes biens qui est *requis* et *desiréz* de toute la nature
 dés chosez. Et prouvoiez en desputant que diex gouverne toutes chosez
 du monde par les gouvernaus de bonté et que toutes chosez li veulent obeir
 et que la nature de mal n'est pas aucune chose. Et ces chosez monstroiez
 90 tu nommie par raisons prisez dehors, mais par preuvez et par *argumens*
 enlaciéz et cogneuz dont chascuns de eulz treait a soi sa foy et son acort
 li uns de l'autre."

Lors dist elle: "Nous ne te moquons pas ne ne jouons ne ne te decevons,
 ainçois t'avons montré la chose qui est tres grant sur toutes chosez par le
 95 don de dieu que nous depriasmes jadis. Car ce est la forme de la divine
 sustance qui est telle que elle ne se escolorge pas es chosez estrangez ne ne
 reçoit nulle chose estrange en soy, mais si comme dit Parmenides de celle
 divine sustance: "Elle tournoie le monde et la rondece mouvable des chosez,
 endementiers que elle se garde sans soy mouvoir." Mais se nous avons
 100 demené raisons non mie prisez dehors l'avironnement de la chose que nous
 trections, mais misez dedens, il n'i a riens pour quoy tu te doies merveillier,

65 elle . . . comme: B om.

67 bele: P¹ beste.

68 Fai: P¹ se.

69-9 Que . . . puissans: B cuides tu, dist

elle, que diex ne soit tout puissant.

70 de son: P³A¹A²M du; Mais: P²DS om.

72 faire: B estre; Non: BR nenil voir.

73 puet: P²DS puet pas R p. mie.

74 faire: A¹A²M om.; sont: P¹B son.

75 moques tu: A² molz es tu; tu te jeuze

(a except C¹; P²S); C¹ tu tues P³A¹A²M te

joues (joes) tu D te te j.; ou (tu me): P³A¹A²M om.; tu (me): D te; ci: BRb (except P²S) si P³ om.; tissue (a): b tissu

(M tixu).

76 Dedalus: R Dedelus; si (a): D est si S est ainsi P²P³ qui est si A¹A²M qui est ci.

77 t'i (B): C¹ tu the rest t'en; (entres) par la . . . en (is par): R om.; tu t'en is: DS tu en is P²A¹M t'en is; aucune foiz t'en is: B om.

78 ploies: R plaiet.

79 simplicité: B supplicite.

80-1 estoit . . . elle: P³A¹A²MS om.; D inserts after disoies a sentence repeated further on, ll. 87-9, les chosez . . . ces chosez).

83 coronable: B couvenable.

84 se il n'est: P³A¹A²M qui ne soit; Et disoies de r. (according to C¹): P¹C²B de r. et dis. Rb de r. tu d.; meismes: B om.

86 toute la nature: B pl.

87 prouvoiez: B prouuai.

88 gouvernaus (C¹): P¹C² -nans BRb gouvernemens.

89 mal: B mais; chosez: P¹C² meismes ch. 91 trait (P¹C²): P²DS traioit A¹A² traioit P³ traioit M traioit BRC¹ trait.

93 pas: R mie b om.

96 es: BRC¹ en b as (aus, aux).

97 estrange en soy: P¹C² inverted.

98 Elle tournoie (P¹BR): C² e. tournaie C¹ e. tourne b cele tourne.

99 avons: P¹ om.

100 que: P³A¹A²M dont.

101 trections (P¹C²): the rest traitons (traitons); te: P¹ om.

comme tu aies apris par la sentence de Platon qu'il (26rb) couvient que les paroles soient cousins aus chosez dont il parlent."

[METRE XII.]

Beneuréz est li homs qui pot regarder la clere fontaine de bien; beneuréz est qui se pot deslier de liens de la terre pesant. Orpheus qui gemi jadis et ot moult grant dueil de la mort de sa fame, puis que il ot fait par ses plourablez chançons les bois mouvablez et courre apres lui, et ot fait les 5 fleuvez arrester, et ot fait que les cers et les bichez joindrent sens paour aus crueus lions leurs costez pour oir son chant, et ot fait que li lievrez n'out pas paour du chien qui par la chançon s'estoit apaiséz—comme la plus ardant amour de sa fame li ardist les entrailles de son piz ne les chançons qui avoient vaincu toutes chosez ne peussent pas asoagier leur seigneur—it se 10 complaint des diex que il li estoient cruex; il s'en ala aus hostie d'enfer. Illeques atrempe il ses douces chançons par cordez resonans, et dist et chanta en pleurant tout quenque il avoit apris et puisé es nobles fontaines de sa mere Calliope la deesse, et chanta de tout quenque puissance de pleur et de tout quanque amour qui doubleoit le pleur li donnoit et enseignoit; et 15 esmut enfer et requist par douce priere les diex d'anfer, seigneurs des ames, que il li rendissent sa fame. Cerberus, li portiers d'enfer ou toutes ses tres testes, fu touz esbahiz pour la nouvelle chançon; les trois deesses vencherressez des felonniez qui tourmentent et espoentent les ames nuisans devindrent lors tristez (26va) et dolentez et pleurerent de pitié. Lors ne fu 20 pas tourmentee la teste Ixion par l'isnele roe et Tantalus qui estoit destruiz par rage de longue soif despist les fleuvez et n'a cure de boire. Li voultoers qui menjue le gisier Titius est du chant si saoulz que il n'en veult plus mengier ne ne le tire plus. A la parfin Pluto, sires et juges des ames, fu esmeus a misericorde et crio: "Nous sommes vaincuz. Nous donnons a 25 Orpheus sa fame pour li faire compagnie, il l'a bien achete par biau chanter. Mais nous metrons lai et couvenances au don, c'est a savoir que, quant il sera hors d'enfer, s'il regarde puis derrierez soy, elle revendra a

103 cousins: *P¹* consuiez *B* consuivies.
1 li homs: *P⁸* celui; pot (*P¹R*): *C²* peut
C³S poet the rest puet (*M* peuet).

2 pot (*P¹C²R*): *C¹S* poet *M* peuet the rest
puet; de liens: *B⁸* om.: pesant: *R* peuant
B⁴P⁴ puissant; gemi (*P¹C¹C²A¹A²*; *P⁸* gemy):
P²DS gemist *M* gemit *A³* je viz *P⁴* je vy BR
je vi.

4 et (courre): *bP⁴* om.; et courre: *A³* om.

4-5 les fl. . . fait: *P⁴* om.

5 bichez: *C¹DS* bisses; joindrent: joignirent
M joindre (*C¹*: ot fait joindre; text changed
in *A³*).

7 s'estoit: *P¹* c'e.; apaiséz: *P⁴* appaies;
comme: *BRP⁴* si comme.

9 toutesz: b t. ces: leur: *B* son.

10 que il: *C¹C²DSP⁴* qui.

11 douces: *A⁸P⁴BR* douleruses; resonans:
P¹ raisonans *BP⁴* resonans.

14 le: *P¹* de.

15 esmut (*a except B*; *P²DS*): *P⁸A¹A²M*
esmut *P⁴* s'en entre en *A³* s'en entra en
(*B*: enseignoit en son cuer en enfer seigneur
des ames . . .); requist (according to *C¹*):
the rest requiert.

16 rendissent (*P¹C²R*): the rest rendent
(*A³*: qui rendirent); ou (*P¹C²*): *BR* o *C¹* od
bP⁴ a; ses: *P⁴M* ces.

17 testes: *P¹* bestes: pour: *P⁴* par *C¹* de.

18 vencherressez (*P¹P²*): *C²b* (except *P²*)
vencherressez *A⁸P⁴BR* venderesses *C¹* van-
teresses.

19 pleurerent: *B* plouroient *P⁴* esplourees.
20 la teste: *P¹* la beste b om.; Ixion: *D*
yzion *S Yzion*.

21 rage de: *P⁸A³* om. (several lacunae in
A³); soif: *P⁴* souef; despist: *BP⁴P²DS* despit
R despuit *P⁸* despise; et n'a cure: *D* et na-
ture *A³P⁴B* par nature; Li: *P¹C¹* et le; voul-
toers: *C¹* voltoers *R* voultoers *C²* voultoirs
P⁸ voultouer *A¹A²M* voultouer *P²S* voutoirs
P⁴ volteirs *D* voutours *A³* vaultors *B* voltô-
niers.

22 menjue . . . Titius: *P⁸* om.: menjue (*P¹*:
C² ne menjue que): *A³P⁴BRA²DS* mengue
P⁸ mangue *A¹* manjue *C¹M* maine; le gisier
(gesier): *P¹* que ligier *C²* que legier *C¹DS*
le jusier *B* le jusier *A³* les jugiers *P⁴* les
visiers: est: *P¹* et; n'en: *P¹C²M* ne; veult
plus: *P¹C²* v. pas plus.

22-3 que . . . mengier: *P⁸* ne menjue.

23 tire plus: *P⁸* t. p. le cuer Ticius; sires:
A¹A²A³M seigneur *P⁸* arbitre.

24 a (miser.): *P¹* en *P⁴B* es (misericordes)
A³ et *P⁸* de (*A³*: et misericors s'escria); don-
nons: *D* deuons *B* devons rendre.

25 li faire: *P¹B* inverted (*B*: f. la); par
biau (*BR*): *P¹* par beau *C²* par bleau *C¹*
de bien b pour bien (*A³*: pour lui faire sa
compagnie il la bien achete mectons loy).

26 que: b om.

27 ouis: *A³P⁴BDS* plus *P⁸* apres; derrierez:
A³P⁴BRP⁸ derriere *C¹* derier *C³* darriere *P²*
arriers *A¹A²MDS* arriere.

nous." Mais qui est cil qui puisse donner lai aus gens amoureus? Amours est a soi meismes lai plus grant et plus fort que nulle loi que on li puisse donner. Halas! quant il furent pres du terme de la nuit, Orpheus regarda Erudice sa fame et la perdi et fu morte.

Ceste fable apartient a vous touz quiconques couvoitiés metre vostre pensee en la tres grant clarté du souverain bien. Car qui sera si vaincuz que il fichera les yeux en la fosse d'enfer, c'est a dire, qui metra sa pensee es chosez terriennes, trestout quenque il trait de noble bien celestial, il le pert quant il regarde aus bassez chosez de la terre."

[BOOK IV]

[PROSE I.]

Comme Philosophie eust chanté soevement et delitablement les chosez dessus ditez en gardant la dignité de son voulx et (26vb) la pesanteur de ses paroles, lors je, qui n'avoie pas du tout oublié le *pleur* et le dueil qui estoit assis en mon cuer, li entrerompi s'entencion de ce que elle vouloit encores dire aucune chose oultre. "O", dis je, "tu qui es *lanterne* et conduiserresse de vraie clarté, les chosez que tu m'as dites jusques ci me sont *si cleres et si apparans*, et par leur devin regart et par tes raisons *par quoy tu les a prouvees*, que elles ne peuent estre vaincuez; et les chosez que tu m'as dites, ja soit ce que je les eusse novellement oubliees pour la douleur du tort que on m'a fait, toutefois ne m'estoient elles pas du tout mescogneues avant. Mais ceste chose neis est la tres grant cause de ma douleur que, come le gouverneur de chosez soit bons, savoir mon, se mal peuent estre du tout ou se il trespassent sens estre punis; la quelle seule chose, combien qu'elle soit digne de grant merveille, tu meismes certez le regardez et le *ses bien*. Mais a ceste seule chose est encorez ajoutee une plus grant. Car je voi que felonnie est empereriz et fleurist plaine de richesses et des autres prosperitez, et vertuz n'est pas tant seulement sans loiers et sens meritez, mais est neis defoulete et mise souz les piéz des felons hommes et compere et pleure les tourmens que li mauvaiz et li felon deussent comparer et pleurer. Des quiex chosez toutesz nulz homs ne se puet asséz merveillier ne complaingre, comme elles sont faitez ou royaume de dieu qui toutesz chosez scet et toutesz chosez puet et ne veult tant seulement fors que bonnes chosez." (27ra).

Lors dist elle: "Certes, voirement seroit ce *grant merveille* et esbahisse-

28 gens: P³A¹A²MP⁴ om. (several lacunae in A⁴).

29 a (soi): P¹ en; meismes: P³A¹A²M om.; lai . . . fort: b plus grant loy; nulle loi que: bR om. BP⁴ loi nulle que; li puisse (P¹C²B): R ne li p. b ne puisse C¹ peüst.

30 regarda: P¹ regarde.

32 fable: P¹ faible; vous: P¹ nous; couvoitiés: P¹ cognoitrait C² cognoitrez A³P⁴ couvoiteux; metre: b a m.

34 les: P¹ ses.

35 terriennes: R terrenes B certaines; trestout: P¹C² trestout P¹ tout P³ om.

BOOK IV

1 soevement (souev.): C¹b souefment (P³ souefvement).

2 la (dig.): P¹C² om.; dignité: BR divinite; pesanteur: B p'sumpteur.

3 n'avoie . . . tout: b du (P² de) tout n'av. pas B n'av. pas.

4 entrerompi: B autres rompi; s'entencion: B sanz auxion.

5 lanterne: P¹ lantreure; conduiserresse: B conduiseur.

6 de: P¹C² om.; clarté: DS lumiere P² om. (P²: de vraies coses).

11 Mais . . . douleur: P³A¹A²M om.

12 le gouverneur: RP²DS li gouvernerres; mal: BP³A¹A²M maux (maulx).

14 certez: BRC¹ om.; regardez (according to P²DS): the rest gardes; le (ses): P¹C²D les C¹ om.

15 ajouté (a): b a ajouster; une (P¹C²): the rest une autre.

16 empereriz: C¹ empeeris A¹ emperris P³A⁴ emperiere.

16-7 des aut. prosp. et: B om.

18 est neis: b inverted C¹ est.

19-20 et pleurer: B om. P¹ pleurez.

20 asséz: P¹ om.

21 comme (P¹C²): the rest comment.

24 Lors dist elle: C¹ om.; Certes: P¹C² om.; ce: P¹ se.

- 25 ment sans fin et monstrez plus horriblez que touz autrez, s'il estoit si comme tu cuidez, c'est a savoir que en la tres ordenee maison de si grant pere et de si grant ordeneur de mesnie, li vaissel vil et ort estoient aourné et li precieus y fussen ort et vil. Mais il n'est pas ainsi. Que se les chosez que nous avons concludez un pou ci devant remaingnent enterines et vraies, tu
 30 cognostras par l'aide de dieu de cui royaume nous parlons que li bon y sont certez touz jours puissans et li mauvais y sont touz jours vilz et degitez et foiblez, ne li vice ne sont onques sens paine ne les vertuz ne sont mie sens loier, et que les beneurtéz aviennt touz jours aus bons et les maleurtéz touz jours aus mauvais; et cognostras moult de chosez de ceste
 35 maniere qui te feront tes complaintez endormir et te renforceront par ferme forteresce. Et pour ce que tu as veue la forme de vraie beneurté par moy qui la t'ai monstree jadis et as cogneu en quoy elle est assise, toutes les chosez traitez les quiex je cuit que laisser les conviengne, je te monstrerai la voie qui te ramenra a ton hostel. Je te ficherai neis pennes en ta pensee
 40 par quoy elle se pourra eslever en hault, si que, toute tribulacion ostee, tu, par mon conduit et par ma sentelle et par mes veiturez, retourneras sains et haitiez a ton paiz.

[METRE I.]

- Je ai isnelez pennes seurmontans les haultees du ciel. Quant la pensee isnele s'en est vestue, elle despit les terrez haineuses, elle seurmonte la rondece (27r**b**) du grant air et voit les nues emprés son dos et trespassse la haultesse de la region du feu qui s'eschaufe par l'isnel mouvement du firmament, jusques a tant que elle se lieve es maisons des planetez et aille avec le solail, ou face compagnie en sa voie a *Saturnus*, le froit veillart, et chevauche avec sa clere estoille, ou queure par le cercle des estoilles en touz les lieus ou la nuit resplendissant en est painte. Et puis que elle aura ja asséz alé, elle delaissera le derrenier point du ciel et marchera seur le 5 dos du firmament isnel et verra la redoutable clarté.
 Illecques tient li sires des roys le sceptre de sa puissance et atrempe le gouvernement du monde et gouverne illec, li resplendissant jugez des chosez qui est establez en soi, le cours isnel de cest siecle. Et se ta voie te raporte si que tu soies la ramenéz, *tu diras lors que c'est li pais que tu requiers ores*
 10 dont il ne te souvient maintenant. Et diras: "Je m'en remembre bien, c'est
 15

25 monstrez plus horriblez: *B* moult tres plus otroiables (sic); que touz: *P²* de tous (*marginal*) *BR²C²D* que toutes; si (a): *b* ains*i*.

27 de mesnie (*P²*): *C²D²S* de mainsie *P¹* des mesnie *C²* des mesgnies *R* de menee *B* de maine *P²A¹A²M* de familie; li vaissel vil et ort (*BC²P²DS*): *P¹C²* li v. *vilz* et ors *P²A¹A²M* les vasseaux *vilz* et ors.

28 Que (*P¹C²*): *the rest car.*

29 enterines (a): *b* entieres.

30 1 y sont certez (a): *P²DSA²* cert. y sont *P²A¹M* sont.

30 li bon (*C²RP²DSA²*): *P¹* li bons *the rest* les bons.

31 puissans . . . jours: *A² om.*; (mauv.) y sont (aD; *S* il sont): *P²P³A¹M* certes i (*P³ilz*) sont.

32 ne sont (onques) (*P¹C¹C²*): *the rest ni* (ny) s.; onques: *P³* jamaiz; ne sont (mie) (*P¹C²*): *the rest ni s.*

33 loier: *B* joie; aviennt (*P¹C¹C²*): *the rest viennent.*

36 forteresce: *P¹* fortracie.

39 la voie: *P² om.*; ramenra (*BP³MD*; *C¹*

re-): *R¹A²A³* ramerra *P¹C²* metra *P²* remetra; en (ta): *C¹C²b* (except DS) a.

41 mon: *P¹C² om.*; veiturez (veit-, voit-): *M* vestures *A²B* vesteures.

42 a (*P¹C²A²*): *the rest* en.

METRE I.

1 pennes: *P¹* paines *C²* peines; seurmontans: *P¹* seurmamentals; les haultees: *P⁴ sing.*

2 isnele: *B* du ciel.

3-4 et voit . . . feu: *R om.*

3 et (voit): *A²P⁴B* elle; emprés: *b* apres.

7 queure (*P¹RA¹A²*): *C²* queure *C¹* keuree *B* coure *M* queurt *S* courir *P²D* quiere.

8 ou la: *A²P⁴* en la *R* ouilla; en est painte: *P³* est empainte *A²* en est empainte.

10 dos: *P⁴* doulz *B* (les) des.

11 sires: *P²DS* roys.

12 le (gouv.): *P¹* li.

13 est establez: *A²P⁴B* sont gouvernees; le: *P¹* li.

13-4 Et se . . . ramenéz: *A² om.*

13 se: *P¹C² om.*; ta voie: *P⁴* tu avoies; te *P¹* ta.

15 souvient: *P⁴B* souvenoit *A² om.*; m'en: *Bb* me.

ci li miens pais; ici fus je nez, ici feniré je ma voie et *ci demorré*. "Mais s'il te plaist lors a regarder la tenebreuse occurté des terrez que tu as laissiez, tu verras *les orgueilleus roys et les felons tyrans que li chetif peuple craing-* nent orendroit qui seront essilliéz hors de ce biau pais."

[PROSE II.]

Lors dis je: "*Trop me merveil et sui tous eshabiz de ce que tu me proméz si grans choses. Ne je ne doubt pas que tu ne puisses bien faire ce que tu proméz, mais je te pri tant seulement que tu ne tardez pas a dire ces chosez a moy que tu as esmeu a entendre.*" "Premierement", dist elle,

- 5 "couviendra que tu cognoissez que (27va) li bon sont touz jours fors et puissans et li mauvais foiblez et desnuez de toutes forces; et de ceulz, certez, est demonstre li uns par l'autre. Car comme bien et mal soient contraire, se nous sommez certain que bien soit puissant, la foiblece du mal nous est toute aparant; et se nous cognoissons la foiblece du mal, la force du bien
- 10 10 nous est cogneue. Mais pour ce que la creance de nostre sentence soit *plus grant et plus habondant*, je m'en iré par l'une et par l'autre voie et confermeré or deça or dela les chosez propousees.

Deus chosez sont par quoy l'œuvre de touz les faiz humains est parfaite, c'est a savoir vouloir et pooir et, se li un de ces deus fault, n'est riens qui

- 15 puisse estre fait. Car se volenté fault, nulz n'enprend a faire ce que il ne veult pas; et se puissance fault, volenté est pour niant. Dont il avient que, se tu vois aucun qui vueille aconsuivre ce que il n'aconsuit pas, tu ne pues douter que puissance de *avoir et de tenir ce que il veult ne li faille.*" "Ce est cler", dis je, "ne ce ne puet estre nié en nulle maniere." "Et se tu vois
- 20 que aucuns ait fait ce que il voulz, douteras tu que il n'en ait eu le pooir?" "Non." "Mais en ce que chascuns peut, en ce le doit on tenir a puissant; et en ce que il ne peut, le doit on tenir a foible." "Je le recognois", dis je. "Te souvient il ores donques", dist elle, "que nous avons cueilli et monstré par les raisons dessus ditez que toute l'entencion de l'umaine
- 25 volenté qui est menee par diversez estudez se haste de venir a beneurte?" "Je m'en remembre (27vb) bien", dis je, "et que ce a ja esté demonstre." "Et ne recordez tu donques que beneurtez est cil biens meismes que on requiert, si que, quant beneurtez est requisite de touz, aussi est biens desiréz de touz?" "Ce ne recorde je pas", dis je, "car ce tien je touz jors fichié en
- 30 ma memoire."

"Tuit homme donques, bon et mauvais ensemble, s'esforcent sans difference a parvenir a bien." "Ceste consequence", dis je, "est vraie." "Mais certaine chose est que par la consuiance de bien sont fait li homme bon."

16 ci (P'R): *the rest om.*; fus . . . ici: A³P⁴ om.; fus: P¹ fu B sui; voie: bA³P⁴B. 17 lors: placed after verras l. 18, in A³P⁴B.

19 orendroit (ore endroit): P¹C² contre droit; seront (C¹ serront): P¹ seroit; hors: A³ om.; biau (BRP²): P¹ biaus C¹b (except P²) bel (biel): A³P⁴ beau C¹ bleau.

PROSE II.

1 tous (tout): P¹C² trop.

2 grans choses: P¹ sing.; double: B cuide: pas: P¹ om. R mie; puisez: P¹ me p.

2-3 que tu . . . mais: A² om.

3-5 tu ne . . . que tu (cog.): C¹ om.

4 a moy: DS om.

5 couviendra: B convendra R commandera; li bon (*editor's correction according to C'RP'-DS*): P¹ li bons.

8 bien: P²DS li b.; soit: B est; nous (est): b om.

12 or deça or dela (a): b (except DS) or ca or la DS o cha o la.

14 vouloir et pooir: C² volair ou poair P¹ vouloir ou p. P²A¹A²M p. et v.; de ces: P²DS des.

15 n'enprend: P¹C²BA² ne prent S ne est prent.

16 se: P¹C² om.

17 aconsuivre: P¹C² consuivre.

19 cler dis je: B diex.

20 n'en ait eu: P¹C² ne ait.

21 en ce le: P¹C² om.

22 puissant . . . tenir a: P³A² om.; recognois: C¹P²A¹ cougnoiz A²M te cognois S confesse.

23 ores: D om.; ores . . . elle: B om.

25 diversez (P¹): *the rest* divers (C'DS diviers).

26 Je m'en: A¹A²M je me R je B il me; remembre: C'DS ramembre BRP³ membre; dis je, "et: B om."

31 ensemble: B om.

33 que: P¹C² om.; consuiance: S consievance

"C'est certain." "Donques aconsuient li bon ce que il requierent?" "Ains;
 35 le m'est il avis." "Mais li mauvais, s'il aconsuaient le bien que il desirent,
 il ne pourroient estre mauvais." "Ainsi est." "Comme li un et li autre
 donques desirent bien, mais li bon l'aconsuient et li mauvais non, ce n'est
 pas donques double que li bon ne soient puissant et li malvais foible et non
 puissant?" "Quiconques", dis je, "doubte de ce, il ne puet cognoistre ne
 40 veoir la nature des chosez ne la consequence des raisons."

"De rechief", dist elle, "se deus sont qui selonc nature aient un meisme
 propos et li un de ceulz le hante et le parfaice par naturel office et li autre
 ne puisse faire cel office naturel, mais acomplice son propos par autre
 maniere qui n'est pas couvenable a nature et s'esforce *a ressembler et a*
 45 ensuivre celui qui naturelment l'acomplist, le quel de ces deus tiens tu a
 plus puissant?" "Et se je aparçoif", dis je, "si comme je cuit, ce que tu
 veulz dire, toutevois le desire je a oir de toy plus plainement." "Tu ne
 nieras pas", dist elle, "que li mou- (28ra) vement de aler ne soit donné aus
 hommez selonc nature?" "Certez non", dis je. "Et si ne doubtes pas que
 50 cil naturex office de aler ne soit li offices des piés?" "Ne ce ne doute je
 pas", dis je. "Se aucunz donques qui aler puisse, aille o ses piéz, et uns
 autres a cui cist naturex office defaille, s'apuie o ses mains et s'esforce de
 aler, li quiex de ces deus puet par droit estre tenu a plus fort?" "Va
 55 oultre", dis je, "di le remanant; que nulz ne doute que cil qui puet aler
 par le naturel office des piéz ne soit plus puissant que cil qui ne le puet
 pas." "Mais li souverain bien qui est igaument propouséz aus mauvais et
 aus bons, li bon le requierent par le naturel office de vertu, et li mauvais
 s'esforcent de aconsuivre le par diverse couvoitise *des choses terriennes*, qui
 n'est pas naturex office de aconsuivre ce meismes bien. Cuidez tu que il
 60 soit autrement?" "Non", dis je, "car la conclusion ensuivant est neis toute
 apparant, car des chosez que je avoie otstroiees, couvient il par force
 (Ms 18424, 108r) que li bon soient puissant et li mauvais *foible et non*
 puissant."

"Tu me queurs", dit ele, "a droit au devant et cis jugemens est itieux
 65 comme li mire suelent esperer de leur malades, quant il aperceuent la
 nature ja adreciee et contraistant a la maladie. Mes pour ce que je te voi
 tres prest a antendre, je te amonceleré plus espesses raisons. Car or
 regarde com grant apert la foiblece et l'enfermeté de mauvés hommes qui
 ne puent pas neis a ce parvenir a quoi leur naturel entencion les maine et

D conscience B consômance.

34 C'est . . . requierent: S om.

34 aconsuont (-suivent): P¹ consuient C² consuient BR aconsuit; requierent: BR requiert; Ainsi (ensi, ainssint): P¹ aussi.

35 aconsuaient: BC¹A¹ aconsuivent; le bien: P¹C² pl.

36 mauvais: R mal nez; est: DS est il.

37 donques: PP²CC² om.; bon: D bien B (les) biens.

37-8 l'aconsuient . . . bon: P²A¹A²M om.

37 et: P²DS om.

38 li bon: B les biens; foible (P¹): the rest sont f.

39 d's: P¹ dit.

41 deus (according to P²A¹A²M): the rest deus chosez; meisme: P¹C² om.

43 cel off. naturel: P¹ celle off. naturelle; accomplice: B accomplit the rest -isse.

45 l'acomplist: P¹C² accomplist.

46 Et (se): C¹b om.

47 desire: R vrieil oir: P²A¹A²M savoir.

48 dist elle: B donques; aler: R l'air B naturel: donnez. R or: C¹R²D² donnez.

50 aler: B loir; piés: B plais; Ne P¹C²B

om. C¹ corrupt.

51 Se: P¹ ce; o: BDS a C¹ de; uns: P¹C² om.

52 naturex off.: Rb (except P²) inverted; defaille: B om.; o: Bb a C¹ de.

54 di le remanant: P² ou r. M o r. A¹ le manant A² du menant; que (nulz) (P¹C²): the rest car.

55 le (nat): A¹ om.

57 li bon le requierent: B le b. le requiert; le (nat.) BRP²A¹ om.

58 s'esforcent: B s'esforce; aconsuivre le: P²A¹A²M l'acon.; diverse couv.: P¹ la div. couv. BRC¹ diverses couvoitises.

61-81 que li bon . . . force: P¹C² om.; (passage cited according to P²).

62-3 li m. . . puissant: B om.

64 queurs: M qués D quers C¹ quiens R cors.

65 suelent esperer: R seulement esperent; aperceuent: M apercevoient.

67 tres: P³M si A¹A² ci; prest: R puissant; te amoncelere: B tai monstre.

69 parvenir: R venir.

70 pres que ele ne les i constraint. Et quel pooir auraient il, se ceste naturel aide—qui tant est grant que a paines puet ele estre vaincue et qui tous jours va devant eus—les avoit delessiés et deguerpis? Mes regarde comme grant faute de poissance et comme grant foiblece est es mauvés hommes felons et desloiaus, puis que si grant chose ne leur puet aidier. (108v) Car il ne
 75 requierent pas petis loiers ne decevables ne volages et si ne les puent il aconsiure ne tenir, ançois defaillent de ça la somme et la hautece des choses, ne ne viennent pas li chetis a ce a quoi il travaillent de aconsiure par jour et par nuit; et en ce sont bien apparant les forces des bons hommes. Car aussi comme tu jugeroies et tendroies a tres puissant d'aler celui qui
 80 iroit a ses piéz jusques a ce lieu duquel nulle chose ne gerroit outre ou l'en peust aler, aussi convient il par force (*Ms 18424 ends*) que tu jugez a tres puissant celui qui aconsuit et prend la fin de toutes les chosez que on doit requerre et de la quelle nulle chose n'est oultre. Dont il s'ensuit ce qui gist souz ceste parole: c'est que cil mauvais homme sont, ce semble,
 85 deguerpiz de toutes forcez. Car pour quoy laissent il vertu et ensuivent les vices? N'est ce mie par ce que il ne cognoscent pas les biens? Mais quelle chose est plus foible et plus chetive que l'avugleté d'ignorance? Mais certez il ont bien cogneu les chosez que il doivent (28rb) ensuivre, mais lecherie et couvoitise les en destourne et les trebuche. Et aussi
 90 certes fait desatrempace les hommes foiblez qui ne peuvent luitier contre les vicez. Ne sevent il donques que il laissent le bien et se tournent aus vices de leur gré? Mais en ceste maniere il ne laissent pas tant seulement a estre puissant, ançois laissent a estre du tout. Car cil qui deguerpissent la commune fin de toutes les chosez qui sont, aussi laissent il ensemble a
 95 estre. Et par aventure il sembleroit a aucuns que ce fust merveille a dire, quant nous disons que li mauvais qui contiennent la plus grant partie des hommes ne sont pas *ne n'ont nul estre*; mais certainement ainsi est. Car ceulz qui sont mauvais, je ne reni pas qu'il ne soient mauvais, mais je ny et di que purement et simplement il ne sont pas. Car aussi comme tu
 100 pourroiez dire de la charoigne d'un homme que ce seroit uns hons mors, mais tu ne le pourroies pas simplement apeler homme, aussi otroi je que li homme abandonnez aus vicez et aus mauvaistiéz sont mauvais, mais je ne puis pas otroier que il soient simplement *ne vraiment*. Car cele chose est qui retient ordre et garde nature; et la chose qui fault a ce, elle delaisse
 105 neis celui estre qui est assis en la nature de soi. Mais tu diras que li malvais peuvent. Certes ce ne te ni je pas, mais ceste leur puissance ne descent pas des forces, mais de foiblece. Car il peuvent les maus; les quiex il ne pourroient pas, s'il eussent en pooir de maindre *en la forme* (28va) et en la fesance des bons. Et ceste puissance demonstre plus clerement que il
 110 ne peuvent niant. Car, si comme nous avons concueilli et prouvé un pou ci

70 les i: P² les A¹ lui; constraint (P²): the rest constraint; auraient: B auroit.

71 qui (tous): P²SA²M que.

72 delessiés (*according to BR*): P² lessiez.

75 requierent: DS querient.

76 de ça: BR jusques a.

77 viennent: B tiennent; li chetis: C¹ li caitif P² les choses.

79 jugeroies et tend.: C¹ juges et tiens.

80 nulle chose: added according to B; autre: B autre DS autre riens.

83 s'ensuit (a): B ensuite (A² suit).

84 cil: BP²A¹A²M ces P²DS li.

89 et les trebuche: P²C² om.

90 luiter (aD): P² litier M luiter P² luicter S liuter A¹A² liurer.

91 se: b om.

92 de: P²P²A²MD et de.

93 deguerpissent: bB guerpissent (A² gar-pissent).

94 a (estre): P²DS om.

97 ainsi est: P² inverted DS a. e. il.

98 reni: P²A¹A²M nie.

103 cele: P¹ sele C² tele; est: DS si est P²

se e.

105 neis: B liez; de soi: P² om.

106 ni je: B juge R uige je (S: ce ne te noiere mie); ceste: P¹C²M certes.

107 descent: P²A¹A²M vient C¹ deissent il; peuvent: B prennent P¹C² ne p. pas.

108 maindre: M moindre B remaindre C¹ manoir P² demourer.

109 fesance: R feaute; Et ceste: P¹ et ce R car ceste; clerement: P² evidemment.

110 si: P¹ ci; prouvé: P¹ demonstre C² monstre.

devant, mal est niant et comme li malvais puissent tant seulement les malz, ceste conclusion est toute clere, que li mauvais ne peuvent niant ne n'ont point de pooir." "C'est cler."

"Et pour ce que tu entends quelle est la force de ceste puissance de mauvais, nous avons defeni un pou ci devant que nulle chose n'est plus puissant du souverain bien." "C'est voirs", dis je. "Mais cil meismes", dist elle, "ne puet faire mal." "Certes non." "Est il donques", dist elle, "aucuns qui cuide que li homme puissent faire toutes chosez?" "Non, s'il n'est hors de son sens." "Mais certez cist peuvent faire les malz." "Certez", dis je, "je voudroie que il ne les peussent pas." "Donques comme cil qui est puissans de faire les biens puisse toutes chosez, et cil qui sont puissant de faire les malz ne puissent pas toutes chosez, c'est chose clere que cil qui peuvent les maulz sont moins puissans que cilz qui peuvent les biens. Et encores, a ceste conclusion prouver, nous aide ce que nous avons monstre devant: que toute puissance est du nombre des chosez que on doit requerir et que toutes les chosez que on doit requerir sont rapportees a bien, aussi comme a une hautece de leur nature. Mais la puissance de faire mal ne puet estre rapportee a bien: donques ne est elle pas du nombre des chosez que on doit requerir. Mais toute puissance doit (28vb) estre desiree et requise; donques est ce clere chose que la possiblité de faire mal n'est pas puissance. Et de toutes ces chosez apert il que li bon sont certainement puissant et li mauvais sans doute sont non puissant. Et est clere chose que celle sentence de Platon est vraie qui dit que li seul sage peuvent faire ce que il desirent et li mauvais hanter ce que il leur plait, mais ce que il desirent, c'est venir a souverain bien, il n'ont pooir de accomplir. Car li mauvais font ce qu'il leur plait, quant par les chosez en quoy il se delitent il cuident aconsuivre celui bien que il desirent; mais il ne laconsuivent pas, car vicez ne viennent pas a baneuré.

[METRE II.]

Qui les couverturez de leur vain aournement osteroit aus roys orgueilleus que tu vois seoir en hault en leur chaere, vestuz de pourpre resplendissant, avironnez de tristes armes, menaçans par crueuse bouche, soufflans par rage de cuer, il verroit lors que cil seigneur portent dedens leur courage chaenes estroites, car lecherie tourmente d'une part leur cuer de glout venim; ire troublable qui en eulz eslieve les floz de ses turbacions tourmente d'autre part leur pensee, ou douleur les tient lasséz et pris, ou esperance escouloriable et decevable les tourmente. Donques, comme tu voies un chief

112 ne (n'ont): P¹C² et.

112-3 ne . . . pooir: P² om.

113 C'est cler: B om.

117 dist elle (ne p.): BC¹b om.; dist elle:

P¹C² om. (R: dit est).

118 cuide: B cuident.

119 de son: C¹BP²S du; peuvent (pueent. etc.): P¹C² puet.

120 peussent: C¹P² puissent BR voussissent (C: puissent faire).

121 de (faire): P²C² om.

126 et que . . . requerir: BC¹b om.; sont: b qui s. C¹ les queles s. B et s.

127 a une hautece: B aunöce; leur . . . de: B om.

130 ce: P¹ om. (S: est ceste ch. clere); possiblité: P²PDS possibilite BR puissance.

131 Et: P² om.

132 et li . . . puissant: C¹ om.; sont non puiss.: P²DS sont nient p. A² ne sont p.; clere chose: P²DS inverted.

134 que il (leur): BP²P³DS qui M que.

135 a (P¹C²): the rest au.

136 qu'il: BP²S qui M q'lz.

137 aconsuivre: P¹C² consuivre; ne: P¹ om.

137-8 que . . . acons. pas: B om.

137 laconsuivent: C¹ le siuent b laconsuivent.

138 vicez . . . pas: R il ne mainent mie vies; a baneuré: B de b. R a baneurtes.

METRE II

1 vain aournement: b pl. A²P⁴ bons a.

2 chaere: BC¹P⁴ pl.

3 tristes: R terres tres; armes: P¹C² ames; par: C¹RA¹b de; crueuse: RP⁴M cruele B cruelles C¹ om.

4 seigneur: R saingneur.

6 troublable: DS tournable; qui: P¹C² qui est.

6 ses (aA²P¹): b om.; turbacions: P¹ tribulacions.

7 lasséz (a except R; A³): P⁴ lassiez RD laciez P²A¹A²M lasches P²S lachies.

8 et decevable (aA²P¹): b om.

porter tant de tyrans, il ne fait pas ce que il desire quant il est esprains et
10 confunduz par ces felons seigneurs.

[PROSE III.]

Vois tu donques en com grant ordure li mauvais sont tourné et de quelle
clarté resplendissent li bon? (29ra) En ce apert il que aus bons leurs
loiers ne leur faudront jamés ne aus malvais leurs tourmens. Car des
chosez qui sont faites, celle chose pour quoy on les fait semble par droit que
5 elle en soit li loiers, si comme il avient a celui qui queurt en l'estade que la
coronne gist illec pour quoy on queurt et ce est li loiers *du cors*. Mais nous
avons montré que beneurte est cil biens meismes pour cui toutez chosez
sont faitez. Donques est cil meismes bien proposéz aus euvres humaines
aussi comme loiers communs. Et cist ne puet estre dessevréz des bons, car
10 nulz par droit, d'illec en avant, qui soit sans bien ne sera apeléz bons; pour
quoy les hommes de bonnez meurs leurs propres loiers ne les delaissent pas.
Ja soit ce donques que li mauvais se forcement tant comme il leur plaist
contre les bons, toutevois au sage homme sa coronne ne li decharra pas ne
ne flestrira. Car estrange mauvaistié ne toult pas aus bons courages leur
15 propre honneur. Mais se aucuns bons s'esjoist *d'aucun autre* bien que il
eust pris dehors, certez ou aucuns autres ou cil neis qui le li eust donné
le li peust tollir; mais pour ce que a chascun sa propre proece li donne ce
loier, lors faudra il a ce loier avoir quant il delaissera a estre bons. Au
derrenier, comme touz loiers soit requis pour ce que on croit que il soit bons,
20 qui seroit cil qui jugeroit que cil qui a le bien dedens soy ne fust
perçonniers de loier? Mais de quel loier? Certes du tres bel et du tres
grant de touz loiers. Car remembre toy de ce corre- (29rb) laire que je te
donné si noble un pou ci devant et le cueil en ceste maniere: comme biens
meismes soit beneurte, certaine chose est que tuit li bon, par ce meismes
25 qu'il sont bon, sont fait beneuré. Mais cil qui beneuréz sont, il couvient que
il soient dieu. Donques est itiex li loiers des bons: que nul jour ne le
destruira, nulle mauvaistié ne l'occurcira, ne puissance de nul ne l'apeticera,
c'est *a savoir* estre fait diex.

Et comme ces chosez soient ainsi, nul sage hom certez ne puet doubter de
30 la *pardurable* et non dessevrable paine des mauvais. Car, comme bien et
mal, et paines et loiers soient contrairez, il couvient que, aussi comme nous

9 esprains: *P⁸A¹A²M* espris.

10 ces (*P¹C¹b*): *C²BRA³* ses *P⁴* les.

PROSE III.

1 li: *P⁴* om.

2 que: *P¹C²B* om.

3 leurs (tournm.): *BD* les.

4 celle: *DS* cest le.

5 queurt: *C¹* queurt *C¹* queurt; en *C¹b*
(except *A²*) a; estade que: *C¹* estaque que *B*
estat de quoy.

6 cors (cours): *P¹C²BP²* corps.

7-8 pour . . . proposéz: *DM* om.

7 cui (*P¹P²A¹A²*): *C¹C²P³S* qui *BR* quoi.

8 proposéz (a): *b* om.

9 aussi: *P⁸A¹A²M* om.

11 delaisseint: *C¹Rb* (except *DS*) delaisse.

12 se forcement (*P¹*): *C¹C²BR* se forssenent

b s'esforcent.

13-4 ne ne fl.: *B* om.

14 flestrira: *RD* flechira; toult (*C¹BRP³*):
SM tolz *P¹* tous *P²A¹A²* tost *C¹D* tauf.

15 bons: *P⁸A¹A²M* homme: s'esjoist: *C¹* s'es-
joisist *P¹C²* s'esjoissoient; autre (a) *b* es-
trange.

16 eust (donné): *P¹C²* om.; qui . . . donné:
C¹BR qui d. li eust b (except *S*) qui d. le

li eust *S* qui donne li ostast sil li.

17 peust: *C¹* pourroit; chascun: *P¹* chas-
cuns; ce (loier): *R cel B* son.

18 lors . . . loier: *P¹C²* om.; ce (loier av.):

C¹BR son *C²* om.

19 soit (requis): *BR* soient.

21 de loier (*bBC*; *R* du 1.): *P¹* des loiers
C² de louiers; Mais . . . loier: *BR* om.; de
(quel): *P¹C²* du; Certes: *P⁸A¹A²M* om.

21-2 Certes . . . grant: *P¹DS* om.; du tres:
P⁸A¹A²M le plus (repeated).

22 ce: *P¹C²* om.

22-3 te donné: *BC¹DS* te donnai *P⁸A¹A²M*
t'ai donne.

23 si noble: placed after devant in b (*S*
om.); le cueil (*P⁸A¹A²M*): *P¹D* recueil *BR*
le quel *P¹C²* le cueilli *S* receille.

24 certaine: *B* ceste.

24-5 par . . . bon: *P¹C²A¹* om.

25 sont bon: *B* om.

28 c'est . . . diex: *P²* om.; estre: *R* ceste.

29 hom: *P¹C²* om.

30 et non dessevrable (*C¹*): *P¹C²* om. *P²*
-able (deceu deleted; superscript separ) the
rest et non decevable.

31 soient: *B* aient.

veons avenir ou loier du bien, que aussi aviengne, de la contraire partie, en la paine du mal. Aussi donques comme proece est li loiers aus bons, aussi est mauvaistiéz tourment aus mauvais. Donques, quiconques est surpris
 35 ou tourmentéz de paine, il ne double pas que il ne soit surpris de mal. Se li mauvais, donques, veulent prisier eulz meismes, leur puet il sembler que il soient sens partie de tourment, puis que il sont telz que felonnie la derreniere et la fins de touz maulz ne les surprend pas tant seulement dehors, mais neis les tourmente dedens? Mais voy aussi de la contraire
 40 part des bons, quelle paine fait compaignie aus mauvais! Car tu as apres un pou ci devant que toute chose qui est faite est une, et que celle chose une est biens; par quoy il s'ensuit (29va) que toute chose qui est faite, celle meismes, ce semble, est biens. Et par ceste maniere donques s'ensuit il que toute chose qui fault a bien, elle fault a estre; dont il s'ensuit que li
 45 mauvais laissent a estre ce que il avoient esté, mais l'autre forme du corps humain demonstre encores que il ont esté hommes. Pour quoy, puis que il sont converti en malice, certez aussi ont il perdue la nature humaine. Mais comme sa seule proece puisse eslever chascun homme seur les autres hommes, il couvrent que cil que leur mauvaistiéz a abessiéz et getéz hors
 50 de la condicion humaine soient mis souz la merite des hommes. Donques avient il que, se tu en vois aucun qui soit transformé en vices, tu ne peus pas prisier ne cuider que il soit hom. S'il est ardans de avarice et que il soit par force ravisisseur de estranges richeces, tu diras qu'il est semblable au lou. S'il est felons et sans repons et abandonne sa langue aus tençons, tu le
 55 comperras au chien. S'il est agueteur repos et s'esjoist de embler par baraz, tu le metras avec les goupis. S'il est desatrempez et fremissans en ire, on doit croire que il porte courage de lion. S'il est paoureus et fuitis et creint les chosez qui ne doivent pas estre creintez, on le doit tenir pour semblable aus cers. S'il est pereceus, esbahiz et laschez, il vit comme un
 60 asne. S'il est legiers et mouvable de courage et treschange ses estudez, il est compains aus oiseaus. S'il est plongié es ordez (29vb) et soilliez luxurez, il est detenuz ou delit de l'orde truie. Dont il s'ensuit que cil qui deguerpist proece et delaisse a estre hom, comme il ne puisse pas trespasser en condicion divine, que il soit muéz en beste.

[METRE III.]

Eurus, li vent d'oriant, arriva les vailez Ulixez, duc de Narice, et ses nefz,

32 du bien (BRC¹): P¹C² de b. b du bon.
 33 paine (a): b partie; donques comme: P¹ inverted; li: b om. BC² le.

37 partie: B pitie.

37-8 felonnie la derreniere et: P¹ fel. est

C² fel. et.

38 ne les: PC² et la derreniere ne les; surprend pas: P²DS puet sourprendre.

40 part: P¹A¹A²MS partie; quelle (a except B): DS que le Bb (except DS) que la.

41-2 qui . . . toute chose: B om.

41 est faite: S este; est une: P³A²M une est faicte une A¹DS une.

43 meimes: Bb m. neis; ce: P³A¹M se; est (biens): P¹C²R om. A² est a (C¹: il s'ensuit que toute cose qui est faite est une et que cose une est biens).

44 toute chose: C¹ de tout ce; elle: P¹C²DS om.

44-5 dont . . . esté: BP³A¹A²M om.

46 Pour quoy (a except R; DS): RP² par quoy P³A¹A²M car.

49 (cil) que (RA¹; P²S que): the rest qui. 52 et que il (b): BR que il C¹ quil P¹C² qui.

53 ravisisseur: C² ravisseurs BRC¹P²DS ravisseries.

55 comperras (P¹BS): C¹ comparras C² comparerbas b (except S) compareras R comparageras; agueteur (P¹P³): A¹ aguetur A² aguitur M aguetur C²RP² aguetieres BC¹DS agaüties.

56 goupis (P¹; b except P²P³): C² goulpiz C¹ gourpilz BR gorpilz P² gourpis P³ renars.

58 creintez: C²P³A¹A²M craintes BRC¹P²DS cremenies.

59 esbahiz: C¹b (except A²P²) et esb.

61 compains: P³A¹A²M compagnon; est plongié (P¹C²): the rest se plunge; es: P¹C² et: ordez: S ordures; soilliez: BRC¹P²DS es soi.

62 delit (a): b lit.

63 deguernist: P³ delaisse; delaisse: P³ om.

69 soit: P¹C² ne s.; muéz: P¹ et muez; beste: R bonneure.

METRE III.

1 de Narice (B; b except A²): P¹ de varice P¹ danarice C¹ de narices RA³ dauarice C² de auarice A² da avarice; ses: P¹ ces.

foloians par la mer, en l'ile ou *Circe* la bele deesse, fille du soleil, demeure et melle a ses nouviaus hostes beuragez fez par enchantemens. Et puis que sa main puissant sus les herbez les a muéz en diversez manierez, li uns est 5 couvers de forme de sanglier, li autres est muéz en lion de Marmorique et li craissent les dens et les onglez. Li autres est nouvellement muéz en leu et, quant il veult pleurer, il ule. Li autres comme tigres indians s'en va debonnairement par les maisons. Mais ja soit ce que li diex *Mercurius Archadians*, volans avec les oisiaus, ait eu pitié du duc *Ulixes* pourpris de 10 divers maulz et le ait deslié de la pestilence de s'ostesse, toutevois si marinier avoient ja trait en leur bouche et beu les mauvais beuragez; cil qui estoient devenu porcel avoient ja mué la viande du pain pour mengier les glandez. Nulz de leurs membrez ne leur demeure mais enterin; il ont perdu les voiz et les corps. La seule pensee leur remaint estable qui 15 pleure et gemist les fantosmes que elle seuffre.

O certes, je *di que* ceste main de ceste deesse est trop vilz et trop foible ne ses herbez ne sont mie puissans; (30ra) que ja soit ce que elles puissent muer les membrez du corps, toutevois ne puent elles muer les cuers. Dedens est reposte la vigueur des hommes en la secree tour de leur cuer, 20 c'est la force de raison. Cist venim detraient et abessent a eus plus puissamment homme que li venim *Circe*. Car il sont si cruel que il trespassent et trespercent du tout le courage dedens et ne nuisent pas au corps, mais il se forsenment a destruire homme par plaie de pensee et le destruient."

[PROSE IV.]

Lors dis je: "Je le recognois ne ne voi pas que on puisse dire par droit que li mauvais, ja soit ce que il gardent encors la forme du corps humain, ne soient muéz en bestez par la qualité de leurs ames. Mais je ne voissois pas des mauvais, de cui la pensee crueuse et felonnesse se forsenne en la destruction des bons, que il leur loisist a ce faire." "Certez", dist elle, "ne il ne leur loist pas, si comme je te monstrerai en lieu couvenable. Mais toutevois, se ce que on croit que il leur loise leur estoit tolu, si que il ne

2 foloians (a): $P^3A^1A^2$ feloians A^3P^4S folians
 P^2 foloi M flotans (*after erasure*); fille: P^1C^2
om.

3 enchantemens: b ses en.

3-4 Et . . . puissant: P^1C^2 *om.* (B: et pour que sa maison puissant).

4 manierez: P^4 memoires; uns: P^1 un.

5-6 li autres . . . onglez: A^3P^4 *om.*

5 en lion (a): b en forme de lion; lion: B lieu.

7-8 et quant . . . Mais: A^3 *om.*

7 ule (P^1C^2M): BP^2DS ulle R usle $C^1P^2A^1A^2$ urle; indians: B yndien $P^2A^1A^2M$ d'ynde. 9 eu: $P^2C^2A^2$ en R em; de (divers): P^2DS en.

10 s'ostesse: P^2 son hostesse B science.

12 mué: B muee $P^3A^1A^2M$ meu; la: BA^3P^4 leur; du pain: P^1C^2 *om.*

13 glandez: C^1P^4M glans.

14 les (voiz): P^4 la; les (corps): P^4P^2DS le; corps: B c. entierement; remaint: R remét.

15 gemist: B g. de cuer parfondement; fantosmes: P^1 fantosmes C^1 fanthomes M fantusmes.

16 O certes: P^1 que c. R ho c. A^1A^2 or c.: je di que: BRP^2 di je que C^1P^4 di je DS *om.*

17 puissans: B p. ne fortes; elles puissent:

A^3P^4B sing.

18 muer: B m. a sa volente enterinement; du corps (P^1C^2): the rest des corps (P^2 des cors); puent: $P^2C^2A^2A^3$ puet (elle); followed by pas in C^1C^2b (*except P²M*) R mie: (B: ne pueent elles pas muer en nulle maniere les membres du corps, toutevois (*repetition*) aussi ne puent elles p muer les cuers des psones).

20 detraient (detrent): D detraient a (*except C¹*) detranchent A^3P^4 detrenchant; a eus: P^1C^2 *om.*

21 si: P^1C^2 *om.*

22 du tout: B du t. outrement; nuisent: P^1 nuise.

PROSE IV

1 ne ne: B ne je ne A^2 je ne; que . . . dire: b *om.* C^2 que on doie d.; par droit: B *om.* P^3 p. dit M p. d'it.

3 en: R em P^1C^2 es; voissoise: BRP^2A^1 voulisse C^1DS vausisse C^2P^3M voulisisse A^2 voissoise.

4 et felonnesse: BR *om.*

5 il: P^1C^2 *om.*; loisist (C; b *except P²A²*): A^2 loisit $P^1C^2P^2$ laisist B laissast R leissist.

6 loist: $P^1C^2RP^2$ laist; lieu: B lieu et en temos.

7 loise (P^3A^1): A^2 loise M loist a P^1P^2DS laisse; loise leur: B *om.*

peussent nuire ne mal faire aus bons, certez la paine des crueux hommes leur seroit alegiee de grant partie. Car ja soit ce que il ne semble pas par 10 aventure estre chose creable a aucunes gens, il couvient que li malvais soient plus chetif et plus maleureus quant il portent a fin et parfaitement font ce que il couvoitent que s'il ne peussent leur couvoitez accomplir. Car se c'est chetiveté de voloir mal fere, plus grant chetiveté est de pooir, car sens le pooir la chetive volenté ne vendroit jamais (30rb) au fait. Donques, 15 comme chascune de ces chosez ait sa chetiveté, c'est a savoir vouloir et pooir et faire, il couvient que cil soient contrains par troiz maleurtéz qui veulent et peuvent et parfaitement font les felonniez et les mauvaistiéz. "Je m'y acort", dis je; "mais je desire forment que il perdent tost ceste maleurté, c'est qu'il soient despouillie du pooir de mal faire."

20 "Si seront il", dist elle, "plus tost par aventure ou que tu ne veuls ou que il ne cuident. Car, en si brieves bonnes de ceste vie, nulle chose n'y est si tardive que courage meismement qui n'est pas mortiex doie cuidier que elle soit longue a atendre: se elle est du nombre des chosez des quiex la grant esperance et la haulte joie des chosez faites est souvent destruite par 25 fin soudaine et desesperee, ceste chose certez leur establist fin de chetiveté. Car se felonnie fait les chetis, il couvient que cil soit plus chetis qui plus longuement vit felons; et ces felons jugeroie je a tres maleureus et tres chetis, se leur malice n'estoit fenie au moins par la derreniere mort. Car se nous avons concluse verité de la maleurté de mauvaistié, il apert 30 clerement que celle chetiveté est sens fin de quoy nous sommes certain que elle est pardurable." Lors dis je: "Certes ceste conclusion est merveilleuse et grieve a otroier, mais je cognois bien que elle s'accorde trop aus chosez que nous avons otroiees avant." "Tu en as", dist elle, "droite estimacion. Mais quiconques cuide que dure chose soit de soi acorder a conclusion, il 35 est droiz que il demonstre (30va) ou que aucuns faulz a esté mis devant, ou que il demonstre que la jointure des proposicions n'est pas cause suffisant de neccesaire conclusion; ou se ce non, puis que les premisses sont otroiees, il n'est nulle riens pour quoy il doie blasmer l'argument. Car ce que je te dirai ja ne semblera pas estre moins merveillable, mais par 40 les chosez que nous avons prisez ceste est aussi necessaire." "Quelle chose est ce?" dis je. "Certez", dist elle, "ce est que li mauvais felon sont plus bneuré ou moins chetif qui compairent les tourmens qu'il ont deserviz que se nulle paine de justice ne les chastiast. Ne ce ne vueil je pas ore dire—que aucuns pourroit penser—que les meurs des mauvais soient chastiéz par 45 la venchence de la paine et soient ramenéz a voie de droit par la paour du

8 *nuire*: P¹C² vivre DS luire.8-9 leur seroit: P¹ inverted.12 s'il: P¹ cil.13 se c'est: B ce est; de vol. . . . chetiveté: P¹C² om.; de (moir): BRC¹b (except A¹) du.14 vendroit: C'S venroit P² vaudroit A¹ vaudroit P³M vaudroit; au fait (P¹C²R): C¹ a f. Bb (except A²) en f. A³ en fin fait.15 de ces: P¹C²R des.

15-6 et (pooir): BRb (except DS) om.

20 seront: P¹C² seroit C¹ serroient P²P³ fe-
ront.20-1 veuls ou que il ne: P¹C² om.20 veuls (veus): b (except P²): vuelles
(vueilles).21 bonnes: P² bournes.22-3 que . . . atendre (*editor's correction*): all manuscripts read atendre (P¹C² entendre)
que elle soit longue.24 grant (Rb): P¹C²B haulte C¹ om.; joie:
B chose.26 cil: P¹C² il P²A¹A²M cellui.27 jugeroie je: P¹C² jugeroie C¹ jugeron.30 chetiveté: P¹C² maleurté.31 Lors dis je: B om.; Certes: P¹C² om.;
merveilleuse: BRb malheureuse.34 soi accorder: P¹C² inverted.35-6 ou que auc. . . . demonstre: BA² om.35 a (esté): b (except P²) ait.36 il: P¹C² om.; demonstre: RP²A¹M
monstre; il dem. que: C¹ om.36-7 n'est pas cause suffisant: P¹C² ne cause
suffisans.

38 l'argument: BR larguement D larghement.

40 ceste: DS elle.

42 comparent (P¹): A¹M comparent B par
ont the rest comperten.43 chastiast: P²A¹A²M chastiast.44 chastiéz: C¹ castiges B chaciez RP²S
chasties D cachies.

tourment, et que il doingnent neis aus autres example de fuir les vicez; mais encores en une autre maniere croi je que li mauvais sont plus maleureus quant il ne sont pas puni, ja soit ce que nulle raison de chastiement ne nul regars de example n'y soit ajustéz." "Et quelle sera celle maniere", dis je, 50 "autrez que celles qui sont devant ditez?" Lors dist elle: "N'avons nous pas otroié que li bons sont beneureus et que li mauvais sont chetis?" "Oy", dis je.

"Donques", dist elle, "se aucuns biens estoit ajustéz a la chetiveté d'aucun n'est il pas plus beneureus que cil qui a sa chetiveté n'a nul ajustement de bien?" "Oy, ce me semble", dis je. (30vb) "Et que dirales tu du chetif qui n'a nul bien ajusté a sa chetiveté et, par dessus touz les maulz par quoy il est chetif, se aucuns autres maulz li estoit ajustéz? Ne le doit on pas jugier a moult plus maleureus que celui chetif de cui la maleurté est relevee par la participacion d'aucun bien?" "Pour quoy ne seroit?" dis je. "Donques 60 ont certes", dist elle, "li mauvais, quant il sont puni, aucune chose de bien ajusté a leur chetiveté, c'est a savoir la paine meismes que il seuffrent qui est bonne par la raison de justice, et, quant il meismes eschalent sens tourment, il ont aucune chose de mal oultre les maulz que il ont faiz, c'est a savoir faute de paine que tu as otroié qui est maulz par la merite de felonnie." "Ce ne puis je nier."

"Moult sont donques plus maleureus li mauvais quant il sont a tort delivréz de paine que quant il sont puni par droituriere vengence. Mais c'est aperte chose que il est droiz que li mauvais soient puni, et est mauvaistié et tort que il eschalent sens paine." "Qui pourroit ce nier?" 70 "Mais", dist elle, "pourra nulz homs nier que tout ce qui est droiz ne soit bon et, aussi du contraire, que toute chose qui est tort, clere chose est que ce est maulz." Lors dis je: "Certez ces chosez s'ensuient des chosez que nous avons conclusez un pou ci devant. Mais je te pri que tu me diez, savoir mon, se tu t'acordez a delaissier nulz tormens aus ames, puis que li corps 75 est feniz par mort?" "Certez, oy, grant", dist elle; "des quieix je cuit que li un seront demené par aspreté de paine, li au- (31ra) tre par espuriable debonaireté. Mes mi conseuz n'est pas maintenant a determiner de ces chosez. Mais nous avons ce dit jusques ci pour ce que tu cogneussez que la puissance des mauvais, qui te sembloit estre trop sens dignité, est 80 nulle, et que, des malvais dont tu te pleignoies que il n'estoient pas puni, que

46 doingnent: *P³* donnent; fuir: *B* fouir; vicez: *B v.* contraires a toutes personnes.

47 croi je: *B* croire fermement sanz nul moien et sanz nulle excusacion; sont (plus): *B s.* et seront.

49 example (essa-, exe-): *P¹* examplaire; ajustéz: *after this word B adds* et ainsi vivent et muerent maleureusement comme sanz punction mondaine la quelle chose est contre eulz et a la confusion de leur sauvement spirituel.

49-50 dis je autrez: *B om.*

50 celles qui sont: *P³A¹A²M* les; ditez: *B d.* et especifiees selon rayson; dist elle: *B d. e.* en ceste maniere.

51 otroié: *B o.* et dit; beneureus: *B b.* entierement a leur sauvement; chetis: *B ch.* a leur dampnement.

53 dist elle: *B d. e.* en ceste maniere; estoit: *C²* estoit *P¹R* estoient.

55 que: *b* (*except A²*) *om.*

56 ajusté: *P¹C² om.*

57 se: *inserted according to B;* maulz li estoit: *P³* mal lui est.

58 moult: *C¹C²B* (*except DS*) *om.*: relevee: *P¹C²B* revelee.

60 quant . . . puni (*R pugni*): *P¹* *om.*

63 ont.: *b* ont en ce; de mal: *P¹C² om.*; faiz: *C¹ souffert b om.*

67 droituriere: *P¹C²* droiture; (*B:* sont puniz de leurs meffais par droituriere et raysonnable vengance de punicion de corps).

68 que il: *P¹C²* qui; droiz: *B d.* et rayson; puni: *B adds* selonc le meffait qu'il ont fait, quar droit le veult que meffais soient puniz et amendez selonc le fait la penitence.

72 maulz (maus): *Bb* (*except P²*) mal.

73 un pou (*RP³*): *P¹C² om.* *DS* un pau *A²M* un *po the rest un pou*.

75 oy (*P¹*): *the rest oil.*

75-6 je cuit que: *P³ om.* *A¹A²M* je croi que. 76 seront: *B* se sont.

77 espuriable (*a. except B; P²*): *P³A¹* espuriale *A²* esperiaule *M* espuriale *DS* espuriable *B* esperable; debonaireté: *P¹* de beneurte *D* boneurte *R* debonneurte *C²* debonnerete *C¹* de boinairete; mi (*P¹R*): *C²* nu *C¹* nuls *B* mon *S* mes *the rest om.*

78 ce (dit): *b om.*; cogneussez (*C¹A¹MDS*: *A²-ousses*): *the rest cognoisses.*

79 trop: *C¹b om.*

80 te: *P¹C² om.*; pleignoies (*P¹C²*): *R* complaingnoies *the rest plaignoies.*

tu veiszez qu'il ne seront jamés sens les tourmens de leur malvaisté et du
laisir de mal faire, que tu priaies que il fust tost feniz, que tu aprissez que
il n'est pas lons et que encorez seroit il plus maleureuz s'il estoit plus lons,
et tres malheureuz s'il estoit pardurablez. Après ce nous t'avons monstré
que plus maleureus sont li mauvais quant il eschapent sens leur droituriere
paine que quant il sont puni par droituriere vengence. Et de ceste sentence
s'ensuit il que il soient lors constraint, au derrenier, de plus grief tourment,
quant on cuide que il n'en soient pas puni."

Lors dis je: "Quant je regarde tes raisons, je ne cuide pas que on puisse
dire nulle chose plus vraiment. Et, se je retourne aus jugemens des
hommes, qui est cil a cui il ne sembleroit qu'il ne deust ces chosez croire ou
au moins voulentiers oir *neis s'il ne les vouloit croire?*" Certez", dist elle,
"ainsi le deuroient il faire, mais il ne veulent. Car il ont si leurs yeulz
acoustuméz aus tenebres des chosez terriennes qu'il ne les peuent eslever
95 a la lumiere de clere vérité, et sont semblablez aus oisiaus a cui la nuit
enlumine leur (31rb) regart et li jours l'avugle. Car quant il regardent
non mie l'ordre des chosez, mes leur *tenebreus* entalentement, il cuident ou
que li laisirs des maus fere ou que li eschapemens sans paine soit beneureuz.
Mais regarde le jugement de la loy pardurable. Se tu conformes ton courage
100 aus meilleurs, tu n'as mestier de juge qui te doint *loenge ne loier, que ta
conscience te loe* quant elle te dit que tu te es conjoins aus plus nobles des
bons. Se tu as flechi ton estude aus peeurs, ne quier pas *juge ne vencheur*
hors de toy, car *ta conscience meismes t'accuse et te dit que tu meismes te
es boutéz es pirez estaz.* Aussi comme se tu regardoiez par diversiez foiz la
105 terre orde et boeuse et le ciel, et toutes chosez cessassent par dehors si que
tu ne fussez ne en ciel ne en terre ne ne veissez riens plus, il te seroit avis,
par la seule raison du regarder, que tu seroiez aucune foiz en la boe et
aucune foiz es estoilles. Mais li peuples ne regarde pas ces chosez ne ne te
juge pas a tel comme ta conscience te juge. Que ferons nous doncques? Nous
110 acorderons nous et nous confermerons a ceulz que nous avons monstré
que il sont semblables aus bestez? Et que diras tu de ce: se uns hons avoit
du tout perdu la veue et ne li souvenist pas, ains eust oublié que il eust
onques veu et cuidast que il ne li fausist riens a avoir toute perfection
humaine, nous qui verrions ces meismes chosez ne cuiderions pas que cil et
ceulz qui seroient de semblable opinion ne fussent avugle? (31va) Car

81 veissez (a): *b* voies; qu'il: *P¹* qui; seront: *B* seroient.

82 laisir (*P³* loisir): DS laissier; tost: R tout B touz; feniz: b feniz et.

83 seroit (a): b (except P^2) seroient P^2
seront; il (plus): P^1C^2 om.; plus lons: B plus
loez lons.

86 par: $BP^3A^1A^2M$ par leur.

87 au derrenier: P^1 au derreniere C^2 au
darreniere; grief (BR): C^1b gries (griefz)
 P^1 grant C^2 grans.

89 tes: P²D ces; raisons: P² choses.

90 vraiment: P^3 vraie; se: P^1C^2 om.; retourne: $P^3A^1A^2M$ tourne C^1 tour.
 91 ne (deust): C^1Rb (except P^2) om.; ou:

92 au moins . . . croire: R om.; acoustumez

aus ten.: P^1 aus ten. ac.

⁹⁷ entalement: B enlumineur, 87-87, 87, 87.

97-8 il cuid. . . eschappemens:
98 loisirs; B. leiers B. desirs

98 loisirs; B loiers R desirs.
100 to doint; P² em. BCDS.

100 te doint: *P- om. RC'DS* te doinst *M* te donne; que (*P'C²*): the rest car.

101 te (de): P.C- ne; tu te es (BR): the rest tu es; conjointe: B conjointiez.

102 pieurs (P^1P^2): RA^1A^2DS pieurs P^3M

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pires B paours C² (au) paieur (C¹: estude
empeurs).

14 Perez: P^1C^2 Perez.

105 boeuse: *P¹* boeue *C²* bossue *D* breusse;
toutez: *b t. ces.*

106 en (ciel): P²D au S ou

109-10 Nous ac. . . . confermerons: B nous

nous ac. nous r.
110 conformément

110 conformerons: $P^3 A^* MD$ conformerons
S conf'merons.
111 se: $P^1 ce$.
112 du tout: $P^3 om.$ C^2 after perdu C^1 after
veue; oublié: b du tout oub.; souvenist
(aM): the rest souvenoit (P^3 en souv.).

113 que il (aS): P^2 qui 'the rest qui'

114 verrions ($P^1C^2P^2$): BR verrons C'S ver-
riemes D vorriemes $P^1A^1A^M$ veons; ces
mesmes chosez: M ces meismes P^1A^4 ce m.;
cuiderions: P^2 cuideriens DS cuideriemus
 P^1A^1 cuiderions nous BR cuiderons n. C¹
cuideriemus.

114-5 cil et ceulz (C^2RP^2): P^1 cil est c.
DS cils et cil B ceulz et celles C^1 tout cil
 $P^3A^1A^2M$ cellui ou ceulz

115 seroient: C^o seroint.

certez aussi ne s'accorderoit pas li peuples a ce que je te vueil dire qui est apuié et soustenu par aussi fors fondemens de raisons, c'est a savoir que plus maleureus sont cil qui font tort a autrui que cil qui le seuffrent." "Je voudroie oir", dis je, "ces meismes raisons."

120 "Niez tu", dist elle, "que tuit mauvais ne soient digne de tourment?" "Ce ne nie je pas", dis je. "Mais nous sommes certain par moult de raisons que li mauvais sont maleureuz." "C'est voirs", dis je. "Donques ne doubtes tu pas que cil qui sont digne de tourment ne soient chetis?" "Ce couvient il", dis je. "Se tu donques estoiez assis juges", dist elle, "ou 125 cognosseur des chosez, le quel cuideroiez tu que on deust tourmenter: ou celui qui a fait le tort ou celui qui l'a souffert?". "Je ne doute pas", dis je, "que je ne feisse suffisant amende a celui qui auroit souffert le tort par la douleur de celui qui le li auroit fait." "Donques t'est il avis que li feseur du tort est plus chetif que li receveur?" "Ce s'ensuit bien", dis je. "Par ce 130 donques et par autres causez apuiees seur ceste racine que l'ordure de pechié face les hommes par sa propre nature chetis, apert il que li tors que on fait n'est pas la chetiveté de celui qui reçoit le tort, mais de celui qui fait le tort. Mais certez", dist elle, "li orateur, li accuseur et li avocat font ore le contraire. Car il s'esforcent a esmouvoir la pitié des juges pour ceulz qui 135 ont souffert et receu les chosez grievez et aigrez, (31vb) comme on deust plus droitemeint avoir pitié de ceulz qui font les grevances et les tors; et plus couvenable chose fust que li accuseur, non pas courrouciéz mais debonnairez et piteus, les menassent a jugement, si comme on maine les maladez au mire, pour ce que il retrenchassent les maladez du pechié par tourment. Et par cest couvenant ou la cure des deffendeurs faudroit toute 140 ou, se elle vouloit miex profiter aus hommes, elle seroit muee en habit de accusacion. Et li mauvais meismes, s'il eussent laisir de regarder a un trou vertu que il ont delaissiee et veissent que il meissent jus les ordurez de leurs vicez par les tourmens des paines, il ne deissent pas pour la 145 recompensacion de aquerir proece que ces paines fussent leurs tourmens et refuseroient l'entente des deffendeurs et se bailleroient touz aus accuseurs et aus jugez. Dont il avient que vers les sagez hommes nus lieus n'est delaissiéz a haine. Car nus ne harroit les bons s'il n'estoit tres foulz; et en hair les mauvais n'a point de raison. Car, aussi comme langueur est maladie 150 de corps, aussi est vicez et pechiéz maladie de couragez. Comme nous ne jugeons pas que cil qui sont maladez de corps soient digne de haine, mais miex digne de pitié, moult plus sont digne non mie de estre haiz, mes de estre receus en pitié cil de cui les pensees sont contraintes par felonnesse

116 acorderoit: R acordoit DS accorde.

118 font tort: P¹ tort f. C² forfont.119 oir," dis je: Rb (except P³) dis je oir BC¹P³ oir; raisons: P³A¹M choses.120 niez: C¹ neis D mes.122 doubtes: P¹ doute.124 dist elle: BC¹DS om. Rb (except DS) after donques.126 doute: P¹ douteroit C² doutorioe.127 auroit: P¹ avoit C² a.128 feseur: BRC¹P²DS faisieres.129 du tort . . . receveur: B om.; receveur: C² recevpours C¹DS receiveres RP² recevierres.

130 et: B om.; racine: B raison; l'ordure: B laideure.

132 3 de celui . . . certez: A² om.; de celui qui fait . . . Mais: B om.; fait le tort: P³A¹M le fait.133 li orateur: b (except P³) om.; li accusieur: R et li ac. C¹P³ om.134 la pitié: DS les pites C¹ le pite.135 receu: P¹ receue.136 grevances: P¹C² om.138 menassent: P¹ menacent.138-9 les maladez au mire (C¹C²B): R les m. a miere P¹ les m. aus mirez A²DS au mire les m. P³A¹M aux mires les m. P² les mires aus m.140 couvenant ou: B cogneust on; cure: S oeure; deffendeurs: P² defraudeeors C¹ defenderesse.142 accusacion: B excusacion; a un trou: editor's correction for aucun pou de (all mss.; P¹R omit de C¹ auc. poi devant, i.e. de vert).

143 delaissiee: DS delaissie B de leesce.

145 leurs (P¹; R lor): the rest om.146 refuseroient: DS si r.; entente: B entendement P³A¹A²M auctorite; car . . . foulz: P³A¹A²M om.; tres: BC¹P²DS trop; et: P¹C² om.149 maladie: P¹ maladiez.153-4 felonnesse mauv.: P¹C² inverted M felonne m.

mauvaiſtie qui plus est crueſe que nulle langueur de corps ne puet
155 eſtre. (32ra)

[METRE IV.]

Pour quoy vous plaist il a hanter si grans esmouvement de forsenerie et
esmouvoir et haster la mort par vostre propre main? Se vous queréz la
mort, elle se haste de son gré ne ne retarde pas ses isneaus chevaus. Li
homme que li serpent et li lion et li tigre et li ours et li senglier requierent
5 aus dens pour eulz tuer, toutefois eulz meismes s'entrentrequierent a l'espée
pour eulz meismes occire. Veéz cil! pour ce que leur meurs sont divers et
descordans, il meuvent entre eulz contre droiture os et crueuez bataillez et
veulent mourir par entrechangier les uns contre les autres *saietes et gaveloz*.
Certez la raison de cruaute n'est pas asséz droituriere. Veulz tu *raporter et*
10 rendre guerredon couvenable aus meritez des hommes? Aime par droit
les bons et aiez pitié des mauvais."

[PROSE V.]

"Ici", dis je, "voi je bien ou quelle beneurté ou quelle maleurté soit
establie es meritez des hommes bons et mauvais. Mais en ceste meismes
fortune du peuple voi je aucune chose de bien et aucune de mal. Car nulz
sages homs ne voudroit miex eſtre exilliéz, pouvre, *souffreteus*, vilz tenuz
5 et *honteus* que eſtre demourans en sa cité et fleurir resplendissans de
richecez et redoutablez par honneur et fors de puissance. Car ainsi plus
clerement et plus loablement est trectiéz et *demenéz* li offices de sapience,
quant la beneurté et la proece des gouverneurs est aussi comme espandue
entre les peuplez voisins que il ont a gouverner, et meismement comme
10 essil, chartres et lai et cil autre tourment des paines establi- (32rb) ez par
les lais soient deuz plus aus felons et mauvais citeiens pour cui elles furent
establiez que aus bons. Donques me merveil je trop forment pour quoy ces
chosez sont transmueez si diversement que li tourmens qui doivent cheoir
sus les mauvais appreignent et confundent les bons, et li mauvais ravissent
15 les loiers des vertuz et sont es honneurs et es grans estaz. Et desire a savoir
de toy quelle te semble eſtre la raison de si torte et de si desloial confusion,
car je m'en merveillasse moins, se je creusse que toutesz chosez fussent

METRE IV.

1 hanter: *A⁸P⁴BR chanter.*
2 (esmouvoir) et (P⁴): *the rest a.*
3 retardé: *P¹* tarde *BRP⁴* regarde *A³* ne
garde; ses: *P¹C² ces.*
4 homme: *P²DS* mauves; li serpent . . .
senglier (*corrected from C¹R*): *P¹:* li . . .
le . . . le . . . li . . . li sengliers *C²*
throughout le sing. B³A¹A²M throughout les
pl: senglier: *C¹D* saingler *S* seglier.
5 eulz meismes: *P²DS* il m. *P³* eux.
6 veéz ci (P¹C²): *BR vez ci C¹ veschi S*
vechi D vous chi *P²A¹A²M* vois ci *P³* voy ci.
5-6 pour ce . . . discordans: *P¹C² om.*
6 pour ce que (C¹R): *P²* par ce que the
rest que pour ce que.
7 meuvent: *A³P⁴* comuent; entre eulz: *A³*
a tieulz; os et: *b* om. *C²* osz et *B* oz et *R* ols
et *A³* oste *P⁴* ostz.
8 gaveloz (P¹C²P³): *A³BRP³M jav. P⁴A¹A²S*
glav. *D* gauevales *C¹* gaurelos.
10 guerredon: *BRP⁴* raison *A³* raisons; cou-
venable: *P³A¹A²M om.*
10-1 Aime . . . mauvais: *DS om.*
10 droit: *P²* raison.

PROSE V.

1 Ici: *C¹DS* chi *R* ice *B* a ce; ou: *DS om.*;

quelle: *D* que le *SP³A¹A²M* que la; ou q.
maleurté: *P²DS* om. *P³A¹A²M* ou que la m.

2 establie: *BD* estable; es: *DS* as *P³A¹A²M*

aux.
3 fortune: *RDS* commune fort. *C¹* fort.
commune.

4 voudroit: *DS* ameroit; *souffreteus*: *P⁸A¹M*
et s. b. souf. et.

5 et *honteus*: *P¹* om.; fleurir: *P^c* florissant.
6 ainsi (C¹P³A¹A²M): *the rest* aussi.

7 loablement (a): *P⁸A¹M* loyablement *A²*
loyaument *P²DS* loialment; trectiéz (trai-
tez): *BR* retes.

8 proece: *BR* poeste; gouverneurs: *B* gou-
vernans.

10 lai: *DS* lois; des paines: *P³* de loy; es-
tabliez: *B* estables.

11 deuz: *A¹* deubz *P³* dehuz.

12 merveil (aP²): *b* (except *P³*) merveille
C² mesmerveil.

14 appreignent: *R* apreignent *P²A²* appri-
ement *P³A¹M* compriment *DS* apressent *C²*
approuvent *BC¹* asprement.

17 m'en merveillasse (a except *B*; *P²A¹M*):
P³A²B me m. *S* mesmerveillasse *C¹* men es-
merveillaſſe; merveillasse: *P¹* -ace; moins:
B mais *C¹C²P³D* mains; creusse: *B* veſſe.

mellees par fortunieus cas. Mais ores me comble et m'acraist mon
 20 esbahissement et ma merveille diex gouverneur des chosez. Qui comme il
 doint souvent aus bons biens et leesces et aus mauvais maulz et asprecez
 et doint, a l'encontre, aus bons durtéz et aus mauvais otroit leur volenté et
 les chosez que il desirent, quelle difference peut on veoir entre ce que diex
 fait et les cas de fortune, se on ne cognoist la cause pour quoy ce est?" "N'il
 n'est pas merveille", dist ele, "se on croit qu'il y ait quelque chose fole et
 25 confuse, quant on ne cognoist la raison de l'ordenance de dieu. Mais ja
 soit ce que tu mescognissez la cause de si grant ordenance, toutevois pour
 ce que diex, li bons gouverneur, atrempe et gouverne le monde, ne doubtez
 pas que toutes choses n'y soient faitez a droit.

[METRE V.]

Se aucuns ne scet que celle estoille que on apele Arctur est tournee par
 le souverain cardinal prochaine (32va) a lui—c'est au hault pol du firmament—et ne scet pour quoy Bootes maine tardis ses chars et pour quoy il
 5 plonge ses flambez tardivez en la mer, comme il face ses nessemens trop
 isneaus, il se merveillera de la lai et de l'establissement du hault firmament.
 Et comme les cornes de la lune plaine empalissent troublees et entaintez
 10 par les bonnes et par les ombrez de la nuit obscure, et comme la lune confuse
 et obscure desqueuvre les estoilles qu'elle avoit couvertez par son cler
 visage, erreur commune en esmeut les gens, li Coribant en font sonner leurs
 tabours et lassent leurs cymbalez d'arein de cos espés.
 Nulz homs ne se merveille quant li souffles du vent que on apele Chorus
 batent le rivage de la mer par flot fremissant, ne quant la pesanteur de la
 neif endurcie par froit est remise et dissolie par l'ardant chaleur du soleil,
 car ici voit on prestement les causez.
 15 Mais la, les causez reposteze troublent les pis des hommes. Li mouvablez
 peuples s'esbahist et se merveille de toutes les chosez qui avienent tardivez
 et soudaines en nostre aage. Mais se la trouble erreur de nostre ignorance
 se departist de nous, si que nous seussions les causez pour quoy tiez chosez
 avienent, certainement nous ne verrions jamés merveilles avenir."

18 mellees: P^a meslees C¹ merlees; fortunieus (P^cC¹): BRC'S -neus b (except S)
 -neus (-nez); m'acraist (C²): P¹ m'atraist R
 me traist C¹PSM me croist A² me troist
 A¹P²D me croit B me occist.

22 difference: D deffense.

23 N'il: C¹ om. C² il.

24 dist ele: C¹ om. P¹ dist; qu'il y ait: B
 que i a.

25 mais: C¹ om. P¹C²RP² mais tu.

28 choses: P¹C² om.; n'y: BRC' ne.

METRE V.

This metre is abridged in A³ (It consists of the first sentence followed by a gloss).
 1 Arctur (P^cC¹RP²S): Artur A¹A²M Artur
 P² Arture BD Actur A⁴P⁴ Atur; tournee: D
 cournee S courue R tourmentee.

21e: P¹C² om.

3 pour quo B.: P¹C² inverted; Bootes (C¹):
 P²DS⁴ Bootes A¹A²M Booetes BRC²P² Boeces
 P¹ Boece; maine tardis: BP⁴ inverted; ses
 (chars): a les.

4 flambez: A¹ flambez D flamez BP⁴ flanges;
 ses (ness): P¹C² les; nessemens: C²BR naiss.

C¹ viessemens b mouvemens.

5 isneaus: S ymaus C¹ mals (C¹: en la mer

et pour coi il fait viessemens trop mals); la:
 P¹C² om.

7 bonnes: P³ bournes.

9 Coribant (P¹C¹RP²): B Coribaut C² -bauz
 P¹ Corribault P²A¹A²M Coribaux D Corbaut

S Corinbaut; leurs: P²R leur P³MB les P⁴ om.

10 lassent (B; b except DS): the rest lais-

sent (R lessent); cymbalez: R sinabales;

arein (P¹, C² arrein); the rest arain; cos

(P¹P²A¹A²): P⁴ couz P²MS cops C¹D cols C²

ses; espés: P⁴ espais DS d'espées.

11 li: b (except DS) les; souffles: P¹ souf-

fles DS soufflet.

12 la pesanteur: P¹C² om. DS li pesandeurs.

13 neif: C¹C² noif BRP²P⁴ nef P³A²DS neige

A¹M neige; endurcie: P²A¹ endurciee A² en-

durce; l'ardant: P⁴ la grant.

14 prestement: P¹B appertement R aparte-

ment.

18 seussions (a except C¹): C¹ seuissons P²

seuissiens DS sussiemes the rest sceussions;

ties: C² telles.

19 certainement: P¹C²P²A¹A²M om.; ver-

rriens (C²P²A¹A²M): P¹P²BR verrons P² ver-

riens C¹DS verriemes; merveilles: P¹ sing.;

avenir: D avoir.

[PROSE VI.]

"Ce est voir", dis je, "mais comme tu m'aiez donné ou *promis* a desveloper les reposte^z causez des chosez et descouvrir les raisons couvertez de occurté, je te pri que tu me devisez de ceste matere et que ce me faces entendre, pour ce que cist miraclez me partrouble trop forment." (32vb)

- 5 Lors dist elle un petit en riant: "Tu m'apelez", dist elle, "a dire chose qui est la tres plus grant de toutes les chosez que on puisse demander, et a qui a paine fu onques fait suffisamment riens de parfaite response. Car la matere est telle que, quant une doublet en est ostee, autres doubtances en croissent sens nombre aussi comme croissoient les testes au serpent que
- 10 Herculez occist, ne nulle fins n'y sera ja mise, se aucuns ne les contraingnoit par tres vivable feu de pensee et *par vigueur d'engin*. Car en ceste matere seult on faire questions de la simplicité de la pourveane de dieu, de l'ordenance de destinee, des cas soudains, de la cognoscience et de la divine predestinacion et de la franche volenté des hommes, les quiex chosez tu
- 15 meismes aperçois bien combien *elles sont pesans* et de com grans fais elles sont. Mais pour ce que la cognoscience de ces chosez est une partie de ta medecine, ja soit ce que nous aions pou de temps a ce faire, toutefois nous esforcerons nous a delivrer en aucune chose. Mais se tu te delitez en oir les chançons de musique, il convient que tu te seuffrez un petit de ce delit,
- 20 endementiers que je te faiz les raisons enlaciees entreulz par ordre."
- "Parle", dis je, "si comme il te plaist ou *par chançons ou sens chançons*."

Lors elle commença sa parole aussi comme d'autre commencement et dist ainsi: "L'engendreure de toutes chosez et touz li avenemens des muablez naturez et tout quenque est meu en quelque maniere que ce soit,

- 25 tout prent ses causez, son ordre, ses formes de l'estableté de la divine pensee. (33ra) Ceste pensee ordenee en la tour—c'est *en la haultece*—de sa simplece establish mainte maniere diverse aus chosez qui sont a faire. Ceste maniere, quant elle est regardee par nous en la purté meismes du devin entendement, est apelee pourveance; mais quant celle maniere est
- 30 rapportee par nous aus chosez que elle meut et ordenne, elle est apelee des anciens destinee. Et legiere chose sera a clerement veoir que ces deus chosez sont diversez entre eulz, se aucuns regarde bien en sa pensee la force et la propriété de l'une et de l'autre. Car pourveance est ycelle meismes

PROSE VI.

- 1 desveloper: *C¹R²P³A¹* desvoleper *D* des-voler *S* desvoler *par*.
 2 reposte^z: *C¹* repuses; des chosez: *P³A¹A²M om.*
 3 ce: *P¹ om. A¹S* te *P³A²M tu.*
 4 partrouble: *C¹ pl. DS* partourble *R trouble.*
 6 tres plus: *P¹ inverted C² plus.*
 7 a paine . . . fait: *P¹ fu onq. fait a p.*
 8 matere: *B* nature; autres: *B* entre.
 8-9 en croissent sens: *P²* encroissans *DS* recroissent *s.*
 9 aussi: *B* ensuient; croissoient (*BC¹DS; P² cressoient*): *P¹C²R* croissent *P³A¹A²M after* occist; au serpent: *P¹B¹ pl.*
 10 ja: *P¹C²* james; contraingnoit: *R* constraingnoit.
 11 tres vivable: *P¹ tres suivable C² tresuiuable* *BRCP²* tresmuible.
 13 de destinee: *P¹C² pl. R* de doctrine.
 13-4 divine predestinacion: *B* divinité par destinacion *P¹* divine p'stinacion.
 14 quiex: *P³ quelles C¹ quelles.*
 15 aperçois (*P¹P³A¹A²M*): *C²* apperceis *the rest* aperceus (-cheus); combien (*P¹C²*): *the rest* comment.

- 15-6 *pesans . . .* sont: *B* om.; elles sont: *DS* om.
 16 de ces: *P¹C² des.*
 17 aions (*a except R; DS*): *the rest* avons (*P³ auës*).
 18 en (auc.): *DS ent P³A¹A² om. in M before* delivrer.
 19 petit: *C²P²A¹A²M* petitet *P³ tantet*; de ce delit: *P²DS* om.
 20 endementiers: *DS* entrementiers *BM* en demetries; te (faiz): *C¹b* (*except P²DS*) t'en; entreulz (*a*): *P²DS* en eus *P³A¹A²M om.*
 21 "parle", dis je: *B* om.; si: *P³A¹A²M* ainsi; plaist: *P²A¹A²M* plaira.
 22 commença: *P²DS* en c.
 23 L'engendreure (*aDS*): *P²* l'angrandeure *P³A¹A²M* la generation.
 27 maniere diverse (*P¹C²*): *the rest inverted.*
 28 regardee: *P³ gardee; la: P¹C² om.*
 29 avelée: *B* appareilliee.
 29-30 pourveance . . . apelee: *A² om.*
 29 celle: *P¹C² telle.*
 30 aus: *b* en; meut et: *C¹ om.; et ordenne:* *P¹C²P² om.*
 31 ces: *B* se.
 33 pourveance: *BR* pourvoiance.

divine raison establee ou souverain prince de toutez chosez et celle ordenne
 35 toutez chosez; mais destinee est l'ordenance qui se tient et se ahert aus
 chosez mouvablez par la quelle la pourveance lace chascunes chosez en
 leurs ordrez. Car la pourveance embrace toutez chosez ensemble, ja soit
 ce que elles soient diversez et sans fin; mais destinee depart et ordenne
 en mouvement chascunes chosez senglez devisees en lieus, en formez et en
 40 temps, si que ceste foraine division de ordenance temporelle amoncelee ou
 regart de la divine pensee soit apelee pourveance, et cil meismes amoncel-
 lemens deviséz et desploiez en temps soit apeléz destinee. Et ja soit ce que
 ces chosez soient diversez, toutevois depent et descent l'une de l'autre. Car
 l'ordre destinable vient de la simplece de pourveance. Car si comme li
 45 ouvriers, qui aperçoit en pensee la forme de la chose que il veult faire, meut
 le fait de l'œuvre et maine, par ordenances temporieix, ce qu'il avoit avant
 regardé en sa pensee simplement et presentement, certez ainsi ordenne
 (33rb) diex en sa pourveance singulierement et establement les chosez
 qui sont a faire, mais il aministre et baille en maintez manierez et temporel-
 50 ment par destinee ces meismes chosez que il a ordenees. Donques se
 destinee est hantee et accomplit ou par aucuns esperis devins servans a la
 divine pourveance, ou par aucune ame ou par toute nature servant a dieu,
 ou par les celestiaus mouvemens des estoilles ou par aucune vertu des
 angelz, ou par la diverse sutilité des dyables, ou par aucun de eulz ou par
 55 eus touz ensemble est tissue et accomplit l'ordenance destinable, certez
 aperte chose est que ce est la pourveance qui est estable et simple forme
 des chosez qui sont a faire; mais li mouvables enlacemens et la temporelle
 ordenance des chosez que la divine simplece de pourveance a ordenees a
 faire, ce est destinee. Dont il s'ensuit que toutez les chosez qui sont
 60 sommizez a destinee sont certez sommizez a pourveance a cui destinee
 meismes est neis sommise, mais aucune chosez qui sont souz la pourveance
 seurmontent l'ordenance de destinee. Et ce sont celles qui, establement
 fichiees, prochaines a la premiere divinité, seurmontent l'ordre de destinable
 mouvableté. Car aussi comme des cerclez qui se tournent entour un meismes
 65 cardinal, cil qui est plus dedens se joint a la simplece du milieu et est
 aussi comme uns cardinalz des autres cerclez qui se tournent entour lui; et
 cil qui est plus dehors se tourne par plus grans avironnemens: quant il plus
 s'esloigne de la moyenne simplece du point, de tant est il desploiez et
 estenduz par plus largez es- (33va) pacez et, s'il est riens qui se enlace et
 70 accompagne a ce milieu, il est contrains de venir en simplece et delaisse a
 estre espandu et a decourre en diversez partiez—tout aussi et par semblable
 raison, ce qui se depart plus loing de la premiere pensee de dieu, il est

34 divine: P^1C^2 om.34-5 et celle . . . chosez: BR om.35 l'ordenance: P^2A^1 l'ordonnance P^1 orde-
nance.36 lace: Rb enlace B om.36-7 lace . . . pourveance: B om.37 Car la pourveance: *in P^3 followed by*
icelle meismes divine raison.39 senglez: b seng. et; et (en temps):
 P^2 om.40 si que: B om.; de: $P^3A^1A^2M$ et; amonc-
lee: P^1C^2R amoncelle.45 que il: P^1 qui.46 œuvre: P^1C^2 ordre; temporieix (P^2R):
 C^1C^2D temporels B temporeux A^1A^2 tempores
 MS temporeles P^3 temperees.47 ainsi: Bb aussi (R aussint).49-50 mais . . . ordenees: S om.50 ordenees: P^2 destinees.51 hantee: B hautee.52 pourveance: $P^2A^1A^2M$ pensee.52-3 aucune . . . par: B om.53 celestiaus: P^1 cestiaus.54 angelz (P^1BA^2M): C^1RDS angles C^2P^2
anges P^1A^1 angres; l^1 , b om.54-5 ou par eus: P^1C^2 om. R ou par.55 tissue: P^1 traie.56 forme: B souveraine.59 ce: b (except S) om.; destinee: D de-
visee.60 destinee sont certez som. a: B om.62 seurmontent: B leur monstrent.63 fichiees: BR sont f.; a: $P^1C^2P^2$ en; pre-
miere: P^2DS premeraine; destinable: P^1 esti-
nable.64 cerclez: P^2 choses; entour: P^2 autour.65 cardinal: *in P^3 followed by* des autres
cercles.71 en (div. par.): P^2 par.

sougiéz a plus grans liens de destinee et, de tant est la chose plus delivre de destinee, de tant comme elle requiert de plus pres ycelui cardinal de toutez chosez. Mais se la chose se ahert a la fermeté de la pensee de dieu et soit sens mouvement et *sens muableté*, certainement elle seurmonte la neccessité et la *mouvableté* de destinee. Donques *itel regart* et telle comparaison comme l'en puet faire de parole a entendement, et de ce qui est engendré a ce qui est, et de temps a eternité et du cercle au point du milieu, aussi puet on *regarder* et comparer l'ordenance de destinee mouvable a l'estable simplece de pourveance.

Celle ordenance muet le ciel et les estoilles et atrempe les elemens entre eulz et les transforme par entrechanable mutacion; et celle meismes renouuelle les chosez nessans et decheans par semblablez engendreurez de 85 sexes et de semences de *naturez maslez et femeles*. Ceste neis constraint, par enlacement de causez si fort que riens ne les puet deslacier, les faiz et les fortunes des hommes et, comme ces ordenances viengnent des ourdissemens de pourveance qui n'est pas mouvable, aussi couvient il que elles ne soient pas muablez. Car ainsi sont faitez les chosez tres bien, se la simplece 90 manans en la divine pensee fait (33vb) l'ordre des causez qui ne se puet mouvoir de sa nature. Et ceste ordre refraine et *retient* par sa propre estableté les chosez muablez, autrement decourroient elles folement. Dont il avient que, ja soit ce que toutez chosez nous semblent estre confusez et troublees par ce que nous ne poons pas ceste ordre regarder *ne cognostre*, 95 toutevois leur propre maniere qui les adrece a bien les ordene toutez.

Car il n'est nulle chose qui soit faite par cause de mal; ne ce neis qui est fait par les mauvais hommes *n'est pas fait pour mal*. Et ceulz, si comme nous avons tres planteureusement demontré, endementiers que il quierent le bien, mauvaise erreur les en destourne, ne li ordres venans du cardinal du souverain bien ne se flechiroit pas en nulle maniere de son commencement. Mais, tu diras, quelle confusion puet estre plus felonnesse de ceste que li bon ont aucune foiz adversitéz et aucune foiz prosperitéz et li mauvais aussi? Vivent donques li homme *si sage* et de telle enterineté de pensee que, quant il jugent aucun hommē a bons ou a malvais, que il couviengne que cil soient tel comme il cuident? Certez en ce sont contrairez li jugement des hommes, si que ce que li un loent li autre blasment, ceulz que li un dient qu'il sont digne de loier, li autre les jugent a dignes de tourment. Mais ottrion que aucun hommē puisse bien *cognostre* et deviser les bons et les mauvais; pourra il donques cognostre ycelle reposte atrempace des couragez, si comme on seult parler des *qualitéz et des*

73-4 est la ch. . . tant: *P^oDS om.*

73 la ch. plus delivre: *P^oA¹A²M* aucune ch. plus franche et del.

76 et (soit): *P^oC²* ja *A² om.*

77 de: *P^o om.*; *itel*: D ycil *P^oA¹A²M* icellui *P^oC²* il te.

79 et (de temps): *P^oC² om.*; eternité: *B* estreite.

83 entrechanable: *R* autres changables.

84 renouuelle: *P^o* nouvelle.

85 *naturez*: *BM* nature *P^o* natureus *DSC* naturels (*C²*: semences femeles de naturels malles).

86 riens: *DS* nuls.

87 ces . . . viengnent (a): b este ordenece viegne; ourdissemens: *P^oDS* houdre B ordeneement.

88 mouvable: *P^o* nouvelle.

88-9 elles . . . muablez (a): b sing.

89 ainsi: *C²P^oA²* aussi (*R* aussint).

90 manans: *B* menans; divine p.: *B* divinité de div. p.

91 este (a*P^o*): *P^oA¹A²M* cest D cis S cilz.

93 ja soit ce que: *B om.*

95 ordene: *P^o* ordenez.

96 soit faite (*P^o*): the rest inverted; par

(*P^oC²*): the rest pour (or abbrev.).

97 ceulz: *DS* tels.

98 quierent: *B* crirent.

99 destourne: *P^oC²* destourbe.

100 se: *C²* les; flechiroit: *R* flechirent *B*

flechist.

101 quelle: *P^oM* que la *A²* que le *D* que li;

felonnesse: *M* felonne.

102 li bon: *P^oR* li bons *BC²P^oM* les bons;

adversitéz . . . foiz: *P^o* om.

104 aucun hommē: *P^oC² sing.*

105 soient: *P^o* soit; cuident: *P^oC²* jugent.

106 ce que: *P^oA¹M* om. *A²DS* se; *loent*:

P^o loe; *blasment*: *P^o* blasme.

107 li un (*C²P^oD*): *P^oC²RS* li uns the rest les uns; quil (*P^oC²*): *A²* que the rest qui; a

dignes: *P^o* a digne.

108 ottrion (*P^o*): the rest ottrions (*P^o* -ens); bien: *b om.*; et deviser: *B om.*

109 et les: *DS* des.

atrempançez des corps? Car ce n'est pas (34ra) miracle dessemblable, a
celui qui ne le scet, pour quoy aus uns des corps sains sont couvenablez
doucez chosez et aus autres sont couvenablez chosez amerez, et aussi des
maladez pour quoy aus uns valent medecines legierez et aus autres aigrez?
 115 Mais li mirez qui cognoist la maniere et l'atrempançe de la santé et de la
maladie ne s'en merveille pas. Mais quelle chose semble miex estre salut
de couragez que *bontéz et proece?* Et quelle chose semble miex estre
maladie de couragez que *malvaistiéz et vicez?* Et quiex autres est ou
gardeur des biens ou osteur des malz fors que diex, gouverneur et
 120 medecineur des pensees? Que, quant il regarde de la haute eschauguieté
de sa pourveance, il cognoist quelle chose couvient a chascun et li preste ce
que il li a veu convenir. Or est ici faiz ycil nobles miraclez de l'ordre
destinable, quant elle est faite *et gouvernee de dieu cognosant et sachant*
dont s'esbahissent cil qui en sont ignorant. Car pour ce que je die
 125 briefment de la divine parfondece pou de choses que raison humaine puet
comprendre, de celui homme que tu cuidez qu'il soit tres justes et tres
gardant de droit, li contrariez en apert a la divine pourveance qui toutesz
chosez scet; et raconte Lucans, nostre familiers, que la cause vainquerresse
avoit pleu aus diex et la cause vaincue plut a Chaton. Donques tout quanque
 130 tu vois estre fait en cest monde hors de t'esperance, certainement quant aus
chosez, c'est ordres droituriers, mais quant a l'oppinion de toy, c'est
parverse confusion. Mais (34rb) or posons que aucuns soit plains de si
bonnes meurs que li jugemens divins et humains s'accordent ensemble de
celui; mais il est enfermez *et foiblez de courage et, se aucune adversité*
 135 *li avenoit, il laisseroit, espoir, a cultiver innocence par quoy il ne pot pas*
retenir fortune. Or espergne donques ainsi la sage dispansacion de dieu a
celui que adversité pot empirier ou faire pieur, pour ce que elle ne seuffre
pas a travaillier celui a cui travaus n'est pas couvenablez. Un autre est
parfaiz en toutesz vertuz et est sains homs et prochains a dieu; cestui ne
 140 veult pas la pourveance de dieu qu'il soit atouchiéz de nulles adversitez,
si que diex ne seufre pas que il soit neis esmeus par corporiex maladiez.
Car si comme dit un plus sage par moy: "Certez vertuz ont edefié et parfait
le corps du saint homme *et li saint homme edefierent leurs corps par*
 145 *vertuz.*" Et souvent avient que la somme des chosez a faire est bailliee a
gouverner aus bons pour ce que la malice habondant des mauvais soit
repreinte et abatue. Et donne diex aus autres prosperité et adversité

111 dessemblable: *B* decevable.

113 aus (autres): *P¹C²* om.; sont couvenablez chosez: *A²* om.

114 aigrez: *P²DS* ameres.

115 la maniere . . . et de: *in DS after couragez (line 117).*

116-7 salut . . . estre: *C¹* om.

119-20 gardeur, osteur, gouverneur, medecineur: *BR¹P²DS* garderese, osteres, gouverneres, medecineres (*R¹P²-ieres S¹-erres*).

120 Que (quant): *B* quar *R^b* (*except A²*) qui; de (la): *P¹C²* om.; haute: *P¹* hautece; eschauguieté (*P¹C²*): *P²* eschaugiete *BP¹A¹A²* eschaugaite *RM* eschaugete *C¹DS* escargaite.

121 couvient: *BDS* il couv.

122 que il li: *S* qui li *P³M* que il y; ici: *DS* icils; ycil: *S* ici D icils *C²* cil *C¹* cis B iceli *P³* ce *A¹A²M* cellui.

124 en sont ignorant: *B* entre morant.

125 choses (*BR¹S*): *the rest chose; raison (a): b la r.* (*DS* li r.).

127 a: *P¹C²R* en.

128 scet: *C¹* scet *C²* soit; raconte: *P³M racompte* *BR¹* raconta; nostre: *B* vostre; vainquerresse: *C¹* vainkeresse *P²* vancher-

resse *DS* vengeresse.

129 plut (*P¹R*): *A¹* pleust *P³* avoir pleu *the rest* pleut; Chaton: *BR* Platon.

129-31 Donques . . . droituriers: *in S after confusion (line 132).*

129 tout: *BRB* om.

130 de t'esperance: *S* de te esp. *P³* de ton esp. *B* de esp. *P¹* de desperance.

131 c'est: *P¹C²* est.

132 parverse (a): *b* par diverse; Mais or posons: *B* om.

134 enfermez (*P¹R*): *C¹C²* enferms *P²DS* enfers *BP¹A¹A²M* enferme.

135 cultiver (*P²DS*): *A²* cōtumer *the rest* continuer; pot: *A¹DS* puet.

137 pot: *P²DS* puet; pieur: *C¹* peeur *C²* paour *R* pouour *P³M* pire.

140 qu'il: *BRP²* qui; de nulles: *C¹P²DS sing. P³A¹A²M* d'auncune (adversité).

141 que (il) . . . corporiev: *P⁰A¹A²M* neis qu'il soit esmeus de corporeles.

142 par: *P⁰A¹A²M* que *C¹* de d' (mi); vertuz: *P¹* vertez; et parfait: *P⁰A¹A²M* om.

143-4 leurs vertuz: *DS* om.

mellees ensemble selonc la qualité de leurs couragez; et en remort aucuns par adversitéz pour ce qu'il ne s'enorgueillissent par longue beneurté, les autres laisse travaillier en chosez durez et asprez, pour ce que il conferment 150 les vertuz de leurs couragez par l'usage et par le hanteis de pacience. Li autre craiment plus que il ne doivent ce que il peuvent bien porter; li autre despisen plus que droit ce que il (34va) ne peuvent porter; les autres maine diex en experiance de eulz meismes par chosez *aspres* et tristez. Maint autre acheterent ou *deservirent* honorable renomee du siecle par pris de glorieuse 155 mort. Li uns qui ne parent estre vaincu par tourmens donnerent example aus autres que vertu ne puet estre vaincue par adversitéz. Et de toutes ces chosez n'est nulle doubtance que elles ne soient faitez droitement et ordeneement et au profit de ceulz a cui l'en voit ces chosez avenir. Car, certez, ce que aus mauvais avient aucune foiz adversitéz et aucune foiz 160 prosperitéz, ce vient de ces meismes causez; et des tristeez certez qui leur avienent ne se merveille nulz, car tuit cuident que il soient de mauvaise merite. Et de ceulz li tourment sont *bon*, car il espoient les autres de faire les felonniez et amendent ceulz a cui on les fait souffrir; mais neis les 165 prosperitéz *donnees aus mauvais* monstrerent grant argument aus bons, quelle chose il doivent jugier de telle beneurté quant il la voient souvent servir aus mauvais. Et en ceste chose croi je que ce est par la dispensacion de dieu, pour ce que par aventure la nature d'aucun est si tresbuchable *en mal* et si engresse que la *souffreteuse* pouvreté de sa maison le pourroit plus anegrir a faire felonniez; a la maladie de cestui met diex remedie par 170 donner li richecez. Li autres, regardans la conscience orde de pechiéz et fesans comparoison de soi a sa fortune, craint par aventure que de la beneurté dont li usage li est joieus que la perte ne li en soit dolereuse. Il muera donques (34vb) ses meurs, si que, par ce que il craint perdre sa fortune, il delaisse sa felonnie. Aus autres est donnee grant beneurté dont 175 il n'estoient pas digne qui les trebuche *en la mescheance et en la destruction* qu'il ont deservie. Aus uns est *soufferte et baillie* puissance de punir les autres, pour ce que ce soit cause de hanteis et *de acoustumement* aus bons et cause de tourment aus mauvais. Car aussi comme il n'est nulle alliance entre les bons et les mauvais, certez aussi ne se peuvent li malvais entre eulz 180 meismes acorder. Pour quoy non, comme chascun mauvais se descordent de eulz meismes par leurs vicez qui detraient leurs consciencez et font souvent maintez chosez, les quiex, quant il les ont faitez, ilz meismes jugent que elles ne deussent pas avoir esté faitez? Dont celle souveraine *divine* pourveance a fait maintez foiz noble miracle: que li mauvais fesoient les 185 mauvais estre bons. Car quant aucun sont veu souffrir les felonniez des

147 en (a): b om.

148 s'enorgueillissent: P³A¹A²M s'org. P¹C²

orgueillissent.

149 laisse: B laissent; en: b aus; pour ce: P³ afin.150 le (hanteis): DS les P²A²M om.; han-teis: B chanteis A¹ hantis C¹ antise.

151-2 li autre desp. . . . porter: B om.

153 en (aP²): b (except P²) par; chosez:P¹ ces ch. C² ses ch.; Maint autre (a): P³plusieurs *the rest* maint.

154 ou: b et.

155 parent: B puent; donnerent: B donnent.

157 n'est (P¹C¹C²): *the rest* n'est il.158 ordeneement: P¹ ordenelement.

159 aus mauvais: R a euls meismes; avient:

C²P²DS avienent; adversitéz . . . foiz: P²C¹

om.

160 certez: DS om.; qui: P¹ qu'il A²DS que.161 tuit: DS tout P³ tous.162 li: P¹ le BC²P³A¹A²M les (tourmens . .bons); espoient: P² espoante.165 telle (a): b cele; la voient: C¹DS le v. P¹ avoient.168 en (mal): B au P³A¹A²M a.169 plus: b (except P²) om.170 et: P¹ om.: sa: Bb om.171 craint: P¹C² cr. a sa fortune.172 joieus: B loien; en: P¹C²P² om.173 ce: P¹ se; craint perdre: R cuidera

prendre B cuidera prendre.

174 delaisse sa: BR delaissera.

176 deservie (a): b om.

177 cause: P² chose DS cose; *acoustumement* (P¹C²): C¹Rb acoustumance B continu-

ance.

179 certez . . . malvais: B om.

183-4 souveraine *divine* pourveance (*a except B*): P²DSA¹A² devine souv. p. P³M div. p. souv. B souv. p.

185 felonniez des: B om.

tres mauvais, il se sont eschauféz en la haine de ceulz qui les punissoient et retournerent au fruit de vertu, quant ilz s'estudierent a estre dessemblablez a ceulz qu'il ont haiz. Car la puissance divine est celle seule puissance a cui li mal sont bon quant elle, en usant convenablement des 190 maulz, en trait le fait ou le fruit d'aucun bien. Car uns ordres embrace toutes chosez, si que ce qui se depart de la raison de l'ordre que diex li a assennee toutevois rechiet il en ordre, ja soit ce que ce soit en autre, si que nul- (35ra) le chose ne puisse folement aler ou royaume de la pourveance de dieu, puis que diex li tres fors gouverne toutes chosez en cest monde. 195 Car il n'est pas chose possible a homme ne de comprendre par engin ne de descloier par parolez toutes chosez ordenancez de l'euvre divine. Ce tant seulement li doit sufrire a regarder: que diex, feseur de toutes naturez, il meismes ordene toutes chosez et les adrece a bien et, endementiers que il se haste de retenir en sa semblance les chosez qu'il a faites, il chace hors 200 tout mal des termes de sa chose commune par l'ordenance de neccesité destinable. Dont il s'ensuit que, se tu regardes la pourveance ordenant les chosez que on croit qui soient habondans et outregeusez es terrez, tu n'y verras en nul lieu nulle chose de mal. Mais je voy ores que tu es ja chargiéz et du faiz de la question et de la longueur de ma parole lasséz, 205 et que tu atens aucune douceur de chançon. Or reçoif donques ce beurage et, quant tu en seras refaiz, tu en seras plus fermes a monter a plus hautez chosez entendre.

[METRE VI.]

Se tu, sages et preus, veulz regarder en ta pure pensee les droiturez du hault tonnant, c'est de dieu, regarde les hautecez du souverain ciel. Illec gardent les estoilles par droite alliance de chosez leur paix ancienne. Li soleuz esmeuz par son roige fu n'enpeche pas le froit cercle de la lune. Ne 5 l'Ourse qui flechist son ravissable cours entour la souveraine hautece du ciel ne se vet onques laver en la mer de occident, ne n'y couvoite a taindre ses estoilles en regardant que (35rb) ces autres estoilles se vont plungier dedens. Hesperus, ce est l'estoille du soir, denonce touz jours les tardivez nuiz et Lucifer rapporte le cler jour par igalz muancez de temps. 10 Ainsi refait amour entrechanjable leur pardurable cours; ainsi est mise hors des contrees du ciel bataille descordable. Ceste accordance atrempe par manierez igaulz les elemens, pour ce que les moistez chosez contrairez

186 eschauféz: S escaufe D accuse.
187 retourneroner (*a except B*): B retrou'ent
S retournent *the rest* retournoient.

190 le fait (*a except R; DS*): R lefet P²A²M
l'effet P²A¹ l'effect; ou le fruit: P² om.
192 assennee: C¹b (*except P²M*) assene M
assignee P² donne P¹C² assueeure; rechiet: R
recoit DS rechoit; ordre (*a*): b l'ordre.

193 puise: C¹ poet.

194 diex: P¹ die; en: P¹ en en.

195 possible: BS paisible P² loisible A²
possible; de (comp.): DS om. (twice).

196 l'œuvre: D lumiere.

200 tout mal: B touz maux.

201 il . . . tu: B il ensuit que tu.

202 qui: A² que; n'y: DS y B ne.

203 ores que: P¹ inverted.

204 lasséz (*a except P¹*): P¹ laissez b lasse.

205 or reçoif: B qui recoit.

206 a (plus): P¹ om.

METRE VI.

This Metre is omitted in A³.

2 tonnant: P¹ couinant C² cōuent P⁴ tourment B tourmens; de: P¹C² a S om.; regarde:

P⁴ regarder; (B after regarder: les hautes montaignes et); souverain: P² hault P⁴ hault souv.

3 gardent: P⁴B regardent R regardant A² gardant M resgarde; paix (P¹M): P⁴ pays C²R pes *the rest* paix; ancienne: P¹ encienne P⁴ en anciate DS anchiennes.

6 vet (P¹R): C² vait P⁴ vuelt B veult *the rest* va; laver: P⁴ lever; a taindre: P²P¹A² attairdre RM ateindre P¹ ataindre.

7 se vont: P¹ le veulent P⁴ voit.

8 soir: P⁴BR jour (*after soir in b: qui*).

9 igalz (ingauls, etc.): M egales.

10 entrechanjable (*actually: -iable*): C¹-caniable BDS -gable RPP⁴ -geable A² entrechan (*at the end of the line*) uble M entretenable; cours: P⁴ corps; ainsi: P²B aussi.

11 accordance: P¹C² atrempance C¹ ordeneance.

12 manierez: P⁴BR muances; moistez chosez: P²A²M inverted; moistez: P² morutes.

aus seiches et les froidez aus chaudez s'entredeognent lieu et s'accordent entre eulz, et que li feus legiers saille en hault et les terrez pesans 15 s'abessent par leurs faiz. Par ces meismes causez rent odeurs au prin temps li ans fleuriz et li chaus estez en seiche les bléz, et revient autompne pesans de pommez, et pluie decourable en arouse l'iver. Ceste atrempance norrist et aporte toutez chosez qui vivent espirans en cest monde; celle meismes ravist et repont et tost et plunge souz la derreniere mort toutez 20 chosez nees.

Entre ces chosez se siet li hault feseur, roys et sires, fontaine et nessance, lais et sagez jugez de faire droit; et gouverne et flechist les frains *et les retenaus* des choses. Et les choses qu'il esmeut a aler, il les arreste et les 25 retrait de leur mouvement et afferme les chosez foloiables. Car s'il ne rapeloit leur droit mouvement et ne les contrainsist a aler de richief en rondecez flechiez, les chosez qui sont ores conteneuz par ordeneance estable se departiroient de leur commencement et defaudroient.

Cist est la commune amour a toutez les chosez; et elles requierent toutez 30 estre tenuez par la fin de bien, car autrement ne pourroient elles pas durer, (35va) se elles ne revenoient de rechief, par amour retournee, a la cause, *c'est a dieu*, qui leur donna leur estre.

[PROSE VII.]

Vois tu donques quelle chose ensuit toutez les chosez que nous avons ditez?" "Quelle chose est ce?" dis je. "Certez", dist elle, "c'est que toute fortune est bonne." "Et comment", dis je, "puet ce estre fait?" "Or entent", dist elle. "Comme toute fortune, ou joieuse ou aspre, viengne ou 5 par cause de guerredonner ou de hanter *ou de acoustumer et de esprouver* les bons, ou par cause de punir ou de chastier les mauvais, donques est toute fortune bonne, puis que nous sommes certain que elle est ou droituriere ou profitable." "Moult est", dis je, "cesta raison vraie et, se je regarde la pourveance ou la destinee que tu m'enseignas un petit ci 10 devant, ceste sentence est soutenue par fermes fondemens. Mais, s'il te plaist, nombrons la entre celles des quiex tu deis un pou ci devant que elles n'estoient pas cuidablez au peuple." "Et pour quoy", dist elle. "Pour ce que la commune parole des hommes en use mauvaiselement et dient communement que la fortune de aucuns est mauvaise."

15 "Veulz tu donques que nous aprochons un pou aus paroles du peuple, si

15 par (*P¹BR*): *the rest* et par; odeurs (*P²*, *C¹C²* oudeurs): *P¹DS* ondeurs *P³P⁴M* ondeur *R* odour *BA²* oudeur *A¹* ondeur; au: *P¹C¹A²* en *B* ou *S* et.

16 ans: *P¹* an; autompne: *M* antonne.

17 decourable (*aP¹*): *b* escoulourgable (es-caloriable); arouse: *P⁴* arousant.

18 toutez chosez (*P¹C¹R*): *DS* les coses *the rest* t. les ch.; vivent: *P¹BR* viennent; (*after* vivent: toutes in *DS*).

19 repont (a): *b* (except *A²*) repos *A²* rapporte; et tost (*C¹A¹P¹*): *P²* om., *P¹C²* et test *RP³* et toutl *BAMS* et tolt *D* et taut.

21 se: *b* om.; et (sires): *P¹C²P²* om.; sires (from *C¹C²R*): *P¹* sire; et (nessance): *P¹C²* om. *P⁴Bb* (except *DS*) de.

22 lais (*P¹C¹*): *the rest* et l.; les frains: *P¹C¹C²* om.

23 retenuaus . . . qu'il: *P¹C²* om.; *retanaus* (read: retenans): *P³A¹A²M* retenances; esmeut: *BR* esmeuent *A²* en suient.

23-5 il les . . . aler: *P³* om.

23 les (retrait): *Bb* om.

24 retrait: *R* retient; s'il: *P¹C²* cil.

25 rapeloit: *P⁴* rappellast; ne (les): *P¹C²* om.; contrainsist: *A¹A²M* contraignoit.

26 conteneuz: *P⁴B* continues.

27 defaudroient: *P⁴* deffendroient.

29 estre: *C¹b* a est.; ne (pourr.): *P¹C²* ne ne.

30 se elles: *P¹* sel; par amour: *P⁴BR* pour avoir.

PROSE VII.

1 ensuit: *R* aussint; toutez: *P²* de t.

2 est ce: *b* om.

3 comment: *P²A¹A²* comme *C¹* cō.

5-6 guerredonner . . . cause de: *B* om.

5 de (espr.): *P³A¹A²M* om.

6 par (*P¹P³*): *C²DS* per *the rest* pour punir . . . mauvais: *P³* punir les mauvais ou de les chastier.

9 regarde: *C²Bb* reg. ou; petit: *P³M* pou *A¹A²* po.

11 la: *DS* le *P²* les; des quiex: *B* que diex.

12 Et: *C¹b* om.

13 use: *P¹C¹C²* usent.

14 communement: *B* om.

que il ne leur soit pas avis que nous nous soions aussi comme trop departi de l'usage de humanité?" "Si comme il te plait", dis je. "Ne jugez tu pas donques que ce qui profite soit bon?" "Oy", dis je. "Mais certes celle qui hante ou qui chastie profite." "Je (35vb) le recognois", dis je. "Donques est elle bonne?" "Pour quoy non?" "Mais ceste est la fortune de ceulz ou qui sont mis en vertu et bataillent contre les asprecez, ou de ceulz qui eschievent les vicez et se mettent ou chemin *de venir* a vertu." "Ce ne puis je", dis je, "nier." "Mais que sera il de la joieuse qui est donnee aus bons en loier et en guerredon? Dit li peuple que elle soit mauvaise?" "Non, 20 angois juge que elle soit tres bonne, et si est elle." "Et que sera de l'autre que, comme ele soit aspre et refrene les mauvais par droit tourment, cuide li peuple que elle soit bonne?" "Mais de toutez celles", dis je, "que on peut penser, li peuple juge que ceste soit la tres chetive." "Regarde donques que 25 nous, en ensiuant l'oppinion du peuple, ne aions fait ce que nulz ne doit 30 coidier." "Quelle chose est ce?" dis je. "Certez", dist elle, "des chosez qui sont otroieez, il couvient que toute la fortune, quelconques elle soit, de ceulz qui sont ou en possession de vertu ou qui sont ou milieu ou qui sont mis ou chemin d'aler a vertu soit bonne, et que toute fortune soit tres mauvaise a ceulz qui demeurent en leurs mauvaistiéz." "C'est voirs", dis 35 je, "ja soit ce que nus homs ne l'ose recognoistre." "Pour quoy", dist elle, "si comme li fors homs ne se doit pas esbahir ne troubler toutez les foiz que il ot sonner les trompéz de la bataille, aussi ne doit pas li sagez homs douloir soy ne tristement porter toutez les foiz qu'il est amené en l'estrif de la persecucion de fortune; car a l'un et a l'autre la griefté meismes leur 40 est matere a l'un de sa glorieuse re- (36ra) nommee acroistre et a l'autre de confermer sa sapience *a l'asprece de son estat*. De quoy neis vertuz est apelee qui se soustient si par ses forcez que elle n'est pas seurmontee par adversitez. Ne vous certez qui estez mis en la hautece de vertu ne venistez pas habonder de delicez ne fletir en delectacion. Vous faitez en vos 45 couragez aigre bataille et fort contre toute fortune, pour ce que la triste ne vous confunde et la joieuse ne vous corrompe. Par fermez forcez tenéz vous ou milieu! Tout quanque est dessouz le milieu et tout quanque vet oultre, il despit beneurte ne il n'a pas loier du travail. Car il est assis en vostre main, *c'est en vostre pooir*, que vous forméz en vous meismes fortune 50 telle comme vous la vouléz miex avoir; car toute fortune qui semble estre aspre, se elle ne hante les bons ou chastie *les mauvais*, elle les punist et tourmente ambedeus.

16 aussi comme: *P³A¹A²M om.*18 Oy (P¹; *the rest oil*), dis je: *B Boece dist oil.*21 asprecez: *P¹ ap'tez.*23 donnee: *P²D douce.*24 et: *P¹C² om.*25-6 Et que . . . ele: *P¹C² om.*25 de: *BP³A¹A²M om.*26 que: *R qui.*27 toutes celles: *P¹ t. chosez C¹ toute celle.*28 que ceste (*a except C¹*): *C¹ quelle b que ce; Regarde: P³A¹A²M regardons; donques P³A¹A²M om.*29 en: *C¹P²DS om.*30 est ce: *b om.*32-3 ou en . . . mis: *P²A¹A²M om.*; (*R: ou en p. ou eu milieu . . .*)32 ou milieu ou qui sont: *S om.*; qui (sont mis): *BR qui se.*33 a: *P²DS en.*34 leurs mauvaistiéz (*P¹C²B*): *the rest sing.*35 nus: *P¹ uns; recognoistre: P¹ cogn.; Pour: A¹A² par.*36 se: *P¹C² om.*37 de la bataille: *P² om.*
38 soy (*P¹C²*): *the rest om.*, but se before doit.39 griefté: *P¹C² griefce C¹ griesce B gricte P² grietez.*41 confermer: *C¹R³A¹M conformer; l'asprece (a): b la tristee.*42 si: *P¹C² si que; ses: P¹C² ces; pas: P¹P²A¹ om. R mie.*43 venistez: *B veistes.*44 de: *B les; fletir: B fleschir.*45 couragez: *B batailles; aigre bataille (P¹C²): the rest pl. (C¹ estre batailles); triste: P¹ tristee A¹ triste (with ce deleted).*46 confunde: *R connoisse et conf.; ne: P¹C² om.; vous (corr.): P¹B nous P³A²M om.*48 ne il (nil): *P³A¹A²M et; loier: P¹A¹M le l.*49 vostre: *P¹C²A¹A² nostre; vostre: P¹C² nostre; vous forméz en vous: B nous auos.*50 miex: *b om.*51 ne: *P¹ om.*

[METRE VII.]

Agamenon vencheur, qui continua les bataillez par l'espace de dis ans,
recouvrta et apaisa par la destruction de Troye les chambres du mariage son
frere qui perduez estoient. Endementiers que cil Agamenon desire donner
vailez a la navie grezesche et rachate les vens par le sanc de sa fille, il se
5 met hors de pitié de pere et li doloreus prestrez fait paix et alliance aus diex
par la chetive gorge de la pucelle.

Ulixes pleura ses compaignons que il avoit perduz, les quiex Poliphemus
li crueus, gisant en sa grant fosse, avoit mengiéz et plungiéz en son ventre
vuit. Mais touttevois Poliphemus, forsenéz (36rb) par sa face avuglee, rendi
10 a Ulixes sa joie par les tristez lermez pleureez pour un seul oil que il avoit
en son front que Ulixes li tolli.

Herculez est celebraz par ses durs travaulz. Il vainqui les orgueilleus
Centaurez. Il ravi la despoille au cruel lion; il feri les oisiaus Arpians par
certainez saietez. Il ravi les pommes au dragon veillant et fu sa main plus
15 pesant pour le doré metal. Il traina Cerberus, le portier d'enfer, o sa trible
chaene. Il vainqui Dyomedez le felon et le fist mengier a ses propres crueus
chevaus. Il occist en la palu de Lerne hidre, le serpent qui avoit neuf testez,
et en ardi le venim. Achelous li fleuveuz enlaidiz de son front dont Herculez
li avoit ostee la corne plunja son visage honteus dedens ses rivez. Il
20 agravanta Antheus le geant es gravellez de Libe; il estrangla Cacus qui
avoit mengié le bueus Euander et apaisa les courrous que Euander en
avoit eu. Il leva le senglier escumeus sus les espaulez seur les quiex li
hault cielx devoit seoir. Li derrenier de ses travaulz fu que il soustint le
25 ciel seur son col sens flechir et deservi de rechief estre mis ou ciel; ce fu
li pris et li loiers de son derrenier travail.

Or aléz donques, vous fors hommes, la ou la haulte voie du grant exemple
vous maine. Pour quoy estez vous pereceus et vous despoilliéz de vos
armes et vous laissiez navrer a fortune? La terre seurmonee donne les
estolloes." (36va)

METRE VII.

1 vencheur (P¹C²): P²A¹A²M vengeur P²D
vanchieres S vengerres C¹ vanteres A³P⁴BR
om.

4 navie: BRA³P²MDS navire; grezesche
(P¹C²): R gregesche P²P³C¹ grigoise A³P⁴B
gregoise A¹A²M greioise D grigoire S grig-
hoire; rachate (BRA³M): DS racate P²P³A¹
rachete P¹C² rachatez P⁴ rachatant C¹ racata
A³ rachapta; sanc: A⁴ sens.

7-10 perduz . . . il avoit: B om.

8 mengiéz: A³ devoure P⁴ devoureuz et.

8-9 mengiéz . . . vuit: A³ om.

10 pour (a; B om.): P²P³A³P⁴ par the rest
abbrev.

13 Centaurez: C² tentaures B cantaures R
chantaures A³P⁴ septaires: il ravi . . . lion:
P²BR om.; feri: D fri C² ferit P² ravi; Arpi-
ans: B Arpians P⁴ arpiaux.

15 metal: P²A¹A²M metail; Cerberus: C¹
terberis.

16 le (felon): P¹C² li.

17 palu de L. (P¹C¹P²): C² palu delermes
R p. delerme B palu le L. P²A¹A²M palude
L. S p. de la ra D p. de le ra.

18 Achelous: A³ achelaux P⁴ acelaux B

athelons R atelons; li fleuveuz: R li felonnes;
enlaidiz: C² en leidiz P²R anledis A³ en lidis
BP²A¹M en laidi A² en lardi; son front dont:
BR son don A³P⁴ son nom; Herculez: R her-
cullier.

19 plunja (A¹; P¹C² pluma i.e. plunia):
DS plonja M plungea P² plongia the rest
plunga (A² plonga).

20 agravanta (P¹; C² aggravanta): the rest
acraventa; Antheus: R atheus; le geant . . .
Cacus: B om.: geant: A³P⁴R grant; Cacus:
P¹C²R tacus P²D catus A³ tucus P¹ cucus B
om.

21 bueus (P¹): P²A¹ bues R beuz P³A²M
buefs DS boes BC¹ biens C² neuez A³P⁴ om.:
Euander: D en auder; les: P¹ le; et apaisa
. . . Euan.: A³P⁴ om.

22 escumeus (P¹C²): R escoumeus B es-
côumeuz P⁴ escommeux A³b om.

23 seoir: A¹ seer R souair.

24 ou: P⁴R en; ce (fu): P²BR et.

26 grant: P¹C² hault.

27 estez . . . et: A³P⁴ om.

28 armes: P¹P² ames.

28-9 La . . . estoilles: P²DS om.

[BOOK V.]

[PROSE I.]

Ce avoit elle dit et tournoit le cours de sa parole a traitier et a despechier aucunes autres chosez. Lors dis je: "Certez droituriers est li tiens amonestemens et tres dignes par l'auctorité de toy, mais ce que tu deis jadis que la question de la divine pourveance est enlaciez de pluseurs autres questions, 5 je l'entens bien et le preuve par celle chose meismes. Or te demant, savoir mon, se tu cuidez que cas soit du tout aucune chose et, *se tu le cuidez, je te demand quel chose ce est.*" Lors dist elle: "Je me haste de rendre toi la debte de ma promesse—c'est de toi monstrar la voie par quoy tu reviengnes en ton pais. Mais, ja soit ce que les chosez que tu me demandez 10 soient moult profitablez a cognostre, toutevois sont elles un petit diversez et estranges du sentier de nostre propsons, et me doubt que tu ne soiez si las par ces desvoiabletēz que tu ne puissez pas suffire a mesurer et a appareillier droit chemin." "N'en double", dis je, "de nulle riens. Car oir et cognostre les chosez de quoy je me delite plus, ce me aura esté en 15 lieu de repos, puis que je ne doutera jamés nulle des chosez ensuivans, quant toutes les parties de ta desputaison m'auront esté descouvertes par certaine foy."

Lors dist elle: "Ce te ferai je voulentiers" et commençà lors ainsi a parler: "Certez", dist elle, "se aucuns defenist cas en telle maniere que ce 20 soit (36vb) avenemens amenéz par fol mouvement sens nul enlacement de causez, je conferme que cas est du tout niant et juge que c'est du tout vois vaine sens nulle significacion de chose sommise *a celle vois*. Car quiex lieus puet estre demourans a folie et *a desordenance*, puis que dieu maine toutes chosez en ordre? Car nulle chose n'est faite de niant. Ceste sentence est 25 vraie a cui nulz des anciens ne contredeist onques, ja soit ce que ce n'entendent il pas de *dieu qui est commencement et premiers ouvrans*, mais il geterent aussi comme un fondement du sugét material, c'est a dire de la nature de toutes chosez faitez par raison. Et se aucune chose nest de nulles causez, il semblera que celle chose soit nee de niant. Mais se ce ne 30 puet estre fait, donques n'est ce pas possible que cas soit nulle chose telle comme nous avons defeni un pou ci devant."

"Quelle chose sera ce donques?" dis je. "N'est il donques nulle chose qui par droit puisse estre apelee ou cas ou aventure de fortune? Et est il riens, ja soit ce que li peuples ne le cognosse pas, a cui cist mot soient 35 couvenable?" "Li miens Aristotez", dist elle, "ou livre de Phisique defeni

1 despechier (*C^oP^cM*): *P¹A²* despecier *A¹*
despeschier *C¹RP²DS* despeechar *B* des-
peescher.

2 dis je: *P¹ inverted*.

3 l'auctorité: *D* le nature.

5 et le . . . meismes: *B om.*; demand (*aS*): *the rest d. je.*

5-6 savoir mon: *b om.*

6 que: *P¹ que que.*

7 chose: *DS ch. meismes*; haste: *Rb h. dist elle*; rendre toi (*P¹C²*): *the rest inverted (P²S te r.)*.

8 debte: *P¹C²* deste *R* deite *B* deserte.

8-9 par . . . revieng.: *B om.*; reviengnes: *A²* viengnes *D* remaignes.

9 en: *B de.*

10 sont elles: *P¹C² inverted*.

11 sentier: *P¹ sentir; ne (soiez) (P^oDS): the rest om.*

12 ces: *P^oDS tes B ses; puissez: B pues; suffre: P¹A¹A²M souffrir.*

13 appareillier (*P¹C²B*): *C¹P²DS* par aler

RP³A¹A²M parler; droit: *B ton dr. C¹ a ton dr.; N'en: BR je n'en.*

15 repos (*P¹*): *the rest repos; doutera: a (except C¹) douteroie M* double; ensuivans: *P¹ ensivant.*

16 auront (*S* aueront *B aront*): *P¹ auroit; descouvertes: P¹ sing.*

18 fera: *C¹ feroi B dirai; lors ainsi: b (except M) inverted C¹ ainsi.*

23 desordenance (*a; P¹ -se C¹ -ces*): *b desordance.*

24 chosez: *DS ces ch.*

24-5 Car . . . onques: *P² om.*

25 anciens: *B autres; contredeist (P¹): the rest -dist.*

28 faitez par raison: *P² om.; chose: a om.*

29-30 soit . . . chose: *P³ om.*

30 cas: *P¹ quas; nulle chose telle: B telle ch. A² nulle ch. que t.*

33 est et il: *P¹C² y est il A² et il.*

34 le: *P¹ om.*

ceste chose par raison brieve et prochaine a verité." "En quele maniere?" dis je. "Toutez les foiz", dist elle, "que on fait aucune chose par grace de aucune autre chose, et aucune autre chose que celle que on entendoit avient par aucunes causes, c'est apeléz cas, si comme se aucuns foait la terre pour cause de cultiver le champ et trouvast illeques une masse d'or enfoie. Or cuide on don- (37ra) ques que ce soit avenu par cas fortunel, mais ce n'est pas de niant; car ce a ses propres causez des quiex li cours et li assemblemens despourveuz et non-cuidiéz samble avoir cas fait. Car se li coutiveur du champ ne foist la terre et se li reponieur de l'or n'eust en ce lieu son or repot, li ors n'eust pas esté trouvéz. Ce sont doncques les causez de l'abregement du cas fortunel qui est avenus par causez qui s'entrecontrerent et coururent ensemble, non mie par l'entencion du feseur. Car, ne cil qui l'or repot ne cil qui le champ foi n'entendirent pas que li ors fust trouvéz; mais, si comme je ai dit, il avint et courut ensemble que cil foi la ou l'autre ot l'or repot. Or poons doncques ainsi defenir cas: cas est avenemens nommie cuidiéz de causez assemblees sens l'entencion des feseurs; mais cil ordrez, alans par conjunction qui n'est pas eschevable, descendans de la fontaine de pourveance qui ordene toutez chosez en leurs lieus et en leurs temps, fait les causez courre et avenir ensemble.

[METRE I.]

Es broçons de la roiche Eschimenienne, la ou la fuite bataille des *Turs getent et fichent leurs javeloz retournéz es piz de ceulz qui les suivent, du fleuve, c'est a savoir Tigres et Eufratez, descendant d'une fontaine et, tantost, desjoignent leurs eauies et se departent. S'il se assemblent puis et reviennent de richief en un cours, queurt illec avec eulz ce que li uns et li autres fleuves aporte. Les naves et li tronc arrachié se assembleront ou fleuve, et les eauies mellees y feront moult de cas fortunex; et toutevois li be- (37rb) stourneis de la terre et li decourables ordres du fleuve escou-*

36 quale: *P¹* quelque *C¹DS* quel.

38 autre chose: *P¹C²* inverted.

39 par auc. causes: *P¹C² om.*; foait (*P¹C²*): *C¹* fouoit (*P³* fouoit) *R* fols ait *B* fol leur fouoit.

40 cause de: *b* *om.*; cultiver: (*C¹P²A²M*): *P³S* cultiver *RA¹* coutiver *P¹C²BD* continuer; illeques (*P¹R*): *P²C¹* illuec *DS* illoec *the rest illec*; masse: *P²DS* fosse.

42 ce (a; *R* se): *P²DS* *om.* *P³A¹A²M* il; a ses: *A¹* est a ses *R* asses; des quiex: *P³* que *B* des; cours: *B* corps.

43 et (non-cuid.): *P¹C² om.*; cas fait: *C¹Rb* (except *S*) inverted; coutiveur: *C¹DS* coutiveres (coul-): *P²R²* -ieres.

44 foist (*P¹C²*): *A²* eust foul *the rest* fouist; reponier (*P¹C²*): *C¹DS* reponneres *RP²* -ieres *the rest* reponneur; l'or: *C²* lour.

45 repot: *C¹* repus; n'eust pas: *b* n'i eust

p. 46-7 s'entrecontrerent: *P²DS* s'en entrecon. *R* s'en encontrerent *B* s'en entre encontrerent *P¹* s'entrecontrent.

47 coururent: *P¹* couturent.

48 entendirent (a): *b* entendoient; que: *P¹* qui.

49 foi la: *b* foi la terre.

50 l'autre ot l'or repot (according to *A² and Chaucer*): *BRb* (except *A²*) ou cil ot l'or repos (repot, repus, repuns) *C¹* ou chil l'or repust *P¹C²* ou l'or fu repot (*A²: precisely*; ou l'autre (with est deleted) ot l'or respot).

52 cil: *P¹* *om.*

53 fontaine: *DS* font. neis.

54 lieus: *R* liés.

METRE I.

1 broçons: *C¹RDS* brochons *C²* broczons *A³* bracons; roiche (*P¹*): *the rest* roche; Eschimenienne (*P¹C²*): *P³A¹A²M¹* Achimaine *A³* Achimeneyanie *B* Achememanie *R* Achimeneianne *C¹* Atimemaime *D* Achime-maine *P²S* Archimeniane.

2 getent: *A³* gectant *P¹* gettens; fichent: *A³P¹* fichans; javeloz: *A³* gavelos *P¹S* glaveloz *C¹* gaurelos *D* gaulos; es piz: *C¹* espres; suivent: *b* ensuivent.

3 desjoignent: *P¹* desjoignait *A³P¹BR* se joignent.

4 S'il: *BRP³A¹A²M* si *A³P⁴* et; se (ass.): *C¹D* *om.*; assemblent: *A³P¹BR* rassemblent; et: *P²DS* *om.*

5 reviennent: *b* viennent *P¹B* remuent *A³* se remuent; richief (*P¹*): *the rest* richief; queurt (*C²P³A²M*): *C¹* quer *P¹* et queue *A¹* keure *R* queurent *A²D* cueure *S* coeure *P²* ceuure *P⁴B* cueuvre; avec eulz: *P⁴B* en *e*. *A³ om.*

6 naves: *P³M* nefes *A¹* nes *A²* nez; li tronc: *P¹* li throncs *R* li triontz *B* li trôs; arrachié: *B* a roche *A³* a roiches; assembleront: *P¹C²* assembleront.

7 feront: *S* font *D* ft'.

8 betourneis: *B* betourneis *R* bertourneis *P⁴* bertronnes *P²* betournez (*A²: les betourne la terre*); decourables: *P¹C²* descordables *A²* de bouriabe.

8-9 du fleuve escoulorjant: *B* fu fremie

lorjant gouverne touz ces foloiablez cas. Ainsi Fortune de cui il nous semble
10 que elle flote a frains habandonnez et laschez est bien gouvernee et seuffre
frains et trespassse par la loy de l'ordenance de dieu."

[PROSE II.]

"Ce entens je bien", dis je, "et m'acort qu'il soit ainsi comme tu dis. Mais je te demant, savoir mon, se en ceste ordenance de causez qui s'entretiennent, s'il y a aucune franchise de nostre volenté ou, savoir mon, se la destinable chaene constraint aussi les esmouvements de couragez humains."
5 "Certes", dist elle, "franchise de nostre volenté est, car oncques ne fu ne ja ne sera nulle raisonnable nature que franchise de arbitre *et de election* ne soit en lui. Car ce qui puet naturelment user de raison, ce a jugement par quoy il cognoist *et devise* toutez chosez *bonnes et males*; or cognoist il donques par soi les chosez qui sont a fuir et celles qui sont a desirer. Et ce
10 que chascuns juge a desirer, ce requiert il et fuit ce que il cuide qu'il soit a fuir. Par quoy en toutez les chosez ou raison est, en eulz est franchise de vouloir ou de non vouloir. Mais je ne ottroi pas que elle soit igaument en toutez. Car es sustances souveraines et devines, *c'est es esperiz*, jugemens y est plus clerz et volenté nommie corrompue et puissance preste de faire
15 ce que il desirent. Mais les ames humaines couvrent il que elles soient plus franchez quant elles se gardent ou regart de la divine pensee, et moins franchez (37va) quant elles descendent es corps, et moins encores quant elles sont enlacees *et comprisez* des membres terriens. Mes la derreniere et la *preeur* servitude est quant elles sont abandonnees aus vicez et sont cheues
20 de la possession de leur propre raison. Car puis que elles ont *destournez* et degetez leurs yeulz de la clarté de la souveraine verité aus chosez plus bassez, *mondaines et tenebreusez*, tantost elles sont avuglees par l'occurent d'ignorance *et de folie* et sont troublees *par deliz* et par destruibles entalentemens et, quant elles s'en aprochent et s'i acordent, elles aident
25 *a acraistre* la servitude qu'elles ont aportee seur eulz meismes et sont en ceste maniere chetivez *et estrangiees* de leur propre franchise. Et tutevois ces chosez voit cil regars de la divine pourveance qui toutez chosez regarde de touz jours, et les ordonne chascunes en leurs meritez, si comme elles sont devant destinees.

[METRE II.]

Homers qui si doucement chanta que on dit qu'il ot bouche de miel dit que li soleus est clerz de pure lumiere *seur toutez autres clartez*. Et tutevois

entour leur genz *A²P⁴* ne sueffre mie entour leur gens; escoulourjant (*more precisely -loriant, P¹C²*): *D* escoulourjant *C¹R²* escoulourjant *P³A¹M* escaloriant *S* escoulour-

gable *A³P⁴B* entour leur gens.

9 foloiablez cas: *P³A¹M inverted A²P⁴*

foliabiles c.

10 elle flote: *A²P⁴* les floz *R* li flo *B* le fol; et *laschez* (*a except B*): *B* a 1. b (*except DS*) a lasches resnes *DS* et lasche regnes; est: *P¹* et.

PROSE II.

1 Ce . . . acort: *DS* ce (*S* se) accorc je bien enten dis je et me accort.

3 se: *P¹C²* de.

9 fuir: *P¹* fuir.

9 celles: *P³A¹M* les choses.

9-10 Et ce . . . desirer: *B* om.

9-11 et celles . . . fuir: *R* om.

10 qu'il (*a except C¹*): *C²P²SA¹M* qui *P³A²* que.

11 Par (*a; C¹ per*): *b* pour (por); en eulz est: *b* est en e.

12 ou de non voul: *a* (*except C¹*) om.; ottroi: *R* croi.

13 es (*esperiz*): *BRP²* om.

14 y est: *R* om.

17 et moins encores: *B* om.

19 *preeur* (*editor's correction for pee from P¹C²*): *P³M* pire *C¹R* piour *the rest* pieur; cheues: *B* cheuees *M* seurees *A²* denees.

22-3 par l'occ. . . troublees: *P¹C²* om.; destruibles: *P¹* destruibles *C²DS* destina-

blez.

26 *estrangiees* (*P¹; C² estrangies*): *the rest* estrangies.

27 cil (*a; B ce*): *P²DS* li *P³A¹M* le *A²* la; qui (*C²BRP²DS*): *P¹P²* que *the rest* abbrev.

27-8 regarde . . . jours: *P¹C²* de t. jours *r.* *C¹M* reg. t. j. *A²* reg. en tous temps.

METRE II.

1 chanta: *D* chante.

ne puet il pas par la clarté de ses rais rompre les repostez antraillez de la terre ne la parfondece de la mer. Ainsi ne voit pas *diex*, li feseur du grant monde; a cestui qui de hault regarde toutes chosez ne contestent les terres par nulle pesanteur, nulle nuit ne li contreste par ses occures nuez. Cist voit en un moment de pensee toutes chosez qui sont et qui furent et qui avendront. Et cestui (37vb) pour ce qu'il regarde toutes chosez seus, peuz tu bien dire que cist est li vrais soleuz."

[PROSE III.]

Lors dis je: "Or sui je", dis je, "confonduz par plus greveuse doubtance que devant." "Quelle doubtance est ce?" dist elle. "Car je aperçoif ja par quiex chosez tu es troublez."

"Trop me semble", dis je, "grant contrarieté et grant discordance que

5 diex sache toutes chosez avant que elles aviengnent et que aucun arbitre de franchise puisse demourer. Car se diex regarde toutes chosez avant, n'il ne puet en nulle maniere estre deceus, donques couvient il que tout aviengne quanque la pourveance de dieu a devant veu qui avendra. Par quoy, se diex scet avant et de touz jours nommie seulement les faiz des hommes

10 mais neis leurs conseuz et leurs volentéz, nulle franchise de arbitre ne sera: car nul autre fait ne nulle autre volenté ne pourra jamés estre, fors que celle que la divine pourveance qui deceue ne puet estre a sentue devant. Car se elles peuent estre destortes et autrement *avenir* que elles ne sont pourveues de dieu, ce ne sera ja pas ferme prescience des chosez a avenir, ainçois sera

15 miex opinion et *cuidance* *doubteuse* sens certaineté; et ce croire de dieu, ce juge je a grant felonnie. Car ne celle raison neis ne loe je pas par quoy aucuns croient que il puissent soudre et *deslier* le neu de ceste question. Car il dient que la chose n'est pas a avenir pour ce que la pourveance a veu devant que elle avendra, mais li contrairez est mieus; c'est pour ce que la

20 chose est a avenir, pour ce ne la (38ra) puet la divine pourveance mescognoistre et que pour ce la scet diex avant. Et en ceste maniere ceste nécessité rechiet en la contraire partie et vient des chosez en dieu, car il dient qu'il ne couvient pas que les chosez aviengnent qui sont pourveuez, mais il couvient que les chosez qui sont a avenir soient pourveuez—aussi

25 comme se nous travaillons a enquerre la quelle chose soit cause de la quelle, c'est assavoir ou se la prescience est cause de la nécessité des chosez a avenir, ou se la nécessité des chosez a avenir est cause de la

3 puet: *C⁴C²P³* pot R peust; ses: *P¹* ces.

4 Ainsi ne voit pas: *A³P⁴B* aussi voit.

5 contestent: *b c. pas* (*A⁴P⁴* non contres-

tant).
6 nulle (pes): *P¹* leur; nulle nuit: *P⁴* n. nune *A⁸* nulles nues; contreste: *P¹C²* contres-tes; nuez: *A³* nuees *P¹* nublesces.

7 qui sont et qui furent: *C⁴DSA²* om. et *P¹* qui f. et qui s.

8 cestui: *DS* om.; pour ce: *P⁸A¹A²M* puis; regarde: *A³P⁴* te r.; seus (*P⁴C¹C²P²*): *P⁴A¹A²M* seul *DS* seuls *P⁴BR* sceues.

9 dire: *R* dierre *P⁴* savoir.

PROSE III.

1 greveuse: *P⁸A²* grieve *A¹M* grieve.

2 je aperçoif: *DS* je me ap. *A²* ia par coy *B* ap. je.

2-3 par quiex chosez: *B* pour quelle chose. 4 contraireté (*P¹*): *C⁴C²B* contrariete *Rb* contraire.

6 toutes: *P⁸A¹A²M* de t.

8 avendra: *S* averra; Par: *P²DS* pour *BC¹M* abrev.

10 conseuz: *S* consauls *D* causes; ne: *B* ni.

11 nulle: *P²DSF²* om.; pourra (a): *b* puet (poet).

12 sentue: *P²A¹A²M* sceue; devent (*P¹*): *C²* devant the rest devant.

13 peuent (puent): *B* pooient; estre destorbes: *A²* e. destorbees *B* destourner.

14 ja pas (*C²*): *P¹* ja par *C²* pas *RA²* ja *Bb* (except *A²*) pas ja; prescience: *B* pacience; des chosez (*P⁴C¹C²*): the rest sing.

15 et (*cuid.*): *b* de; *cuidance*: *P¹* *cuidiance*; *doubteuse*: *R* doubtance; ce croire: *P²DSF²* de ce cr.

16 felonnie: *P¹C²* folie.

17 soudre (soldre): *C¹* sourdre *DS* saurre *A¹* solder.

19 c'est: *P¹* c'est que.

24 aussi: mais preceding aussi in all mss. is suppressed by the editor.

25 se: *C²b* om.; travaillons: *R* travaillions; a enquerre (*BC¹b*; *MF²* a enquerrir): *R* a an-

quierre *P¹C²* en aquerre.

25-6 la quelle . . . quelle: *P⁸* la chose de la quelle soit cause.

25 chose: *DS* cause.

pourveance. Mais a ce demonstrarre ne nous esforçons nous pas ore que,
 comment que se port li ordres des causez, il couvient que li avenemens des
 30 chosez devant seues soit neccessairez, neis se il ne semble pas que la
 prescience mete nulle neccessité de avenir es chosez qui avendront. Car
 certez se aucuns se siet, il couvient par neccessité que l'opinion de celui
 qui cuide que cil se siee soit vraie; et de rechief aussi est il du contraire:
 35 se l'opinion d'aucun est vraie pour ce que il se siet, il couvient par
 neccessité que il se siee. Donques est ici neccessité en l'un et en l'autre, car
 en l'un est neccessité de seoir et en l'autre est neccessité de verité. Mais
 pour ce ne se siet pas chascuns pour ce que l'opinion de celui seoir est
 40 vraie, mais l'opinion est mieus vraie pour ce que aucuns se sist avant. Et
 ainsi, comme la cause de la verité viengne de l'autre partie, toutefois est
 en l'un et en l'autre commune neccessité. Aussi poons nous faire nos
 rai- (38rb) sons de la pourveance et des chosez a avenir. Car neis se pour
 ce que les choses sont a avenir pour ce sont elles pourveues, et nommie
 pour ce que elles sont pourveues pour ce n'avienent elles pas, toutefois
 45 couvient il par neccessité ou que les chosez a avenir soient pourveues de
 dieu, ou que les chosez pourveues de dieu aviengnent par neccessité; et
 ceste seule chose suffist asséz a destruire la franchise de nostre arbitre,
 c'est de nostre jugement ou de nostre volonté. Mais or apert il bien
 comment la chose est bestournee et mise ce devant derrierez que nous dions
 50 que li avenemens des chosez temporiex est cause de la pardurable
 prescience. Mais cuidier que diex pourvoit les chosez qui sont a avenir pour
 ce que elles sont a avenir, quelle autre chose est ce que cuidier que les
 chosez qui jadis avindrent sont cause de celle souveraine pourveance qui est
 55 en dieu? A ce ajuste je encors que aussi comme quant je sai que aucune
 chose est, il couvient par neccessité que celle chose soit, aussi quant je ai
 seu que aucune chose avendra, aussi couvient il par neccessité que celle
 chose aviengne. Ainsi s'ensuit il donques que li avenemens de la chose
 devant seue ne puisse estre eschevéz. Au derrenier, se aucuns cuide aucune
 60 chose estre autrement que elle ne est, ce n'est pas tant seulement non-
 science, ainçois est opinion decevable moult diverse de la verité de science.
 Par quoy se aucune chose est ainsi a avenir, si que li avenemens de li ne soit
 65 pas certains ne neccessairez, comment pourra il avant estre seu que celle
 chose avendra? (38va) Car aussi comme science ne puet estre mellee a
 fausseté, aussi ce qui est par science conceu ne puet estre autrement que si
 comme il est conceu. Car c'est la cause par quoy science ne reçoit pas
 mençonge, car il couvient par neccessité que chascune chose soit ainsi
 comme science la comprent a estre. Que dirons nous donques? En quel

28 demonstrarre: R monstrer; esforçons. (b except P^t): P^ta efforcerons (R -on).

32 pas ore (P'C'C'): b inverted (A^t oir pas) R ore mie B ore; (ore) que (editor's correction): b car a om.

.29 port (P'C'): the rest porte.

31 mete: S meche B mettent; avenir: BC^t venir D avoir.

32-3 celui qui cuide: P'C celui cuidier C' cestui cuide.

33 que cil se siee: DSA'A'M qu'il se s. P^t estre assiz; siee: F^t see C^t sieee.

34 d'aucun est vraie (P'C'A'): the rest est v. d'auc.

35 de seoir: D a s. R de soier.

37 celui (b; P^tP^t celi): P'C'R l'un BC^t lui; seoir: R souair C^t soair.

38 mais . . . vraie: B om.; sist: B siet.

39 ainsi (C'R P^t): the rest aussi.

40 commune: P'R comme; nous: P^t nos.

41-2 Car . . . avenir: P'C om.

42 avenir: BA'A^t venir.

42, 43 pourveues: P'C^t prouvees.

42-3 et nommie . . . pourveues: DS om.

43 pas: DS followed by que elles sont

pourveuez.

46 seule chose: DS inverted; destruire: D destinee.

48 bestournee: R bonneuree B beneuree: dions (BP'A'A'): P^tF^t diens C'D dijens R disons S diriens P'C'M (erasure) deismes.

50 pourvoit: A^t porveoit; qui sont: b om.

51 quelle: P'C que; que (cuidier): b fors que.

53 que (aussi): S car; que . . . sai que: B om.; aussi: P^t ainsi.

54 quant: P'C comme.

56 Ainsi: P'C'B P^tF^t aussi.

60 Par: BRDS pour; de li: C^t de le P^t d'elle P^tA'A'M de lui.

61 avant estre: BC'P'A'A'M inverted.

65 chose: P'C om.

maniere cognoist avant diex ces chosez a avenir se elles ne sont pas certaines? Car s'il scet que elles avendront non escheablement et puet estre que elles n'avendront pas, il est deceuz; mais de dieu nommie tant seulement ce croire que il soit deceuz, mais neis dire le de bouche, c'est felons pechiéz.

70 Mais se diex scet que, si comme les chosez sont a avenir, ainsi avendront elles, si que il sache igaulment quelles chosez peuvent ou estre faitez ou non estre faitez, quelle est ceste prescience qui ne comprent nulle chose certaine ne nulle chose estable? Ou quelle difference a il entre ce et celle rude devinaille de Tyresie *le devineur qui dist*: "Quanque je dirai, ou il sera ou il ne sera pas"? Ou combien neis vaudra mieux la divine prescience de l'opinion humaine, se elle juge aussi comme li homme les chosez non-certaines des quiex li avenemens n'est pas certains? Mais se nulle chose non-certaine ne puet estre en celui qui est fontaine tres certaine de toutes chosez, donques est certains li avenement des chosez que il a fermement avant seu que elles avendront. Par quoy il s'ensuit que la franchise des conseuz et des euvrez humaines est nulle, puis que la pensee de dieu (38vb) qui toutes chosez voit sens erreur de fausseté les lie et constraint a un avenement *par neccessité*. Et se ce est une foiz receu et otroie, il apert *com grans deffaulz* et *com grans domagez* des choses humainez s'ensuivent. Car pour niant sont proposéz loiers et paines aus bons et aus malvais, puis que nulz mouvemens de courgez frans et volenterins ne les a pas deserviz. Et semblera que celle chose soit tres felonnesse qui est ore jugée pour tres droituriere, ce est a savoir que li mauvais soient puni et li bons soient guerredonné, puis que leur propre volenté ne les envoie pas ne a l'un ne a l'autre, *c'est a dire ne a bien ne a mal*, ainçois les y constraint certaine neccessité de chose a avenir. Donques ne seront jamais *ne onques ne furent* ne vicez ne vertuz, ains sera mieux confusion de toutes les meritez mellees sens discrepcion. Et encores s'ensuit autre descouverue

90 de la quelle nule chose plus felonnesse ne puet estre pansee, c'est que, comme touz li ordres des chosez viengne de la pourveance de dieu et que li conseil humain n'ont poor de riens valoir, il s'ensuit que nos vicez meismes soient rapportez au feseur de touz biens, *puis que il nous constraint a faire les maulz*. Donques n'avons nous nulle raison de avoir esperance *en dieu* ne de

95 dieu prier. Car pour quoi espereroit chascuns ou pour quoi prieroit il, puis que l'ordenance des destinees qui ne puet estre flechiee enlace et contient

100

67 avant: *P¹ om.*; (*BP³* cog. diex avant); ces: *P¹C² les*.

69-70 de dieu . . . neis: *B om.*

70 ce croire: *P¹ om.*; bouche: *S bouce D*

bonte; c'est: *BR ses*.

71 que: *P¹C² om.*

72 sache: *S saice P³* saiche *D seche C¹* soit: quelles: *A¹* quelles les *P³* que quelles; ou (estre) (*P¹C²*): *the rest om.*

73 estre: *BRP³A¹A²M om.*; chose: *P¹C² om.*

76 was (a except R): *the rest mie.*

77 comme li homme: *P³A¹A²MF² om.* DS comme.

77-8 non-certaines: *P³* incertaines.

78 des . . . certains: *D om.*; des quiex: *B de quoy.*

79 celui: *P³* celui *P¹C² celle.*

80 a fermement: *P³S* afferment.

81 seu: *R seues B ce.*

83 chosez: *P¹ om.*; les lie: *P³DS deslie.*

85 grans . . . domagez: *b grant deffaut*

grant dommage.

85-6 et com . . . ensuivent: *BR om.* (*they read instead*: R doumages humaines sensuie *B de muages humaines*).

85 choses: *P¹ om.*

86 ensuivent: *RP²P³S ansive (en-, ensieve)*

C¹ ensut.

86-7 proposéz . . . malvais (*P¹C²C²*): *BR proposes et promis l. et p. . . . P² proposez loiers aus b. et paines aus m. b (except P²) proposes et promis (*P³ les*) loiers aus b. et paines aus m.*

88 deserviz: *D desevres.*

89 ore: *P³A¹A²M om.*; est ore jugée: *B ore est mise.*

89-90 li mauvais . . . guerredonné: *P¹C² inverted* (li bon s. guer. et li m. s. puni).

89 soient: *BRb om.*

90 vroore (a): *b om.*

91 ainçois: *P² om.*

92 de . . . avenir: *B om.*; seront (a*P³DF³*): *S seroit P³A¹A²M seroient.*

94 les: *P¹C²* ses *the rest om.*; s'ensuit (a except *C¹*; *DS -sietut*): *C¹F²P²P³A¹A²M s'en e.; descouverue: P¹ decognue C¹ desconveignable S desconvenablete.*

95 nule: *P¹C² om.*; plus felonnesse: *B om.* M o. felonie.

96 touz: *B om.*

97 valoir (a): *b voloir.*

100 espereroit: *M esperoit.*

101 des destinees: *D sing. B distinctes.*

toutez les chosez que on puet desirer et puis que esperance et prierez ne valent riens? Donques sera ostee et tolue celle seule alliance entre (39ra) les hommes et dieu, c'est a savoir de esperer et de prier. Mais nous, par le pris de droituriere et de vraie humilité, deservons le guerredon de la divine grace qui n'est mie prisablez et c'est la seule maniere, ce est assavoir esperance et prierez, par quoi il semble que li homme puissent parler avec dieu et, par raison de supplicacion, estre conjoint a celle clarté qui n'est pas aprochilee, et neis avant que il l'empetrent. Et se on croit que esperance ne prieres n'ont nulles forcez par la neccessité des chosez a avenir receue, quelle chose sera par quoy nous puissions estre conjoint et nous aherdre a celui souverain prince des chosez? Par quoy il couvendra par neccessité que li humains lignagez, si comme tu chantoiez un pou ci devant, soit departiz et desjoins et estrangiéz de sa fontaine et faudra de venir a son commencement, c'est a dieu.

[METRE III.]

Quelle cause discordable a depecié et desjoint les alliancez des chosez, c'est les conjonctions de dieu et de homme? Quiex diex a establi si grans bataillez entre ces deus chosez vraiez, c'est entre la divine pourveance et franchise volenté, si que, se elles sont senglez, dessevrees et chascune par soy, 5 elles ne veulent pas estre melleez ne eulz entresouffrir a estre ensemble? Ou s'il n'a nulle descorde entre ces chosez qui vraiment sont et s'entretiennent touz jours certaines ensemble? Mais la pensee des hommes confondue par les membres du corps qui l'avuglent et l'occurredissent ne puet pas, par la vigueur de son occuri regart, cognoistre les soutilz enlacementz de ces deus 10 chosez, c'est a dire comme elles s'entreseufrent et s'en- (39rb) tretiennent ensemble. Mais pour quoy s'eschaufe elle par si grant desirier a trouver les couvertez notez de verité? Scet elle que elle ait cogneu ce que elle requiert angoisseusement a cognoistre? Mais qui est cil qui se travaille a savoir les chosez cogneuez? Ou se elle ne les scet, que quiert cele avugle? Car qui 15 est cil qui desire ce dont il ne scet riens, ou qui est cil qui puisse suivre les chosez non seuez? Et se il les quiert, ou les trouvera il? Qui est cil qui puisse cognoistre la forme trouvez que il mescognoist? Ou se la pensee des hommes, quant elle regardoit la haute pensee de dieu, avoit elle cogneu ensemble la somme des chosez et chascune par soy? Ores quant elle est

102 desirer: P^1C^2 desirier $P^2A^1A^2M$ deviser; et (prierez): B ne.

103 riens: P^1C^2 om.; ostee et tolue (a): b inverted.

104 et (dieu): BR de; de (esperer): P^1 des.

105 droituriere (RP^2DS): $P^1C^2P^3A^1A^2M$ droiture B droite C^1F^2 droite; et de: A^2 om.

P^3A^1M et

109 aprochilee (-chee): P^1C^2DS aprochie; l'empetrent: P^1BC^1M empetrent R empoirtent D empêchent; croit: $B\bar{R}b$ (except DS) ne c. 110 ont (a except C^1 ; P^2DSF^2): the rest aient.

111 quelle: P^1 que la; puissiens: F^2 puissiens; aherdre (aerdre): R aherdoir P^1C^2 aherdoit.

112 celu: BP^2DS celu.

114 estrangiéz (BRP^2DF^2): $P^1C^1C^2S$ estrangez $P^3A^1A^2M$ estrange: de venir a: B om.

METRE III.

This meter is incomplete in A^3 .

1 depecié (P^1BF^2): P^1b (except DSF^2) despecie C^2 despecie R depecies C^1 depeciet D depichet S depicte.

2 c'est (editor's correction from Chaucer): a om. b et A^3 et toutes: Quiex diex (quel dieu): DS qui P^2 quieux A^3 que dieu A^3 quel dieu.

3 entre (la d.): P^1C^2 om.

4 senglez: b om. C^1 seules; chascune: A^2P^1 de ch.

5 eulz entre: A^2P^1B om.; eulz: P^2D elles S elle.

5-7 Ou . . . ensemble: B om.

5-6 Ou s'il: A^3 aussi P^1 ainsi.

6 entretiennent: P^1 entraiment.

7 touz jours certaines: P^2 om. P^1C^2 t. j. certez.

8-9 la vigueur de (C^1): $P^1C^2BRP^1$ om. the rest la vertu de.

9 occuri: A^2 obscurcie R oscurte.

10 comme (P^1C^2): the rest comment.

11 pour quoy: B comment; trouver; P^1 couvrir; les: P^1B ses C^2 ces D le.

12 notez: P^1B noces; Scet: R se.

13 angoisseusement: P^1C^2 angoissement; se travaille: P^1C^2 ci (C^2 si) se travaillet.

14 que: P^1C^2 qui; cele: P^1C^2 cel $P^3A^1A^2M$ elle: avugle: DS avule.

15 suivre: S sieuir C^1 siurre D servir que.

16 se il: P^1 cil C^2 si.

17 mescognoist: DS ne cognoist.

19 chascune: B chascun.

19-20 est reposte: P^1 repost.

- 20 reposte en l'ocurté des membrez, n'a elle pas du tout oublié soy meismes et retient la somme des chosez et pert les singularitéz? Donques quiconques requiert verité, il ne est ne en l'un ne en l'autre habit, *ne sachans ne non sachans*; car il n'a pas cogneu toutes chosez ne ne les a pas du tout toutes oubliées, ainçois li remembre bien de la somme que il retient et demande
 25 conseil et retraite parfondement les chosez devant veuez, pour ce qu'il puisse ajuster les partiez oubliées aus parties retenuez."

[PROSE IV.]

- Lors dist ele: "C'est", dist elle, "l'ancienne question de la pourveance de dieu; et Marchus Tullius, quant il devisa la divinacion, forment demena ceste question et tu meismes l'as moult quise du tout et longuement, mais encorez n'a elle pas esté jusques ci asséz diligemment ne fermement
 5 determi- (39va) *nee ne despeciee de nul de vous*. Et la cause de ceste occurté et de ceste ignorance est pour ce que li mouvement de la raison humaine ne se puet ajuster a la simplece de la divine prescience; mais se li homme la poissent penser en aucune maniere, *si que il pensassent les chosez si comme diex les voit*, nulle doubtance n'i demorroit lors. Et ce assaieré je
 10 a la parfin a demonstrer et a despecier, quant je auré premierement respondu aus raisons par quoy tu es esmeuz. Car je te demant pour quoy tu cuidez que celle raison de ceulz qui solent le *neu de ceste question* ne soit pas asséz fort *ne suffisant*, la quelle raison, pour ce que elle juge que la prescience n'est pas cause de neccessité aus chosez a avenir, toutevois ne cuide elle pas
 15 que franchise de volenté soit empêchée par la prescience. Car ne traiz tu pas d'ailleurs argument de la neccessité des chosez a avenir fors que de ce que les chosez qui sont avant seuez ne peuvent en nulle maniere estre empêchiez que elles n'aviengnent? Se la prescience donques n'ajuste nulle neccessité aus chosez a avenir, si comme tu neis le recognoisoiez un pou ci devant,
 20 quelle chose est par quoy les fins volenterines des chosez soient contraintez a certain avenement? Car par grace de posicion, pour ce que tu entendez miex ce qui s'en ensuit, posons que nulle prescience ne soit. De tant donques comme il appartient a ce, les chosez qui viennent de franche volenté seront elles donques (39vb) contraintez avenir par neccessité?" "Non".
 25 "Or posons de rechief que prescience soit, mais que elle ne mette nulle neccessité es chosez; je croi que celle meismes franchise de volenté demourra enterine et desliee. Mais tu pourras dire que, ja soit ce que la prescience n'est pas cause de la neccessité des chosez

20 du tout oublié: *P²DSF²* oub. du t. BR du tout.

21 quiconques: *R om.*

22 verité: *P¹RA²* veritez; ne en . . . habit (*editor's correction*): *all mss:* ne l'un (*P¹* l'une) ne l'autre en habit.

22-3 *ne non sachans:* *P²A¹A²M om.*

23 ne ne . . . toutes: *P² om.*

23-4 du tout toutes oubliées: *P¹* toutes oub. du t. *P²* du t. oub. toutes *P³D* du t. oub. *P²* oubliées.

26 les partiez: *P¹B om.*; oubliées: *A²* oubliées; aus . . . retenues: *A² inserts in the following Prose after dist elle* (l. 1); retenues: *P¹ om.*

PROSE IV.

1 ele: *P¹* est.

2 devise (ap*P²F²*): *the rest* devina; demena: *B* devise.

4 jusques: *R justes D* donquez; diligem-
ment ne fermement: *P³* longuement ne dilig.
B diligent *R* diligans.

4-48 ne fermement . . . en leurs naturez

nulle: *BR om.*

5 despeciee (*P¹*): *C²P²S* -chiee *C¹D* des-
peciee *P²A¹A²M* despeciee *F²* despeschee.

7 se (li): *P¹ ce.*

8 la: *A²* les li; poissent (*P¹*): *C¹* peussent
A² pessét *the rest* peussent; *si que il:* *DS* et.

10 et a despecier: *b om.*; je auré: *P²* j'auroi
S jaray; premierement: *P²* premerainement.

12 raison: *P¹ om.*

14 aus (*P¹C²*): *A¹F²* es *the rest* en.

15 volenté: *DS* arbitre; ne traiz tu: *DS* tu ne t.

19 aus: *C¹P²DSF²* es; neis: *b* meismes *C¹* om.; pou: *C¹* poi *S* pou *b* (except *S*) petit.

20 par (*P¹C²*): *b* (except *P²*) pour *C¹P²* abbrev; volenterines: *P¹C²* volenterins *DS* volentiez.

21 posicion: *P¹C²* possion *A¹* posicôn *A²* poi-
çon *M* poiton: en *b* om.

23 a ce les (*P¹DS*): *the rest* a celles.

24 par: *DS* de; Non: *P³* non diz je.

25 posons: *C¹* possons *b* metons.

a avenir (ou que ja soit ce que neccessité d'avenir n'est pas par la prescience es chosez a avenir), toutavoiz est elle signe que les chosez avendront par neccessité, si que, se elle n'est cause de la neccessité, au mains est elle signe de la neccessité. Par ceste maniere donques, neis se la prescience n'eust onques esté, toutavois seroit ce certaine chose par ce signe que li avenement des chosez a avenir seroient neccessaire. Car touz signes 30 demonstre et senefie quelle la chose est, mais il ne fait pas la chose que il senefie. Par quoy il convient avant demonstrer que nulle chose n'avient qui n'aviegne par neccessité, a ce que il apere que la prescience soit signe de ceste neccessité; autrement, se ceste neccessité est nulle, certez celle prescience ne pourra pas estre signe de la chose qui n'est pas. Mais nous 35 sommes ja certain que preuve, soustenue par ferme raison, doit estre amenee non mie de signes ne de argumens quis par dehors si comme par tesmoings, mes des causez couvenablez et necessairez. Mais, tu diras se tu veulz, comment peut il estre fait que les chosez n'aviengnent pas qui sont pourveuez a avenir? Aussi comme se nous cuidions que les chosez 40 n'avendront pas que la pourveance de (40ra) dieu scet avant a avenir. Mais ce ne devons nous pas cuidier, ainçois devons miex ce croire et jugier que, ja soit ce que elles aviengnent, toutavois n'ont elles eu en leurs naturez nulle neccessité par quoy elles avenirrent. Et ce pourras tu legierement apercevoir par ce semblable que je te dirai. Car nous veons pluseurs chosez 45 n'avendront pas que la pourveance de (40ra) dieu scet avant a avenir. Mais ce ne devons nous pas cuidier, ainçois devons miex ce croire et jugier que, ja soit ce que elles aviengnent, toutavois n'ont elles eu en leurs naturez nulle neccessité par quoy elles avenirrent. Et ce pourras tu legierement apercevoir par ce semblable que je te dirai. Car nous veons pluseurs chosez 50 quant elles sont faitez devant nos yeulz, si comme on voit les charretiers ouvrier en leurs charretez adrecier et flechir, et aussi pues tu entendre des ouvriers de touz autres mestiers. A il donques neccessité en nostre regard qui contraingne ces chosez ou aucune de celes ainsi estre faitez?" "Non. Car pour niant seroit li faiz et l'œuvre de l'art, se toutes ces chosez estoient 55 meues et faitez par la contraingnance de nostre veue."

"Les chosez donques qui, quant on les fait, n'ont nulle neccessité que on les face, aussi celles meismes, avant que elles soient faitez, sont a faire sans neccessité. Par quoy aucunes chosez sont a avenir des quieux li avenemens et la fin sont quitez et delivrez de toute neccessité. Car certez je ne cuit 60 pas que nulz homs ce deist que les chosez que on fait ores ne fussent a faire et a avenir, avant que on les feist, et que celles meismes, neis se elles fussent avant seues, ne eussent frans avenemens nommie neccessairez. Car, aussi comme la science des chosez presentez ne porte point de neccessité aus chosez que l'en fait, aussi la prescience des chosez a avenir ne porte 65 nulle neccessité aus chosez qui avendront. Mais tu diras que de ce meismes (40rb) doublet l'en: savoir mon, se des chosez qui n'ont pas avenemens neccessairez, s'il en puet estre aucune prescience. Car il i semble avoir descort: si comme se elles sont pourveues, neccessité les ensuit; se

29-30 ou . . . avenir: C¹b om.

31 se elle n'est: M elle est.

32 donques (A¹C¹ dont): P¹C² om.

33 onques esté: P¹ inverted.

34 seroient: P¹C²S seroit; touz signes

(C¹C²P²D): P¹ touz signe the rest tout signe.

35 senefie: D ensaigne.

36 que nulle: P¹C² quelle; n'avient: P¹C²

avient.

37 aviegne: P¹C² avient.

37-8 a ce . . . de ceste necc.: F² om.

38 first ceste: b la; second ceste: b (except DS) la DS li.

43 il: C¹b om.; pas: b om.; qui: b puis que eles.

44 pourveuez: MA¹ prouvees; cuidions: C¹P²DS cuidons.

46 ce (ne): P¹ se; devons miex: P¹P³ dev. nous m.

47 n'ont: P¹ vôt; eu: P¹C²b (except P²DS)

om.

51 en . . . flech. et: D om. but inserted further on (l. 59) between sont and quitez; entendre: B om.

52 neccessité: R necc. ajoute.

54 seroit: D seront.

55 meues: P¹C² mues D om.

56 qui: C¹RP²A¹A²M que DS om.

56-8 que on . . . neccessité: B om.

57 avant: D anschois S ainchois; sans: P¹ par.

59 et (la): P¹C² en; quitez: S quitte D toute; cuit: P²A¹A²M croy.

60 ce (a): b om.

61 a: P¹C²BP² om.; neis: P¹ ne BC¹ om.

62 fussennt: b (except A²DS) ne f.

65 de: P¹ om.

67 prescience: D pour science A¹ p'science; i: P¹C²ADS om. BRP² li.

68 si (a): b om.; pourveuez: P¹C² prouvees.

necessité leur fault, elles ne peuvent estre seues avant, car riens ne puet
 70 estre compris par science fors certain. Et se les chosez qui n'ont pas certain
 avenement sont pourveues aussi comme certainez, ce sera occurté de
 oppinion, nommie verité de science. Car cuidier de une chose autrement
 que elle n'est, tu croiz bien que c'est divers et hors de l'enterineté de science.
 Et la cause de ceste erreur est de ce que toutesz les chosez que chascuns a
 75 cognuez, il cuide que eles soient conneues tant seulement par la force et
 par la nature des chosez qui sont cognuez ou qui sont seues. Et touz li
 contrariez en avient; car tout quanque est cogneu, il est miex compris
 et cogneu nommie selonc sa force ne sa nature, mais selonc le pooir et la
 80 nature des chosez cognoissans. Car pour ce que ce soit apert par brief
 example: une meismes rondece d'un corps, autrement la cognoist il regars
 de l'ueil et autrement li atoichemens. Li regars, par ses rais la gitiez, voit de
 loing sens soy mouvoir tout le corps ensemble; mais li atoichemens qui se
 ahert et se conjoint au corps reont et se muet entour lui comprent par
 85 partiez l'avironnement de la rondece. Neis homme meismes autrement le
 regarde sens, autrement yimaginacion, autrement raison, autrement intel-
 ligence. Car li sens comprent la figure du corps de l'omme establee en la
 matere sommise, mais l'ymaginacion comprent (40va) la seule figure sens la
 matere. Raison seurmante yimaginacion et comprent, par un commun
 90 regart, l'espece commune qui est es singulierez piecez. Mais l'ueil de
 l'intelligence est plus haus; car elle seurmante l'avironnement de la
 communauté et regarde avec ce, par pure soutillité de pensee, celle meismes
 forme simple de l'omme qui est pardurablement en la pensee divine. Et en
 ces quatre chosez doit on moult ce regarder que la plus haute force de
 95 comprendre les chosez embrace et contient la plus basse, mais la plus basse
 ne se lieve pas en nulle maniere jusques a la plus haute. Car sens ne puet
 nulle chose comprendre hors de matere, ne l'imaginacion ne regarde pas
 les especez universelz, ne raison ne comprent pas la simple forme, si comme
 intelligence la prent, mais intelligence qui regarde aussi comme par dessus,
 100 quant elle a la forme comprise, elle cognoist neis et devise toutesz les chosez
 qui sont souz celle forme, mais elle les cognoist en celle maniere en la
 quelle elle comprent celle meismes simple forme qui ne pourra jamés estre
 cognue a nulle des autres trois forces de l'ame dessus dites. Car elle

69 seues: *P¹* seue; riens: *B* nulz.71 certainez ce: *B* certainete.72-3 Car . . . science: *R om.*73 divers: b diverse chose; (hors) de: *P¹* *om.*75 cuide (*P²DSF²*): the rest cuident; il cuide . . . conneues: *P¹C² om.*

75-6 la force et par (a): b om.; cognuez (a): b avenues.

77 compris (BR): the rest apris.

78 selonc sa force ne (*P¹C²R*; the rest et): *P²* de force et selon.79 cognoissans: *P¹C²P² om.*; apert (*P¹C²R*): *C¹* voirs apert *B* apert et b aperte chose.

80-1 autrement . . . atoichemens: b li regars de l'ueil la cognoist autrement et li atouchemens autrement.

81 gitiez: *B* guete.83 se (conjoint): b om.; reont (roont): *P¹* iront *A²* roent.84 la: *P¹C² om.* DS le (R for de la rondece: de la reon (506e) du (506f) compas).84-5 autrement . . . intelligence; *F²P²* le regarde aut. sens . . . et intelligence *A¹A²M* regarde sens autrement, ym. ault. rais. ault. et intell. *P²* sens reg. aut., im. aut., rais. aut. et int. *B* sanz aut. ymag. et aut.

rayson.

85-7 aut. intell. . . . sommise: *B om.*86 li: *P¹* la li; sens: *C²* soul; estable: *P¹P²* estable *D* estable.87 sommise: *P²* subiecte.88 Raison: *P¹C²* mais r.89 espece commune: *B* espoisse comme ce: piecez: *D* pites: l'ueil: *P²DS* li feux.90 l'intell. (aF²): the rest omit l'; haus: *P¹C² om.*; car elle seurm.: *B om.*; l'aviron.: *B* de l'avir.92-3 Et en ces (a): b (except A²D) en ces *A²D* et ces.93 moult ce: *P²S inverted P¹* moult; force: *B* fortune.94 la plus basse: *B pl.*95 maniere: *B om.*96 matere: b (except *P²*): la m.; l': *P²A¹-A²M om.*; reg. pas: *P¹* r. pas si.97 les especez univ.: *B* unite; comprent (*P¹C¹C²*): the rest prent; forme: *B* fortune.99-100 comprise . . . forme: *B om.*100 celle: *BDS* tele.101 elle comprent: *B e.* meismes sousprend.102 trois (*P¹A¹A²M*): *P²* om. the rest III.: forces (a): b formes; de l'ame: *B* des ames.

cognoist et l'université de raison et la figure de l'imaginacion et le sensible material conceu par sens; ne elle ne use pas ne de raison ne de 105 yimaginacion ne de sens, ainçois regarde toutes chosez ensemble par un seul coup de pensee formablement et par essancialité, pour ce que je ne le sai autrement dire. Certez raison, quant elle regarde aucune chose universelle, elle ne use pas (40vb) ne de yimaginacion ne de sens et, toutefois, comprent elle les chosez imaginablez et sensiblez. Car c'est celle 110 qui deffenist ainsi l'universel de sa conception: homme est beste a deus piez raisonnable. Et comme ceste cognoissance soit universelle, toutefois n'est il nulz qui bien ne sache que homs est chose yimaginable et sensible; et ce meismes regarde bien raison, mais ce n'est mie par yimaginacion ne par sens, ainçois le regarde par raisonnable conception. Aussi yimaginacion, 115 ja soit ce que elle prengne des sens le commencement de veoir et de former les figurez, toutefois, neis se sens ne li estoit pas presens, avironne elle et comprent toutes chosez sensiblez nommie par raison sensible de jugier, mais par raison yimaginative. Voir tu donques que, en cognoissant, toutes chosez cognoissans usent plus de leur pooir que du pooir des chosez qui sont 120 cogneuez? Ne ce n'est mie tors; car comme touz jugemens soit li fait du jugeur, il couvient que chascuns parfaict son euvre et s'entencion nommie du pooir estrange, mais du sien propre.

[METRE IV.]

Li Porchez, c'est une porte de Athenes ou li philosophie se assembloient pour desputer de toutes chosez, cil porchez aporta jadis veillars trops occurs en leurs sentencez qui creoient que li sens et les ymagez par quoy on comprent les chosez venissent des corps dehors es ames comprenans et 5 furent enprant es pensees par les corps dehors, si comme nous soulons aucune foiz par un isnel greffe fichier letres empraintez (41ra) en la planice de la page de cire ou de parchemin qui n'a nulles figurez ne nulles notes en soy. Mais se la pensee viguereuse ne fait riens par ses propres mouvements, ainçois seuffre tant seulement et se gist sommier aux notez et aux figurez 10 des corps et des chosez de hors et rent les ymagies des chosez cassez et vaines a la maniere du miroer, dont nous vient donques ceste cognoissance qui toutes chosez regarde, tant en nostre courage vaillans? Et dont est celle force qui regarde les chosez singulierez ou celle qui devise les chosez cogneuez ou celle qui conquieut les chosez devisees et qui entrechange sa

- 103 et (l'un.): P^1C^2 om.; la (figure): P^1C^2 a la: l'imag.: C^1Rb om. l.
 104 sensible: R sensible A^2 séblabe.
 104 conceu: P^1 cogneu; par sens: P^1 p. ceulz; ne use: R mist.
 106-7 le sai: C^2 les sai P^1 laissai S say.
 107 Certez: S ceste.
 107-8 aucune ch. univ.: B une ch.
 108 ne (use): B om.; de (sens): P^1C^2 om.
 110 sa: P^1C^2 la.
 110-4 homme . . . conception: B om.
 114 Aussi: P^2DS ainsi.
 115 ja: P^1C^2 et ja; prengne (a): b compaigne; le commencement (a): b pl.
 116 avironne elle: B environne en le.
 118 en cognoissant: C^1 en angoussant.
 118-9 toutes . . . cognissans (a except R): R t. ch. cognosseb t. ch. les cog.
 119 usent: B eussent.
 119-20 plus de . . . cogneuez: P^3 plus de voulente de leur pooir que des choses cogneues.
 120 tors: P^1 touz jours.

1 Porchez: C^1 porches D proches ($BP^0A^1A^2M$ le porche); c'est: C^1b (except M) est; assembloient: C^1 assamblient.

3 creoient (D croioient): $P^1C^2A^2$ croient; sens: P^1 san A^3 sain; ymagez: B imaginacions.

4 des: P^1 de; dehors (*a except P¹; A¹A²P¹*):

P^1 hors *the rest* de dehors; es: BR et.

5 enprant (em-): P^1 comprant A^2 comprins; dehors: R om. b de dehors; soulons: M solions P^2 fesons.

6 un isnel: R un seul i. DS isnel; en: A^3P^1B a P^3 et; planice: A^1 -nise A^3C^1D -nite F^2 -nece P^1 -nette BS plainete.

8 fait: B om.

10 cassez: C^1R quasses D quasses S quises F^2 om.

12 chosez: A^3P^4 om.; tant: $P^3A^1A^2M$ dont tant; en (DS): *the rest* est.

14 ou ($P^1C^2A^3$): *the rest* et; conquieut (C^1RP^2): $P^1C^2F^2$ conquiert P^3 conquiert M conquieut S concoele D conquelle A^1 conquieut A^2 conquieut P^1 congoit A^3B cognoist.

- 15 voie? Elle lieve aucune fois sa teste aus tres hautez chosez et chiet aucune fois es tres bassez et, quant elle se retourne en soy meismes, elle reprend et destruit les faussez chosez par les vraiez. Ceste force certez est la cause plus faisans et moult plus puissans *a veoir et a cognostre les chosez que celle cause qui seuffre et reçoit les notez et les figurez empraintez en maniere*
- 20 de matere. Toutevois la passion, c'est *la souffrance ou li sens*, qui est en corps vif, vet avant esveillans et esmouvans les forcez de la pensee. Si comme quant clarté fier les yeulz et *les esmuet a veoir*, ou si comme vois ou sons heurte aus oreillez et *les esmuet a oir*, lors est esveilliee la vigueur de la pensee et trait hors et apele as samblablez mouvemens les formez que
- 25 elle tient dedens soy et les ajuste aus notez et *aus chosez de hors et melle les ymagines des chosez de hors aus formes dedens soy reposteze.* (41rb)

[PROSE V.]

Mais se es corps a sentir, c'est *a dire, se a ce que li corps saient sentu et cogneu*, ja soit ce que les qualitéz des corps qui nous sont contremisez et offertez par dehors esmeuvent et entalentent les instrumens des sens, et ja soit ce que la passion du corps, c'est *li sens du corps*, aille devant la vigueur du courage ouvrant et cognosant, la quelle passion ou *li quiex sens* apiaut le fait de la pensee en soy et esmeuve les formes qui se reposent endementiers dedens la pensee—se es corps a sentir, si comme je ai dit, nostre courage n'est pas *ennoblis ne enseignéz* par la passion *ne par le sens du corps a cognostre les chosez*, mais les cognost de sa propre force, de combien plus donques les chosez qui sont *franchez et delivrez de touz entalentemens de corps, comme dieu et li angelz, de combien plus se gardent il d'ensuivre, mais n'ensuivent pas les chosez contremisez par dehors, ainçois despechent le fait de leur pensee sens les chosez et sens les corporiez sens.* Par ceste raison donques diverses cognosciences avindrent a diverses substances. Car li sens du corps, li quiex seus est desnuéz et *desgarniz* de toutez autres cognosciacez, vint aus bestez non mouvablez (*qui mouvoir ne se peuent*), si comme sont *les oestrez, les hanons et les autres conchez de la mer qui se aherdent et sont norriez es roichez; mais l'ymaginacion vint aus bestez mouvablez qui semblent avoir aucun entalentement de fuir*

20 ou de desirer aucune chose. Mais raison est tant seulement de l'umain

15 sa: *A³P⁴B* la; aus (aux, as): *P¹* au *C¹* en *P²A¹A²M* es.

16 et: b *om.*; elle (reprend): *P⁴* et le.

17 par les vraiez: *P² om.*

18 plus (faisans): *M* la plus; *veoir: A³P⁴* nier *BR* noier.

19 notes: *A³* nettes *P⁴* nestes; en maniere (*P¹BRA²P⁴*): *C¹C²* a m. b a la m.

20 matere (a): b la m. *A³ om.*; li sens: *P¹* lissue.

21 en corps: *C¹b* (except *F²*) ou c. R ou cors *BF²* encore *C²* oncores *A³P⁴* en tour; vet (*P¹R*): *C¹C²* vait *Bb* va; vif vet: *A³P⁴* visflut; esveillans: *P⁴* queillans.

22 quant . . . comme: *B om.*

23 la vigueur: *A³* laigreur.

24 as samblablez (a*A³*): *F²* en sem. b ensemble; mouvemens (a except *C¹*; *A³F²*): *P²DS* esmouvemens *P²A¹A²M* aux esmouvement *C¹* mouvans.

25 les: *A³P⁴* se.

26 reposte: *A³P⁴B* encloses *C¹* repuses.

PROSE V.

1 se . . . sentir: B les estors a sentu; se (a ce): B que.

3 offertez: D esforces: des sens et (*P¹C¹F²*): *BRP²DS* de s. et *P²A¹A²M* dedens.

4 c'est . . . corps: b *om.* *C¹* c'est li s.

5 apiaut (editor's correction): *P¹* aprant *C²* aprent *C¹* ap'nt *B* apaunt *b* apele.

6 esmeuve: *BR* esmuevent *P²A¹* esmeut *DS* esmoet *M* esmeuet *A²* eusmet.

7 es corps a sentir: *B* estors a sentu; si: *P²A¹A²M om.*

8 ennoblis: *P¹P²A¹A²M* en oublie *C²* en oubliz.

10-1 de touz entalentemens: b *om.*

11 dieu et: b *om.*; angelz (*P¹B²M*): *C¹P²-DS* angle *C²P³* anges R ange *F²* angele *A¹* angres.

12 d'ensuivre: B de usure; mais: b mais il (ilz); n'ensuivent: B n'ensuit il R n'ensuit.

13 despechent: B despiecent.

14-5 Par . . . substances: *P¹ om.*

14 avindrent: B en viennent.

15 li sens . . . est: *DS* sens tous seus (S seuls); li quiex seus est: b (except *DS*) qui est seus (seul) sans estre (in *F²* estre *om.*) *P¹BR* li q. sens est *C¹C²* li quel est.

16 oestrez: *C¹* hoistes B distres; les han.: *P²C²* et les h.; conchez: B chouthes *RP²A¹A²M* choses.

18 es: B en; roichez (*P¹C²*): the rest roches.

20 desirer: *P¹C²BA²* desirier; est tant: *A²* étent.

lignage, si comme seule intelligence est de divine nature. Dont il s'ensuit que ceste cognoscience vault miex que toutes les autres qui cognoist par sa propre nature (41va) nommie seulement ce qui li appartient propre a sa cognoscience, mais elle cognoist neis les sugiez de toutes autres
 25 cognosciencez. Que sera doncques, se sens et yimaginacion contredient a raison et dient de celle chose universelle que raison cuide veoir que ce est niant? Car ce qui est sensible ou yimaginable, ce ne puet estre universel; doncques ou li jugemens de raison est vrais, mais nulle chose sensible ne est, ou comme raison sache bien que pluseurs chosez sont sommisez a sens
 30 et a yimaginacion, doncques est vaine et fausse la conception de raison qui regarde et comprend ce qui est sensible et singulier aussi comme un universel. Se raison voloit a ces chosez encontre respondre et deist que vraiment regarde elle et comprend par raison de universalite et ce qui est sensible et ce qui est yimaginable, mais que ces deus, c'est assavoir sens et
 35 yimaginacion, ne se peuvent pas eslever ne ataindre a cognoscience de universalite pour ce que leur cognoscience ne pourroit pas surmonter les corporiecs figurez, et que, certez, de la cognoscience des chosez on devroit miex croire au plus parfait et au plus ferme jugement—en ceste tencon doncques nous qui avons force et de raisonner et de ymaginer et de sentir,
 40 c'est a dire de comprendre par raison, par yimaginacion et par sens, ne loerions nous pas miex la cause de raison? Semblable chose est a ce que nous voulons ici dire, c'est assavoir que raison humaine ne cuide pas que (41vb) la divine intelligence regart ou cognoisse les chosez a avenir, fors que si comme raison meismes humaine les cognoist. Car tu peus ainsi dire:
 45 s'il est avis aus hommes que aucunes chosez n'aient avenemens certains et neccessairez, certainement elles ne peuvent estre seuez avant a avenir. Donques ne est nulle la prescience de ces chosez et, se nous croions que prescience soit certaine en ces choses, doncques ne sera nulle chose qui n'aviengne par neccesitete. Se nous doncques peussions avoir le jugement de
 50 la divine pensee, si comme nous sommes parçonnier de raison, si comme nous avons jugié que il couvient que yimaginacion et sens soient au dessous de raison, aussi jugerions nous que tres droituriere chose seroit que raison humaine se sousmeist a la divine pensee. Par quoy, se nous poons, eslevons nous en la hautece de celle souveraine divine intelligence, car
 55 illec verra raison ce que elle ne puet regarder en soy meismes. Certez ce est comment la prescience de dieu voit toutevois certaines et determinees les

21 si: P¹C² et si; intelligence: R negligence; de: P¹ om.; divine: C² vraie.

23 qui: P¹R qu'il A¹A²SM que; (B for ce qui li: aussi comme il y).

24 sugiez: C²P² sougiez BA²SF² subgiez R souges C¹A¹ subges M subgetz P³ subjietz D sages; autres: b om.

25 sera: DS sera ce.

26 dient: b dient que.

27 ce (qui): P¹C² om.; ce (ne): b om.

28 jugemens (from P²DF²): P¹-ment; de: B don.

29 sache: B sal'ba.

30 a; from B; the rest om.

31 un (P¹C²P²SF²): the rest om.

32 encontre resp.: b (except DS) inverted DS respondre; deist: DS d. encontre.

33 elle: BR celle.

34 que: P¹ om.; deus: B dous; assavoir: B a dire.

34-5 de univ. . . . cognoscience: B om.

37 et que: editor's addition.

38 parfait . . . ferme (P¹C²): the rest inverted; ceste tencon: BR c. raison M c. entencion A² ce entenccon.

39 et (de rais.): b om.; raisonner: P¹ res.

39-40 de sentir . . . et: D om.

40 de comprendre: B om.

41 loerions (C²F²; P²DS loeriens): P¹ lorions

BR lairion the rest loerions (lou.).

42 voulons: P¹C² om.; ici: B om.

44 meismes: Bb om.; les: P¹C²P² le.

45 n'aient): P¹C² om.

46 avant: b om.

47 ne: b om.; de ces: P³ des.

48 prescience . . . choses (F²): the rest elles sont certaines.

49 n'(aviengne): P¹ om.; par: P¹C² de; peussions (RS): P²-iens P³A¹A²M -ions C² peuiussions D peuiissiens P¹C² pensons F² pen-sies.

52-3 aussi . . . raison: B om.

53 Par (P¹BRP²): C¹C² abbrev. the rest pour.

54 eslevons nous: DS elle nous drechast; en: B a; souveraine: a (except B) om.; divine intell.: A²M inverted P³ pensee d. A¹ divine.

55 comment: P¹C² comme; toutevois: D toutes.

chosez neis qui n'ont pas certains avenemens; ne ce n'est pas opinion, si comme tu as dit, ainçois est mieux la simplece de la souverainne science qui n'est enclose par nulz termes.

[METRE V.]

Par maintes diversez figurez trespassent les bestes par les terrez, car les unes ont les corps estanduz et rampent es poudres et s'esmeuvent a aler par la force de leur piz et traient apres eus une rae continuee *si comme serpens*. (42ra) Les autres bestes ont legieres eles dont ilz batent les vens et 5 trespassent les espassez de l'air lonc par vol apert aussi comme en noant. Les autres s'esjoissent en faire leurs tracez et leurs chemins en terre par leurs piéz et en marchier ou par les champs ou par les bois vers. Et ja soit ce que tu les voies toutez descorder en diversez formez, touteois leur encline face puet aggrevier leurs reboichez sens *si que il ne se peuvent pas* 10 *eslever aus chosez souverainnes*.

La seule ligniee des hommes lieve plus haut sa haute teste et se drece legierement en estant o son corps droit et regarde les terrez dessouz soy. Ceste figure, se tu ne es hors du sens, tu qui requiers le ciel par droit visage et lievez ton front en haut, t'amonneste que tu portez aussi ton courage en 15 haut, si que ta pensee ne soit pas grevee des terriennes chosez ne ne descendre pas plus basse souz eulz, puis que tes corps est levéz plus haut.

[PROSE VI.]

Pour ce donques, si comme nous avons monstré un pou ci devant, que toute chose qui est seu ne est pas cogneue par sa propre nature, mais par la nature des chosez cognissans, or regardons donques, tant comme il nous loist et tant comme nous poons, quiex est li estaz de la divine substance, 5 pour ce neis que nous puissions cognoistre quiex est la science de li. Li communs jugemens donques de toutez creaturez raisonnablez est que diex est pardurablez, *c'est a dire sens fin et sens commencement*. Or regardons donques quelle chose est pardurableté, car ceste nous demonstrera ensemble (42rb) et la divine nature et la divine science.

10 Pardurableté donques est parfaite possession et toute ensemble de vie nommie terminable et ce nous apert plus clerement par la comparaison des chosez temporieex. Car toute chose qui vit en temps, c'est present qui s'en

METRE V.

1 Par maintes: A^3 p. quoy m.; par (les): A^3P^1 et; terrez: A^3P^1B termes.

2 les corps estanduz: b sing.; rampent: A^3B rompent b repost; et (s'esm.): b si; s'esmeuvent: A^3 s'esforcent.

3 la: $P^1C^2A^2$ om.; apres: P^1A^1DS empres; continuee: P^1A^1M continue.

4 legieres: P^1 legieces; eles: P^1C^2 om. C^1A^2 - DP^1 elles A^3 helles M aelles P^3 esles.

5 de l'air: B de leur A^3P^1 d'aler P^1 le l'air; en noant: M est n. A^2 est en n. P^3 est neant A^1 est vent A^2 en nouant.

6 s'esjoissent: F^2 s'enforcent; en (faire): A^3P^1MDS a.

7 leurs (piéz): A^3P^1B les; et en . . . vers: A^3 om.; en: b (except P^2) au.

8-9 leur encline face: A^3P^1 les enclines faces B les enclinént leurs faces.

9 puet: B pour; reboichez (P^1C^2R): $P^1A^1-AP^1M$ rebouche P^2 -chic D -chiet F^2 -sche P^1B -ches S reblonchiet C^1 reboichies A^3 rebources; sens: B sanz A^3 sain; que il: P^4 qui; se: b (except A^2) le C^1A^2 les.

10 aus: b jusques aus.

11 ligniee (P^1BM): $A^3P^1F^2$ ligniee the rest lignie; se: $P^1C^1C^2A^2$ om.

12 estant: P^3A^2M estat; terrez: A^3P^1B choses; followed by droites (R), droit (B); soy (a): b lui (P^2 li).

13 ne es: A^3 mes P^1 metz; du (a A^3): b de ton; requis: C^1P^1 quiers; visage: A^3P^1D usage.

14 et lievez ($P^1C^2C^2P^2$): A^3P^1BR eslieve P^1M lieve A^2 leve A^1SF^2 lieves.

14-5 t'amon. . . haut: C^1 om.

16 souz: A^3 sans P^1B sanz; eulz (a): b elles; tes (C^1P^2S): P^1C^2 ces A^3P^1 des the rest ton; levez: DS veus; plus: $P^1C^1C^2$ en.

PROSE VI.

1 si comme: B puis que.

2 nature: $P^1C^2C^2B$ force R om.

4 loist: $P^1C^2P^2A^1M$ laist R lest A^2 plait; quiex (P^1): the rest quelle.

5 de li ($P^1P^2DSF^2$): C^2 de dieu the rest de lui.

7 regardons: B regarde.

10 Pardurableté: BC^1 pardurable; donques est: P^1 inverted.

12 en (temps): b ou (A² au); c'est: b om.

vet des preteriz es futurs, c'est a dire des temps passéz es temps a venir; ne nulle chose n'est establee en temps qui puisse embracier ensemble toute
 15 l'espace de sa vie. Car certez elle ne tient pas encores le temps de lendemain et a ja perdu celui de hier; et certez en la vie de huy ne vivéz vous pas plus que en cest mouvable et trespassable moment. La chose donques qui seuffre temporelle condicion, ja soit ce, si comme dit Aristotes du monde, que celle chose n'ait onques eu commencement ne ne defaille
 20 jamais et que sa vie soit estendue avec l'infinité de temps, toutefois n'est ce pas chose telle que on croie par droit que elle soit pardurable. Car ja soit ce que elle compraigne et embrace l'espaces de vie sans fin, toutefois ne l'embrace elle pas tout ensemble, car les futurs, ce sont les temps a venir, encores ne les a elle pas; les préteriz, ce sont les temps trespasséz, elle ne
 25 les a mais. La chose donques qui comprent et tient ensemble toute la planté de vie nommie terminable, a qui du temps a venir riens ne li defaut ne du temps passé riens ne li eschapa onques, ce est apelé et demontré a estre pardurable par droit; et couvient que ceste chose soit touz jours présente a soy meismes et soit ordenerresse et puissant de touz ses desiriers et que
 30 elle ait toute présente (42va) l'infinité du mouvable temps. Dont aucunz cuident, mais non pas a droit, que quant il ont oy qu'il fu avis a Platon que li mondez n'avoit onques eu commencement de temps ne jamais n'aura fin, il cuident que en ceste maniere soit li mondez faiz ensemble pardurable avec son feseur. Mais autre chose est estre mené par vie nommie terminable
 35 —et ce donna Platon au monde—et autre chose est embracier ensemble toute la presence de vie nommie terminable, et clere chose est que ce est propre a la divine pensee. Car il ne nous doit pas estre avis que diex soit plus anciens des chosez faites par quantité ou par qualité de temps, mais miex par la propriété de sa simple nature. Car icestui presentaire estat de
 40 vie non mouvable, cil non feniz mouvemens des chosez temporiex l'ensuit et le ressemble tant comme il puet et, comme il ne le puisse ne contrefaire ne ensuivre, de la non muableté qui est en la pardurableté de dieu: il deffaut et chiet en mouvement, et de la simplece de la presence de dieu il descraist et defaut en la non fenie quantité du futur temps et du preterit; et comme
 45 il ne puisse avoir ensemble toute la planté de sa vie, toutefois, pour ce que il ne delaisse jamais a estre en aucune maniere, il nous est avis qu'il ensuit et ressemble en aucune maniere ce que il ne puet aconsuivre ne faire ne accomplir, et se lie et conjoint a aucune presence telle comme il la puet avoir;

13 vet: C²R vait the rest va; es (temps):
 S en B et; venir: P¹ avenir.

14 ne: P¹C² om.

16 la: b (except P²F²) ceste P²F² sa.

16-7 vivéz vous: A² vivons nous.

17 moment: P²A¹M mouvement moment.

18 Aristotes: P²A¹A²M -te S Aristotiles.

19 du monde: P³ om.; eu: P¹A² en.

20 l'infinité: C¹ l'infinitif; de: C¹ om. b du.

21 Car: b (except P²) om.

22 compraigne: DS prenge; embrace: P¹ embrance.

23 l'embrace: B l'embraca P¹ embrance C² embrace; les futurs ce sont: P³ om.; venir: C²RA¹M avenir.

24 les preteriz ce sont: P³ om.

25 planté (P¹C²RA¹M): P³ plenitude the rest plente.

26 du . . . deffaut (a): b (except P²) ne deffault (A² deffent) riens du t. a venir P² riens ne li d. du t. a v.

27 li: R len; eschapa: C¹D escape A² achappe.

28 ceste (P¹C²): the rest cele.

28-9 a soy (a): b en s.

29 desiriers: P³MF² desirs.

30 aucunz: SD aultre.

31 mais: BP³DS et C¹R om.

32 onques: P¹C² om.

33 ensemble: P³ en soi.

34 mené (C¹BF²): P¹C²R meue b (except F²) meu; terminable: P¹C² pardurable term.

35 et (ce): b om.

36 presence: P² pensee A²S pñce; clere: BR chiere.

39 var: P¹C² de R om.; propriété: R proprerite B psperite; simple nature: B simplece naturele; presentaire (P¹C²): R presentoire C¹ presentastre Bb present.

40 l'ensuit: B le fuit.

41 le (res.): B li S lez F² ls; ne le: C¹ om.

P¹BDS ne; ne (contref.): b om.

42 ensuive (a): b aconsuivre.

43 la non . . . dieu: D la mouvablete de dieu.

44 la non fenie: P³ l'infenie.

45 planté (plente): P³ plentude.

46-7 il nous . . . maniere: B om.

48 a: P¹C² en.

c'est assavoir de ce petit et isnel moment, et pour ce que ceste momentaine,

- 50 petite et isnele presence porte (42vb) une ymage et une semblance de celle permanant presence de dieu, a quiconques chosez que celle momentaine presence vient, elle leur donne ce que il leur est avis que ces chosez ont estre et que elles sont. Et pour ce que ceste presence ne pot remaindre ne parfaitement remanoit, pour ce ravi elle et prist le airre et le non feni
 55 chemin du temps si que elle se muet sans fin par temps, et par ceste maniere est il fait, pour ce que elle continuast sa vie en alant dont elle ne pot pas embracier la planté en permanant. Si que, se nous voulons aus chosez mettre dignes nons et Platon ensuivre, disons que certainement diex est pardurablez et li mondes est perpetuelz. Pour ce donques que touz jugemens
 60 cognost et comprent selonc sa propre nature les chosez qui sont sommizez a lui et touz jours est a dieu pardurablez et presentairez estaz, la science aussi de lui qui seurmonte tout mouvement de temps maint en la simplece de sa presence et embrace les non feniz espassez du temps preterit et futur,
 65 c'est a dire du temps passé et du temps a venir, et regarde en sa simple cognition toutes chosez aussi comme se on les faisoit maintenant presentement. Se tu veulz donques penser et contrepenser la prescience par quoy il cognost toutes chosez, tu ne la jugeras pas ainsi comme prescience de chose a venir, ainçois jugeras plus droitement que c'est science de presence qui onques ne deffaut; dont elle n'est pas apelee
 70 pr- (43ra) evidence, ainçois est plus droitement apelee pourveance qui est estable loing des chosez tres bassez et regarde de loing toutes chosez aussi comme du sommet d'une haute montaigne eslevee seur les chosez. Pour quoy deputez tu donques et alleguez que les chosez que diex voit ou scet soient faitez par neccesité, comme li homme meismes ne facent pas neccesariaez les chosez que il voient faire presentement devant leurs yeulz? Car aus chosez que tu regardez presentez, li tiens regars ajuste il seur eulz nulle neccesité?" "Certez non."

"Et certez, se on puet faire digne comparoison du present divin et du present humain, aussi comme vous veéz aucunes chosez en ycestui vostre temporel present, aussi voit diex toutes chosez en son eternel et pardurable present. Par quoy ceste divine prescience ne mue pas la nature ne la

49 c'est ass.: B om.; isnel: P^a legier; moment: C^cBS mouvement Pⁱ mouvemens; momentaine (mom'taine): Pⁱ montaine C^cB montaigne P^a momentane.

50 isnele: P^a legiere; porte: B pour ce; une (ym.): PⁱF^a un.

51 quiconques (PⁱC^a): P^a quiex D quels S gl le rest quelconques (quelz-, ques-, quelles-); momentaine: B montaigne Pⁱ mointaine P^aA^aM momete D momenete A^a momente.

52 ce que il: PⁱC^aC^a ce qui; leur est avis: C'R nous est a. b nous semble; ces chosez: C^c celles.

53 estre: BC'P^aA^aA^aM este; sont: followed in B by de vie non pas mouvable; remaindre (PⁱB): M moindre the rest maindre.

54 remanoit (PⁱC^a): A^a remaner A^a remonir F^a demourer the rest remanoir; le airre (PⁱC^a): BR lerre C^a l'autre b la voie.

55 muet (meut): a (except B) meust.

56 pour ce: P^a afin; pot: BDS peut (poet).

57 planté: b (except P^a): p. de vie.

58 nous . . . nons (a): b (except P^aA^a) nous v. mettre d. nons aus ch. P^aA^a nous nous v. mettre d. aus ch.

59 Platon ens.: P^aA^aA^aM inverted.

59 est: BP^aA^aA^aM om.; perpetuelz (PⁱRS): C^c-tueus P^a -tues the rest -tuel.

61 est: P²DS om.; a (dieu): b en; estaz:

followed by et in all mss.

62 maint: B ment.

63 non: PⁱC^aA^aA^a nons; feniz: C^cF^a fenies.

64 simple: P^a simplesse.

66 presentement: P²DS om. P^c et pr. (C^c: les maint. faisoit pres.); contrepenser:

P^aA^aMDS c. a; prescience: BR prescience.

67 il (a): b ele; ainsi (PⁱC^aC^aD): the rest aussi (S om.); comme: b (except P^a) om.

68 prescience: R prescience; venir (PⁱC^aC^a): the rest avenir; droitement (a): b droitierement.

69 presence: D prescience A^aA^a pñce.

70 previdence . . . apelee: B om.; previdence (RP'DM): the rest p'dience; droitement: P^aA^aA^aM droiturierement; pourveance: B pourvoiance.

71 estable: B estable; tres bassez (a): b trespassées.

75 neccesariaez les ch.: b inverted.

76 aus: C'b es; seur eulz: A^a om.; eulz: C' els b eles.

77 nulle: P^a aucune; Certez: b om.

78 Et (cert.): b om.; puet: P^aMDSF^a peust P^a poist; present: b om.

78-9 divin et du pres.: B om.

79 vous veéz: B il couvient.

80 voit . . . chosez (a): b le (A^a len) voit dieu; en: A^a a D par; eternel et: b om.

propriété des chosez, et regarde les chosez presentez envers soy telles comme elles vendront *envers vous* ou temps a venir. Ne elle ne confont pas les jugemens des chosez, ainçois cognoist par un regart de la pensee aussi les chosez qui avendront par neccessité comme celles qui avendront nommie par neccessité. Aussi comme quant vous veéz ensemble un homme aler en terre et le soleil naistre ou ciel, ja soit ce que vous veéz l'un et l'autre ensemble, toutefois les deviséz vous bien et jugiez que l'un est volontaire et l'autre est neccessaire, aussi donques li divins regars qui voit toutes 85 chosez dessouz soy il ne trouble pas la qualité des (43rb) chosez qui sont certainement presentez envers soi, mais, envers la condicion du temps, elles sont a avenir. Dont il s'ensuit que ce n'est pas opinion, ains est miex ferme cognoissance soustenue par verité, quant diex cognoist aucune chose 90 ou a estre *ou a avenir*, la quelle il meismes scet certainement que elle n'a point de neccessité de estre. Et se tu dis ici que ce que diex voit que 95 avendra, il ne puet estre que ce n'aviengne, et ce qui ne puet qu'il n'aviengne, ce avendra par neccessité, et tu me contraingnez a ce non de neccessité, certez je recognoistrai chose de tres ferme verité, mais a ce entendre a paine se pourra nulz regardeur aprochier s'il n'est regardeur du 100 divin entendement. Car je te respondrai que cil futurs *ou ce qui est a avenir*, quant il est rapportéz a la divine cognoissance, il est neccessairez, mais quant il est entenduz en sa nature, on le voit du tout franc et absolu de toute neccessité. Car deus manieres sont de neccessité: l'une est simple neccessité, si comme il couvient par neccessité que tuit homme soient mortel; 105 l'autre est neccessité conditionnelle, si comme se tu sces que un homme aille, il couvient par neccessité que il aille; car ce que chascuns scet, ce ne puet estre autrement que si comme il le scet, mais ceste condicion ne trait pas avec soy celle simple neccessité. Car ceste neccessité conditionnelle sa propre nature ne la fait pas, ainçois la fait li ajustemens de la condicion; 110 car nulle neccessité ne constraint a aler celui qui va de sa propre volenté, (43va) je soit ce que, lors quant il va, il couvient par neccessité qu'il aille. Par celle meismes donques maniere, se la pourveance de dieu voit aucune chose estre presente, il couvient par neccessité que celle chose soit, ja soit ce que elle n'ait nulle neccessité de nature. Mais certez, les futurs 115 qui aviennt par franchise de arbitre, diex les regarde touz ensemble

82 la propriété: *B* la perspite *b* les proprietes; et (*a*): *b* ains; regarde les ch.: *B* regart de ces ch.

83 vendront: *A²DS* avendront; temps: *P¹C²* t. qui est.

84 cognoist: *b* (except *DS*) conjoint *DS* cognoist.

86 quant: *P¹C² om.*

87 vous veéz: *R v. uaies P¹C¹* nous veons *C² n. voions.*

89 est: *C¹Rb* (except *P²F²*) *om.*; aussi: *P²DS* ains.

90-108 il ne . . . avec soy: *B om.*

90 trouble: *C¹* torble *b* (except *P²*) destourbe *P³* destourne.

91 temps: *b* (except *P²A²*) t. ou.

92 miex: *P¹ om.*

94 a (*a*): *P²A¹A²M* *om.*; meismes: *P³A¹A²M* *om.*; scet: *C²* congnost.

95 ici: *R issi A²* ains; que (avendra) (*P²A¹*): *C² om.* *C¹* il *the rest qui* (*q'*).

96 que ce (*aP²F²*): *A²* que *the rest qu'il.*

96-7 et ce . . . n'aviengne: *A¹ om.*

96 puet (second): *b* p. estre; qu'il: *P¹C²MS* qui *A²* que *C¹* il; *n'*: *P¹ om.*

97 n': *P¹ om.*

97-8 et tu . . . necces.: *D om.*

98 recognoistrai: *P³A¹A²M* cognoistrai.

99 se: *b* (except *A²*) *s'en.*

100 respondrai: *C¹* respone *D* di; futurs:

P¹C² om.; ce: *C¹* cel *b* ce (cil) temps.

101 cognoissance: *DS* poissance.

102 en: *b* (except *P³A¹M*) *a*; on le voit: *P²* il est.

103 toute: *D* loijens de *S* lijens de; est: *P¹ en.*

104 comme il: *P¹ om.*; il couvient: *C² om.*; par: *DS* de.

105 est neccessité (*aDS*): *P³A¹A²M* inverted *F²* est *P²* neccessité.

106 il couv. . . aille: *D om.*; ce ne: *DS* il ne *A²* il ne ne *P² ne.*

107 condicion: *S* necessite *P³A¹A²M* condicionelle.

108 condicionelle: *R* condicionable.

109 la fait: *P¹A¹A²M* *om.*

110 neccessité: *B* condicion; de sa: *B* par sa *b* de.

112 Par celle meismes: *b* (except *A²*) et par celle; pourveance: *R* pourvoiance.

113 aucune: *B* auc. maniere et.

113-4 que celle . . . nature: *B om.*

114 futurs (*a*): *b* choses a avenir.

115-6 touz . . . presens: *b* toutes . . . presentes.

presens. Se il donques sont rapporté au divin regart, il sont fait neccessaire par la condicion de la divine cogoissance; mais s'il sont regardé par eulz, il sont deslié de neccessité et ne delaissent pas la franchise de leur nature. Donques seront sans doute faitez toutes les chosez que diex scet avant que elles sont a avenir, mais aucunes de elles avienent de franche volenté et de franc arbitre; qui, ja soit ce que elles aviengnent, toutevois en tenant leur estre ne perdent elles pas leur propre nature par la quelle, avant que elles fussent faitez, avoient elles neis eu pooir de nommie avenir."

"Quelle difference donques a il ci et qu'est ce a dire que elles ne sont pas necessairez par leur propre nature, comme elles aviengnent en toutes manierez a semblance de neccessité par la condicion de la divine science?"

"Ceste difference y est telle que les chosez que je t'ai un pou devant propouseez, c'est li soleil naissans et li homs alans. Que endementiers que ces chosez sont faitez, eles ne peuent eschever que elles ne soient faitez;

130 toutevois l'une, avant que elle fust faite, couvenoit par neccessité que elle fust faite, mais l'autre non pas. (43vb) Aussi est il issi que les chosez que diex a presentez sans nulle doute seront, mais l'une de ceulz descent de la neccessité des chosez, si comme le soleil naistre, mais l'autre descent du pooir des feseurs, si comme homme aler. Donques deismes nous bien sans faire tort, se ces chosez sont rapporteez a la divine cogoissance, elles sont

135 necessairez; se elles sont regardeez par eulz, elles sont franches et absoluez des lians de neccessité—si comme tout quanque apert a sens, se tu le raportez a raison, il est universel; se tu le raportez a soi meismes, il est singulier. Mais tu diras, se tu veulz: "S'il est assiz en ma puissance de muer

140 mon propos, je aneantiré la pourveance de dieu quant je, par aventure, auré mué les chosez que elle cogoist avant." Je te respondrai: "Certez tu pues bien ton propos muer, mais pour ce que la presente verité de la divine pourveance regarde et ce que tu puez ton propos muer et, savoir mon, se tu le mueras et en quelle part tu le tourneras, tu ne puez eschever la

145 divine prescience, aussi comme tu ne pourroies eschever le regart de l'ueil present, ja soit ce que tu te convertissez de ta propre volenté en diverses actions." Et tu diras; "Que sera ce donques? Ne sera pas muee la divine science par ma disposicion, si comme quant je voudrai ores une chose et ores une autre, ne nous doit pas estre avis que elle entrechange aussi ses

116-8 il (four times) . . . rapporté . . . fait . . . regardé . . . euls . . . deslié (P¹ -iee): b eles (four times) . . . rapportees . . . fetes . . . regardees . . . elles . . . desliees (C¹: rapportez . . . faiz . . . regardez . . . desliez).

119 toutes les chosez: DS les ch. toutes P¹ toutes ch.

121 en tenant: P¹ entendant.

123 neis: BRb (except P²) om. (C¹: avoient elles eu neis pooir); eu: P¹C²P²A¹A²M en; nommie (P¹): C¹C²R non mie Bb non.

124 et . . . dire: F² om. P² et que estre a d. B que est a d.

126 a semblance (a except R; P²): D en semble the rest en semblance; neccessité: R verite.

127 y: BRb om.; devant: P² ci d.

128 c'est li soleil (a): b ce est que li solaus.

129 eles: P¹ el C¹ il.

130-1 toutevois . . . Aussi: b de ces deus choses couvenoit certainement la premiere, c'est le soleil naistre ou ciel, par necc. que elle fust faite, mais l'autre non, c'est l'omme aler en terre. Aussi (PDS ainsi).

131 issi (editor's correction): P¹C² ici C¹DS om. the rest ci.

132 presentez: B presentees; sans . . . seront: b seront s. n. d.; seront: BR om.; ceulz: b cestes (P² ceste A² om.).

134 homme: P¹A¹A²M l'h. B om.; deismes nous bien: B om.; deismes: D desimes S desismes R deues.

135 faire tort: P¹ injure.

136 eulz: b eles.

137 tout . . . apert: P¹ quantque il ap.; le: P¹ les.

138 le: P¹ les.

140 aneantiré: DS aneantirai R aneantere B aneantirai C¹ aventure; aventure: B aneantirai.

141 mué: B nulle; avant: b (except F²) om. C¹ par av.; respondrai: C¹ respong.

142 puez: B pers; bien: b (except P²) om.

143 que: P¹ om.

144 tourneras: P¹A¹A²M mueras C¹ porras torner.

145 prescience: B pourveance presc.

146 te: C²B A²P²DS om.; convertissez: P¹-teissez C² -tesisses; diverses: P¹ pluseurs.

148 voudrai (vouldray, vaurai): P¹C²B voudroie.

149 pas: B il ore.

- 150 divers fais de cognoistre *si que elle cognoisse une foiz une chose et autre foiz le contraire de ce?*" "Non".
- "Certez non, (44ra) car li divins regart queurt au devant et voit touz futurs, *c'est a dire toutes chosez a avenir*, et les retourne et rapele a la presence de sa propre cognoissance ne il n'entrechange pas, si comme tu 155 cuidez, les fais de cognoistre ore une chose ore une autre, mais il parmanant vient au devant et embrace a un coup toutes tes mutacions. Et ceste presence de toutes chosez comprendre et de veoir les n'a pas prise diex de l'avenement des chosez a avenir, mais de sa propre simplece. Et par ce est solu ce que tu deis un pou ci devant, *c'est assavoir qu'il n'est pas digne 160 chose de dire que nos futurs doignent cause a la science de dieu ne que il soient cause de celle prescience*. Car ceste force de science qui toutes chosez embrace par sa presentaire cognoissance establist a toutes chosez propre maniere, et ne doit riens aus chosez derrenierez. Et comme ces chosez 165 soient ainsi, *ce est assavoir que neccesité n'est pas es chosez par la prescience divine*, franchise de arbitre est et demeure enterinement es mortiex hommes, ne les lais ne propousent pas *ne ne prometent felonnesse-ment loiers et paines aus volentéz des hommes qui sont absoluez et delivrez de toutes neccesitéz*. Et par dessus maint diex, regardeur et cognoisseur 170 de toutes chosez avant neis que elles soient faites, et la presente pardurableté de sa vision queurt touz jours avec la diverse qualité de nos faiz qui sont neis encors a venir, et dispanse *et ordonne* loiers aus bons et tourmens aus mau- (44rb) vais. Ne pour niant ne sont pas misez en dieu esperancez et prieres qui ne peuvent estre *sans valeur et sans fait* quant 175 elles sont faites droitement.
- 175 Despiséz donques et eschevez les vicez et aiméz et ensuiéz les vertuz; soulevéz vostre courage a droitez esperancez; tendez humbles prieres en haut a dieu. Grant neccesité de proece, se vous ne vous en vouléz faindre, vous est chargiee et enjointe, *c'est a dire grant mestier vous est que vous soiés prudomme* quant vous faites toutes chosez voit.
- 180 juge qui toutes chosez voit.

150-1 une foiz . . autre f.: $P^3A^1A^2M$ aucune f. . . aucune f.
 151 ce: b cele chose.
 152 Certez non: b (except F²) om.; queurt: R si court.
 152-3 touz . . dire: P³ om.
 155 chose: $P^3A^1A^2M$ ch. et.
 156 a un: B aucun; tes ($P^1P^3A^2M$): C¹F²
 om. BRP² les C² ses A¹DS ces; mutacions:
 $P^3A^1A^2M$ muances.
 157 veoir les: $P^2A^1A^2M$ inverted.
 159 c'est . . qu'il: B om.
 160 a: b de.
 161 soient: B aient; Car . . science: B om.
 162 presentaire (P^1C^2): P²DS propre the rest presente.
 164-5 par la prescience (C¹): P¹C² de la p. B par p. R par la pourvoiance b par la science (A^1M om. la).
 165 divine: A² de nostre; arbitre: followed in A² by s'ensuit que le; est et: B estre; enterinement: P³ entierement C¹ autrement.
 166 lais: P³ mauvaises lois; propousent: P¹

propousent; ne ne: P¹C²P²P³A¹M ne.
 166-7 felonnessement: P³ om. M felonnement.
 167 aus: P¹C² es B en; absoluez: P¹ absoluz.
 168 toutes neccesitéz (a except C¹; A¹): the rest sing.; neccesitéz: followed in R by avant neis que elles soient faites; maint (a): b est.
 169 presente: P¹b presence.
 170 pardurableté (a): b pardurable.
 171 sont neis (P¹C²): BRC¹ est n. b est; venir: C¹b (except P³) avenir; dispanse: B dispose.
 172 misez: P²DSF² mis.
 173 esperancez: b sing.
 175 Despiséz (-siez): P³ desprisez P¹ des-
 priesez; et aiméz et ensuiéz: P³A¹A²M hantez
 et aimez.
 176 a (P¹C²B): RP²DSF² aus P³A¹A²M es;
 humbles: P¹ humblement.
 177 proece: B poete.
 178 enjointe (aDS): F² aiouste P²A² ajointe P³MA¹ adjointe.